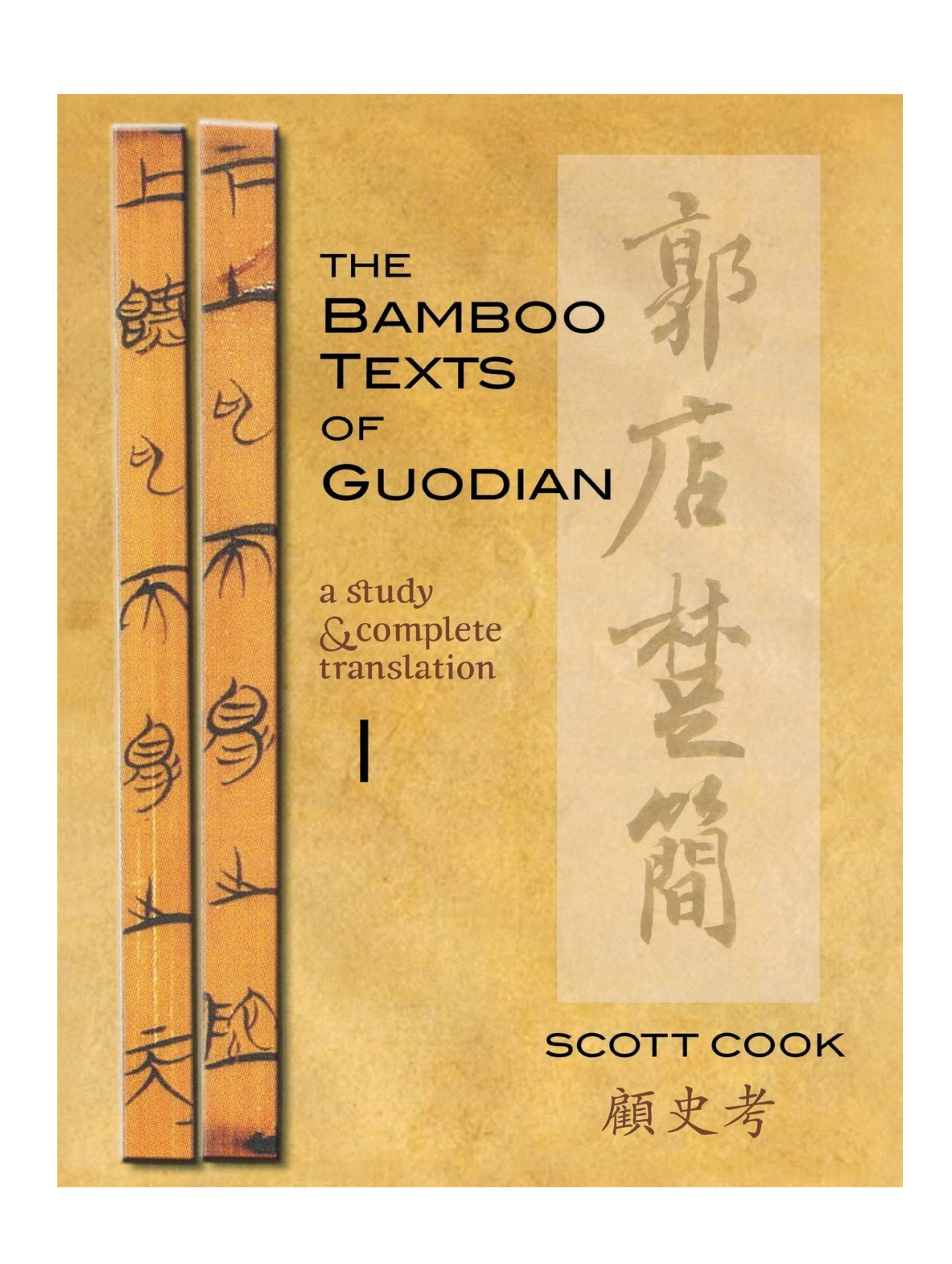

THE
BAMBOO
TEXTS
OF
GUODIAN
郭店楚簡
a study
& complete
translation
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The Bamboo Texts of Guodian

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郭店楚簡

THE BAMBOO TEXTS OF GUODIAN

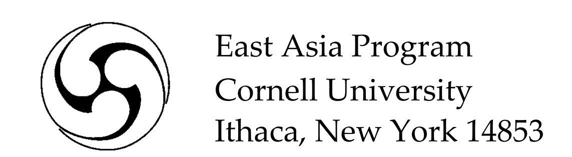


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Front: Cover calligraphy by Chou Feng-wu 周鳳五

Strips: Selection of strips from "Taiyi sheng shui." Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press. 《太一生水》竹簡

Back: Jade belt hook with dragon heads, from Guodian Tomb Number One. Photograph courtesy of Jingmen City Museum. 龍首玉帶鉤

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To my family

| CONTENTS |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I first commenced work on this project, my younger daughter was still in preschool, and as I finally bring it to conclusion, both daughters are now in college, the elder about to graduate. Whether they realize it or not, they have literally grown up with the Guodian manuscripts. Still, I'd like to think they've turned out all right.

My preliminary research on the Guodian materials began in earnest during the summer of 1999, but it was not until four years later that I had the opportunity to devote full-time efforts to the translations themselves. The majority of those translations were completed, as initial drafts, during my sabbatical year of 2003–2004, a year in which I took residence at the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan 中央研究院中國文哲研究所. The remaining translations—most notably of the "Laozi" texts—I undertook two years later during a second year of uninterrupted research, this time at the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, during the 2005–2006 academic year. Those two invaluable years of research time would not have been possible but for the generous assistance of various funding agencies, of which I will have more to say below. The remaining, otherwise-busy years since 2006 have been devoted to writing the introductions to each of the individual texts and continually revising their translations and updating their notes—this as I tried my best to stay afloat amidst an unrelenting flood of secondary scholarship on the Guodian manuscripts and a steady stream of new insights gained from subsequently published manuscript materials of Chu origin.

This effort could have gone on indefinitely, but the marginal returns on this ongoing investment would continue to diminish while a comprehensive translation of the Guodian manuscripts would only remain hidden from view of the academic community at large. At this point, I am reasonably confident that this study and translation fairly represent the current state of knowledge we possess of these manuscripts, though I am nonetheless well aware that they remain influenced by the idiosyncrasies of my own understanding and that my interpretations will forever be subject to reassessment as further textual discoveries present themselves.

I have many people to thank for helping me to make this effort as successful as possible, but let me start with three who deserve special mention. First, Professor Qiu Xigui, formerly

of Beijing University and now of Fudan University, took the time to meet with me at the earliest stages of my research, and many times since, having no reservations toward taking the ideas of a much younger, foreign scholar seriously while never hesitating to offer both constructive insights and forthright criticisms. The same may be said of Professor Zhou Fengwu (Chou Feng-wu) of National Taiwan University, who has undoubtedly entertained more of my ideas on the Guodian manuscripts than anyone else, allowing me to sit in on a full year of his graduate seminars on those and other Chu manuscripts during my crucial year of research in Taiwan, and continuing to involve me in workshops and conferences since that time. The translations of this volume bear the undeniable imprint of these two senior scholars, to whom, however, I apologize in advance for occasionally clinging a bit too stubbornly to my own particular interpretive inclinations. Third, I would like to give special thanks to Edward L. Shaughnessy for first introducing me to these two scholars many years ago, and for allowing me to participate regularly in the various workshops on excavated manuscripts that he has hosted at the University of Chicago. These latter opportunities have kept me from falling into any sort of academic isolation due to the relative remoteness of my geographical location, and have provided an edifying source of reflection on my understanding of these manuscripts from the standpoint of textual formation and on my methodological approaches toward their analysis.

I would also like to give particular thanks to Yan Shixuan and Chen Jian, respective disciples of Zhou and Qiu. Yan Shixuan saved me countless hours of tedious library searching by helping me to photocopy innumerable articles on the Guodian manuscripts that he had already gathered together during the course of his own research, and also patiently introduced me to his own procedural methodologies involved in the interpretation of those manuscripts. Chen Jian has also met with me many times over the years and even read through my early draft translations for a couple of the texts, providing me with the same mixture of considered approval and frank objections that one finds in the approach of his mentor. Both of these scholars have been ongoing sources of collegial friendship and intellectual encouragement over the long years that I have been working on these texts.

I should also like to give thanks to Liu Zhao, Director of the Centre for Research on Chinese Excavated Classics and Paleography at Fudan University 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心, and Chen Wei, Director of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University 武漢大學簡帛研究中心. Professor Liu graciously hosted me at the Fudan Centre on more than a couple of occasions, allowing me ample opportunity to tap the collective expertise of its cohort of paleographic scholars, including, of course, Professor Liu himself. Professor Chen has likewise been a constant facilitator of intellectual

discussion, inviting my participation in the Wuhan Centre's activities through all its various avenues of exchange.

There are a number of other scholars in mainland China who took the time to meet with me individually during various stages of this project. I am grateful to Liao Mingchun for getting together with me on a number of occasions to discuss the manuscripts and some of the interpretive issues involved therein. The renowned paleographers Li Xueqin and Li Ling have also both taken time out of their busy schedules to individually offer me their insights into the texts. Other scholars who generously set aside time to meet with me early on include Chen Lai, Guo Yi, Liu Lexian, Xu Shaohua, and Wei Qipeng. Additionally, I should like to give thanks to Dong Shan, Feng Shengjun, Guo Yongbing, Hirose Kunio, Li Rui, Li Tianhong, Liang Tao, Zhu Yuanqing, and a host of other scholars who have shared their thoughts with me at any number of highly productive academic conferences. And going back even further, I must acknowledge the earlier influence of Professor Wu Zhao 吳釗 of the Research Institute of Music.

In Taiwan, I have gained countless insights from conversations with a number of scholars, including Chen Guying, Chen Ligui, Fan Limei, Guo Lihua, Huang Junjie, Ji Xusheng, Lin Qiping, Lin Suqing, Lin Suying, Lin Yizheng, Satō Masayuki, Su Jianzhou, Xu Fuchang, Xu Xueren, Ye Guoliang, Yang Rubin, Yuan Guohua, Zheng Jixiong, and Zhong Zongxian. Many of these exchanges were fostered by a regular series of reading workshops held by the Philosophy Department of National Taiwan University, and others by the separate workshops held by Zhou Fengwu and the Chinese Department. I should also like to give special thanks to Lin Qingzhang, Jiang Qiuhua, Dai Lianzhang, and other scholars of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, and to the directors of the institute itself for accommodating me during my stay. In Hong Kong, both Zhang Guangyu (Cheung Kwong-yue) and Liu Xiaogan have been continual sources of motivation from their respective disciplinary perspectives. And in Japan, I would like to thank the inspiration and assistance of Ikeda Tomohisa, Yanaka Shin'ichi, Yuasa Kunihiro, and, especially, Kondō Hiroyuki, whose graciousness as a host went far beyond anything I could ever have deserved.

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misstatements that must invariably still afflict my work. I have also benefited greatly from numerous exchanges with other colleagues in the field related directly or indirectly to excavated texts, including Sarah Allan, Attilio Andreini, Erica Brindley, Annping Chin, Constance Cook, Donald Harper, Martin Kern, Lai Guolong, Andrew Meyer, Dirk Meyer, Matthias Richter, Moss Roberts, Harold Roth, Xing Wen, Crispin Williams, Robin Yates, and Brook Ziporyn, just to name a few. For their more general intellectual inspiration, I should also like to thank Geoffrey Harpham, Kent Mullikin, and all the scholars and administrative staff in residence at the National Humanities Center during the 2005–2006 academic year, with special thanks to Mary Kinzie for helping me make my "Yucong 4" translation just a little more poetically satisfying than it might otherwise have been. Lionel Jensen has been a great advocate for my book in my early attempts to locate supplemental funding for its publication, for which I remain grateful. I should also like to give special thanks to William H. Nienhauser, who has over the years been a tremendous supporter of my work on early China more generally. And going back even further, I should not neglect to thank the members of my dissertation committee, whose influence on my work on early Chinese musical thought has in countless intangible ways continued to shape my current scholarship immensely: Professors Kenneth DeWoskin, Lin Shuen-fu, Donald Munro, and Martin Powers. Finally, let me express thanks to the many other people who have influenced this work in one way or another and yet whom, due to my oversight or forgetfulness, I have somehow failed to include in this overly brief list. Needless to say, the faults that remain in this book are entirely my own.

I should of course also like to thank the two anonymous external reviewers, whose comments and constructive suggestions did much to help me improve this manuscript, the length of which must have surely taxed their patience.

The publication of this unwieldy monstrosity would not have been possible save for the generous assistance of a number of individuals and agencies. Among the former, Robin McNeal deserves first mention for his enthusiastic recommendation that I consider Cornell East Asia Series for the publication of my book. Given that CEAS has never once contemplated cutting corners on my work and has thus allowed it to be the behemoth it needed to be, I am nothing but grateful for having taken him up on that recommendation. I should also like to thank Anne Holmes and Rob Rudnick for their tremendous care in compiling an index for the work, and MP Rouse for providing an extra set of eyes to help catch many of my typos in the process of proofreading the manuscript. I should also be remiss if I did not thank the librarians, and particularly the interlibrary loan librarians, of both Grinnell College and the National Humanities Center, without whose help I never would have even seen many of the articles from afar that have come to inform these volumes.

Finally, I must give extra special thanks to CEAS Editor Mai Shaikhanuar-Cota, who spent an ungodly amount of time painstakingly editing, formatting, and proofreading my manuscript, not to mention designing a splendid pair of covers for the work, and who did it all with enormous patience, unwavering professionalism, and incredibly good cheer. The work is now incalculably more readable for her efforts.

I should once again like to thank Alex Cheong (Cheung Kwong-yue) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library for graciously granting me permission to utilize their Guodian character set as the basis for my own in the publication of this book, and for Paul Lau of the CUHK Library for his generous time and hard work on reconstituting the original files for use on my operating system, efforts without which I would have been unable to create my own characters to add to the set. I would also like to thank Curator Long Yongfang and the Jingmen City Museum 荆門市博物館, along with Wenwu Press 文物出版社, for their courtesy in allowing me to include for publication in this work a small sampling of photographs of bamboo strips and artifacts from the Guodian tomb. And I must extend yet another round of thanks to Professor Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五, from whose forceful brush came the magnificent calligraphy that has added immeasurable grace and vitality to the covers of this work.

The work itself could never been undertaken, or ultimately published in its full intended form, save for the generous contributions of several funding agencies. My research year of 2003–2004 was made possible by a Semester Research Leave funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, administered by Grinnell College and taken in conjunction with my sabbatical semester. Thanks to the financial assistance of the Fulbright Program, I was able to conduct that year of research at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan under the auspices of a Fulbright Research Award. My further full year of research at the National Humanities Center in 2005–06 was made possible by an extraordinarily generous Frederick Burkhardt Residential Fellowship for Recently Tenured Scholars, administered by ACLS. A series of Grinnell College Summer Research Grants have allowed me to return to both mainland China and Taiwan several times for academic collaboration and resource collection. And most recently, a 2010 ACLS American Research in the Humanities in China Grant, though devoted to a new and entirely different project, also allowed me the opportunity to conduct an entire semester of research at Fudan University in Shanghai, an ideal spot for tying up the remaining loose ends on this more longstanding work. Finally, the publication of this unavoidably oversized and hence costly pair of volumes was made possible only by a generous Subsidy for Publication grant by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, and by an equally generous matching of that subsidy by my home institution, Grinnell College. The debt I owe to all these institutions and funding

agencies is enormous, and I only hope that the product I am now putting forth may live up to their high standards of expectation.

Lastly, my most heartfelt thanks goes to my family: to my parents, to whom I owe my life and my upbringing; to my loving wife Wan-ying, who has supported me spiritually throughout and patiently sacrificed more of my time while working through this project than I should ever have wished to ask of her; and to my two daughters, Athene Wen-ling and Alethea Wen-lan, who, in spite of it all, have managed to reach the beginnings of adulthood in reasonably good shape, battle-tested and ready to take on life's challenges. In doing so, may they always remember the cautionary words of the noble man, quoted in these manuscripts: "To treat things with urgency may be possible, but it is difficult to bring them to conclusion." Difficult, yes, but with the help of others, by no means impossible.

Part One

| INTRODUCTION |

| INTRODUCTION |

THE CACHE OF BAMBOO TEXTS RECENTLY UNEARTHED FROM THE VILLAGE OF GUODIAN 郭店, HUBEI Province, is without doubt a rare and unique find in the history of Chinese philosophical literature. After nearly a decade and a half of concentrated research, the full ramifications of this major discovery are only just beginning to come to light. As the only archaeologically excavated philosophical manuscripts to emerge from a tomb interred during the Warring States era (戰國 ca. 475–221 BC)—arguably the most decisive period in the formation of Chinese thought—the Guodian texts provide us with a potential wealth of reliable information for gaining new insights into the textual and intellectual history of the times. In this respect, one may reasonably claim that they are the most exciting thing to happen to the study of early China since the year 279 AD, the last time a textual cache of similar import was unearthed.[1] At least one prominent scholar has even compared the Guodian manuscripts to the Dead Sea Scrolls in significance, suggesting that their discovery necessitates that the "entire history of ancient Chinese philosophy and academics will have to be rewritten."[2]

[1] This refers to the Jizhong texts 汲冢書, looted from a Warring States–period tomb during the Jin 晉 dynasty. The comparison of this discovery with manuscripts unearthed in modern times more generally is an oft-made one; see, for example, Li Xueqin, "Xinchu jianbo yu xueshushi" 新出簡帛與學術史, in his *Jianbo yiji yu xueshushi*, p. 3. In more recent times, there have also been important discoveries from the somewhat later tombs of Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Shuihudi 睡虎地, and, of course, Mawangdui 馬王堆, along with the roughly contemporary (to Guodian) tombs of Baoshan 包山, just to name a few, but none that both consists of philosophical texts *and* that dates from a Warring States–period tomb (though Mawangdui comes close). Of comparable significance, though, may be the more recently discovered, grave-looted Shanghai Museum texts, of which we will have more to say below (along with the even more recently looted Qinghua University manuscripts, which contain more in the way of documentary and historical texts). For more on the Jizhong texts and their dating, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, chapter three, pp. 131–84; for more on the Mawangdui manuscripts, see Robin D. S. Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-yang in Han China*, pp. 3–43; and on the Baoshan manuscripts, see Constance Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey*.

[2] Du Weiming (Wei-ming Tu), "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," pp. 4–5.

Readers should forgive the hyperbolic nature of such claims, which are otherwise warranted for a number of reasons.[3] First, given the prominence of Confucian works in the corpus, the Guodian texts serve to fill out much of the intellectual-historical picture for the doctrines of roughly three generations of Confucian disciples who fell between the times of Kong Zi 孔子 (Confucius, 551–479 BC) and Meng Zi 孟子 (Mencius, ca. 385–305 BC),[4] a period formerly to have been surmised only through textual materials of much more uncertain dating. Next, the discovery of three different texts that each parallel portions of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (a.k.a. *Laozi* 老子), along with a closely related cosmogonic work, promises to help us better understand the formation and early transmission of that philosophical classic and the nature of its relationship to early Confucian thought or perhaps even popular beliefs. The dating of the tomb, moreover, serves to dispel serious doubts about the early temporal provenance of the *Laozi* and also suggests a much earlier date for many of the texts in the received *Li ji* 禮記 (*Book of Ritual*) than has commonly been thought; the Guodian texts also give us a number of important clues to help reconstruct the history of the early Chinese canonical "classics" that are cited in some of the texts. Needless to say, the manuscripts provide a wealth of information for the study of early Chinese paleography and phonology, giving us tangible examples of "ancient script" graphs hitherto seen mainly in early character dictionaries and in excavated texts of a much less easily decipherable nature. The provenance of the find may also indirectly tell us much about Chu regional culture and its history alongside that of the central-plains states. Finally, the Guodian texts provide fuel for longstanding arguments over the nature of textual formation and transmission in early China—if not necessarily resolving such debates, at least serving to propel them forward long into the future.

One should not, we must hasten to add, expect that the Guodian manuscripts will completely overturn tradition or radically alter our most fundamental assumptions about early Chinese texts, and one must similarly take care not to exaggerate their importance vis-

[3] For some seminal essays that attempt to put the overall significance of the find into perspective, see Du Weiming, "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei"; Pang Pu, "Gumu xinzhi: mandu Guodian Chujian"; Li Xueqin, "Xian-Qin Rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian" and "Guodian Chujian yu Rujia jingji"; and Qiu Xigui, "Zhongguo gudianxue chongjian zhong yinggai zhuyi de wenti."

[4] Unless otherwise noted, all dates given for Warring States–period figures in this study are taken from Qian Mu, *Xian-Qin zhuzi xinian*. In the case of Meng Zi, the dates come from Qian's arguments in the main body of his text (pp. 187–88), which have him born sometime between 389–382 BC, rather than the back tables (p. 617), which list his approximate birth-year as 390 BC.

à-vis other texts of the same period that have come down to us via the received tradition.[5] What they represent is instead a dependable sample of Warring States textual and philosophical activity from the late fourth century BC that both supplies us with new content and information for the period and provides us with a reliable barometer against which more traditional sources and assumptions may be better evaluated and understood. Given, moreover, that we may likewise read and comprehend the full significance of the Guodian texts only with reference to those traditional sources and assumptions, we can do full justice to our inquiry only by treating these texts in conjunction with received texts that may be confidently dated to the period and reading both the excavated and received texts against one another.

With this in mind, the present study aims to facilitate the endeavor of unpacking the aforementioned implications by rendering the complex corpus of the Guodian manuscripts into a more easily manageable form, incorporating the past several years of scholarly activity on these texts and providing them with a comprehensive introduction along with a complete and well-annotated translation into English. While the study of the Guodian corpus is in many respects still in its early stages, much progress has already been made through the collective efforts of scholars worldwide, and my hope is that this study may serve to help consolidate those efforts, carry the research forward, and make its fruits available for the consumption of an even wider academic audience.

A. NATURE OF THE FIND AND DATING OF THE TOMB

Guodian Tomb #1

The texts in question, written in ink on some 731 bamboo strips of various dimensions, were archaeologically unearthed along with a number of other artifacts from Tomb #1 in the

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[5] As scholars have noted, the discovery in many ways in fact tends to reaffirm more traditional chronologies and portraits of the period and, as have other archaeological discoveries in the past, discredit many of the views put forth by the "Doubting-antiquity school" (*yigu pai* 疑古派) in the earlier part of the last century. See Du Weiming, "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 4; Guo Qiyong, "Guodian rujia jian de yiyi yu jiazhi," pp. 4–5; Liao Mingchun, "Lun liujing bingcheng de shidai jianji yigu shuo de fangfalun wenti"; and Qiu Xigui, "Zhongguo gudianxue chongjian zhong yinggai zhuyi de wenti," pp. 117–19. For an excellent account of the development of the "Doubting-antiquity school" and how views evolved and changed in the face of successive archaeological finds, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography on the *Laozi*," pp. 417–44.

village of Guodian, near the city of Jingmen 荆門, Hubei, in late October of 1993.[6] The texts were found well preserved and remarkably complete, especially given the fact that the tomb had already been twice victimized by grave robbers, apparently unable to gain access to the area of the coffin where the strips lay hidden.[7] The tomb from which they came was situated in the Jishan 紀山 burial complex, which served as a major burial ground for nobility from the state of Chu's 楚 Eastern Zhou–period capital of Ying 郢, about nine kilometers north of modern-day Jinan 紀南.[8] Chu was a major state that lay on the southern periphery of the central-plains states, which for their part constituted the cultural core of the early Chinese world; while Chu largely shared in that culture, it also had many conspicuously regional traits that set it apart, including a distinctive version of the Chinese script and particular types and assemblages of material artifacts found buried in its tombs.[9] The size and construction of

[6] This number includes a strip that was inadvertently left out of the initial publication, for which see Long Yongfang, "Hubei Jingmen faxian yimei yilou de 'Guodian Chujian'"; including a number of strips not bearing writing, the total number of strips amounted to 805. As with strips found in other tombs from this general area, they survived largely because of the relative wetness of the soil. For a preliminary report on the excavation, see Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu," pp. 35–48. More specifically, the Guodian cemetery is situated in the town of Sifang 四方 in the Shayang 沙洋 district of Jingmen. For an overview of the find in English, see the preliminary essays in *The Guodian* Laozi*: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, ed. Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams.

[7] Aside from the strips, a number of other manifestly valuable material artifacts remained as well. According to the excavation report, the robbers first dug a hole as far as the boards of the outer coffin in August of 1993, and dug it out again in October, this time cutting a 0.4 x 0.5–meter hole in the southeast corner of the head compartment of the outer coffin, and also prying open its side compartment; Peng Hao suggests that the water that had by then inundated the tomb would have made it difficult for the robbers to take any objects, such as the strips, not in the immediate vicinity of the hole. See Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu," p. 35; "An Account of the Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 117–18; and Liu Zuxin, "An Overview of Tomb Number One at Jingmen Guodian," p. 23. The excavation report (p. 46) also suggests that a portion of the strips had been robbed; whether this is actually the case, however, is uncertain, and even if it were true, the percentage would appear to have been very small, as we shall discuss below. On this point, see also Liu Zuxin and Long Yongfang, *Guodian Chujian zonglan*, p. 8.

[8] Chu had moved south to Ying from its earlier capital of Danyang 丹陽 at the beginning of the Chunqiu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn) period (770–476 BC) and remained there, save for a brief move to Ruo 鄀 at the end of that period, until forced to move northeastward in 278 BC to Chen 陳 and, eventually, other locations; it was finally destroyed by the state of Qin 秦 in 223 BC. For details on these locations, see Li Boqian, "A Brief Account of the Origins and Development of Chu Culture," p. 10. Cui Renyi notes how tombs such as those of neighboring Baoshan and Guojiagang 郭家崗 serve to demonstrate how the area served as a burial ground for the Chu nobility; see his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 11.

[9] For a succinct summary in English of these material features and their temporal evolution, along with figures depicting the various regional vessel types, see Li Boqian, "Brief Account." The origins of the Chu state are uncertain; Li suggests that the Chu most likely arose from the region near the present day confluence of Shaanxi, Henan, and Hubei provinces, before moving southward to Ying and gradually developing into a powerful state

the Guodian tomb and the shape and decor of its various bronze, jade, and lacquer vessels all bear obvious characteristics of belonging to a member of the mid-to-lower nobility of the Chu kingdom during the Warring States, and a preliminary in-depth study of their features yielded the conclusion that the tomb dated from the later part of the mid–Warring States, or to roughly sometime between the middle of the fourth century BC to 278 BC, the year in which the Qin 秦 sacked the Chu capital of Ying and effectively transformed the region's culture.[10] Subsequent studies of the archaeological evidence have tended to confirm this initial finding, most placing a rough date for the interment of the tomb to around 300 BC.[11]

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with a more distinct regional culture. For more in-depth studies of Chu and its culture in English, see the essays in Constance Cook and John Major, eds., *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*; and in Thomas Lawton, ed., *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period*.

[10] See Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu," pp. 46–47; *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 1.

[11] See, for example Peng Hao, "Guodian yihao mu de niandai ji xiangguan de wenti"; Liu Zuxin, "An Overview of Tomb Number One at Jingmen Guodian"; and Xu Shaohua, "Guodian yihao Chumu niandai xilun." An exception to this tendency is Wang Baoxuan, who calls the basic premise of any thorough cultural change in the region after 278 into question. On the basis of the "Document of Teng, Governor of the Southern Commandery" 南郡守騰文書 of 227 BC, the "Annals" 編年記, and the "Comparative table of Qin and Chu month names" 秦楚月名對照表 of the Qin bamboo strips of Yunmeng 雲夢秦簡, in conjunction with historical accounts in the *Shi ji* 史記 and other received texts, along with other evidence, Wang notes how both the common people and functionaries (most likely native Chu residents) of the Jiangling 江陵 region are portrayed as disregarding Qin laws due to the habits of regional practices; how the region was not fully stabilized and there appear to have been major uprisings as late as 226 BC; how the Chu calendar and, presumably, the Chu script remained in common use up until the time of unification; and how the vast majority of post-278 tombs in the greater-Chu region continued to display local characteristics. Yet while most of this may be true, Wang does not appear to take questions of status into account; given that the Guodian tomb occupant was likely a member of the landed nobility, the salient question is whether Chu tombs of that status remained in the region. Wang's conclusions also gave him the leeway to date the Baoshan tomb #2 to 284 BC—as much as thirty to forty years later than dates given by previous studies—by equating the year of its interment with the year in which the Chu general Nao Gu 淖滑 "rescued" Ju 莒 (or perhaps Bo 亳) during the five-state sacking of Qi 齊 (for a more customary interpretation of this Chu dating formula and rationale for dating the Baoshan tomb itself to 316 BC, see Peng Hao, "Guodian yihao mu de niandai ji xiangguan wenti," pp. 358–61). Wang concludes that while the Guodian interment should only have been a few years later than that of Baoshan, it likely came sometime after 278 BC, on the basis of his separate conclusion that the "Liu de" text must have postdated that time—this on the rather dubious grounds of its supposed valuation of the *Yi jing* and a particular mapping of the "six virtues" to the "six positions" in a manner he supposes could only be post–Xun Zi (or even influenced directly by Qin-state policies), whereas the other texts all display presumedly "older" valuations wherein ritual and music, along with the virtues of humanity and trust, are given greater weight; he also states that theories of the ascendancy of the virtue of water, associated with the number six, were likely in play, and that the author of this text, given its likely close temporal proximity to the tomb's interment, must have been from the region. For full details, see Wang's "Shilun Guodian Chujian gepian de zhuanzuo shidai ji qi beijing."

More specifically, evidence for these conclusions includes the following. First, the rectangular, earth-built, vertical-shaft construction of the tomb with a sloped rectangular ramp to the east; the placement of the coffins, inner and outer, in the center of the tomb and the division of the outer coffin into three sections; construction techniques used in joining the wood together; and the orientation of the tomb occupant in a reclined stance with his head toward the east are all characteristics that serve to identify the tomb as a Chu tomb of the mid-to-late Warring States, with its traits distinct from those in both Qin and the Central Plains.[12] Second, though many of the vessels had been looted prior to excavation, the layout, style, decor, and degree of refinement of those that remained, including ornate lacquerware and bronze mirrors with gold and silver inlay, suggest that they had been the possessions of a member of the lower-middle Chu nobility. Moreover, studies of the massive Jiudian 九店 gravesite of Jiangling 江陵, also near the city of Jinan, show conclusively that tombs with Chu characteristics displaying a similar or greater degree of wealth and status all but disappeared from the region after the 278 occupation, as members of the mid-to-upper Chu nobility either fled the area or suffered a loss of position under their conquerors.[13] According to Xu Shaohua, detailed analysis of the form, construction, design, and complexity of each of the various bronze, pottery, and lacquer vessels that remain, and comparison with similar vessels in the more solidly datable tombs of Baoshan in Jingmen, Jiudian in Jiangling, and others, show that they all possess characteristics of no later than the early years of the late Warring States, and on the basis of all this evidence would date the tomb to around 300 BC or slightly thereafter.[14]

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[12] Xu Shaohua, "Guodian yihao Chumu niandai xilun," p. 69.

[13] Xu Shaohua, "Guodian yihao Chumu niandai xilun," pp. 69–70. As Xu points out, moreover, the Guodian tomb did not contain any of the typical vessel groupings or vessels with Qin traits usually found in post-278 tombs from that region. Other sites of comparison include Yutaishan 雨台山 in Jiangling and Zhaojiahu 趙家湖 of Dangyang 當陽.

[14] Ibid., pp. 70–71. Liu Zuxin notes that the square lacquered bronze mirror from the Guodian tomb "is so similar in design, casting, and decoration" to a Baoshan counterpart "that it looks like it came from the same mold"; see Liu Zuxin, "Overview," p. 31. Others have further stated that as Baoshan tombs #4 and #5 correspond to a later typological set that still dates prior to the Qin invasion, the date of the Guodian tomb should be dated no later than 300 BC (slightly at odds with Xu's later conclusions); see Cai Min, "Zhanguo dianji de zhongda faxian," p. 8. Liu (pp. 26–30) counts a total of fifty-eight individual objects from the Guodian tomb, including also objects made of bamboo, iron, jade, and bone, though the excavation report itself mentions some 290 (Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu," p. 46). A seven-string *qin* 琴-zither, rarely seen in tombs of this provenance, was also among the objects, along with a somewhat more common *se* 瑟-zither; on this and for a detailed description of some of the tomb's other contents, see also Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 14–16. Cui (pp. 11–12) cites graphic evidence as a further consideration, looking at the evolution of the character *an* 安 in particular and concluding that the

Dating the tomb does not necessarily solve our problem of dating the texts, which, needless to say, may well have been copied years earlier and perhaps originated long before that. Thus, to a certain extent, we must rely on an analysis of the texts themselves and the issues addressed within them to come up with a conjecture as to just where they fit into the chronological picture of Warring States intellectual history, to the extent that this remains consistent with the archaeological evidence.[15] At the outset, however, it seems reasonable to tentatively speak of them as products of the fourth century BC—though precisely where within that century we locate them is by no means an inconsequential matter, as we shall discuss in due course.

Tomb Occupant

Just who was the tomb occupant? Given the various weapons and remnant bronze handles of a pair of staffs found in the tomb, he appears to have been an adult male, perhaps an elderly man.[16] In terms of status, the initial excavation report suggested on the basis of tomb construction, the types and quantity of ritual vessels found in the tomb, and sumptuary regulations regarding these factors as seen in such texts as the *Zhou Li* 周禮 and *Li ji*,[17] that

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Guodian script suggests a somewhat later date than that of Baoshan tomb #2, which he dates to 316 BC; such graphic evidence, however, is too limited to be convincing.

[15] Ikeda Tomohisa, for instance, while initially accepting the 278 BC *terminus ante quem*, argues for a dating as close to that date as possible, almost exclusively on his assumption that the "Qiongda yi shi" text represents a later development from Xun Zi's "Tian lun" 天論, the focus shifting from "man" to "Heaven." See his "Shang chu xingcheng jieduan de *Laozi* zuigu wenben," pp. 169–71. Even if a relatively late dating for that particular text were somehow to prove valid, however, the composition of other texts in the tomb could always have taken place earlier. See also the discussion in the introduction to "Qiongda yi shi" below, where we shall see that Ikeda elsewhere attempts to push the dating of the text up to as far as 260 BC or so.

[16] For more on the potential significance of the staffs, which were initially assumed to have been walking staffs, see Liu Zonghan, "Youguan Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu de liangge wenti: muzhuren de shenfen yu ru-dao jianxi," p. 391. See also, however, the comments of Zhou Jianzhong, who, in "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu kaolun: jianlun Qu Yuan shengping yanjiu," pp. 17–19, argues that such conclusions as Liu's are anachronistically drawn from Han sources. More significantly, Zhou further argues (pp. 19–21)—based on such factors as the weight of their bronze handles, their probable lengths, and their being found in conjunction with a number of weapons—that the staffs were not walking staffs at all, but rather ritualized weapons, indicative of the tomb occupant's status and occupation, but not of his age.

[17] For translations of the relevant passages, see Paulos Huang, "The Guodian Bamboo Slip Texts and the *Laozi*," pp. 5–6; much of Huang's article appears to constitute a close paraphrase in English of the excavation report.

the tomb occupant was likely a member of the "upper *shi*" (*shang shi* 上士) class, or those among the lower stratum of nobility who had been granted land and salary.[18] Given, however, the probability of anachronisms in these texts, usurpations of privilege, and local variations in practice, others have called the validity of using such textual evidence into question and attempted to examine the tomb more solely in conjunction with Chu burial practices as seen in the archaeological record. This method has proven inconclusive and in any event not greatly at odds with the initial report: while the absence of steps in the tomb's entry corridor might suggest lower rank, the remnants of an original mound and, especially, the great variety of bronze and other ritual vessels found in the tomb suggest a somewhat higher status for its occupant.[19] In lieu of more compelling evidence, we might best describe the occupant in general terms as a member of the "mid-to-lower" nobility of the state of Chu.

As to his occupation, some have suggested that he may have been tutor to the crown prince, but evidence for this conjecture rests primarily on the disputed reading of an inscription on the underside of a lacquer eared-cup recovered from the tomb: either "東宮之不(杯)" ("cup of the eastern chamber") or, as Li Xueqin and others read it, "東宮之帀(師)" ("tutor of the eastern chamber"), the "eastern chamber" ostensibly referring to the residence of the crown prince.[20] Intriguing as it is, this singular piece of evidence is obviously far from

[18] Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu," p. 47.

[19] See Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 14–15; Fang Xudong, "Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu shenfen kaoyi," pp. 148–50; and Zhou Jianzhong, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu kaolun," pp. 13–15. Cui goes so far as to reconstruct probable original assemblages based on vessels that remained after the looting, and concludes that these, in contrast to the tomb and coffin constructions, suggest a slightly higher status for the occupant, but he still agrees with the initial conclusion that the occupant was likely an "upper *shi*." Zhou, partly on the basis of Guo Dewei's 郭德維 prior research on Chu tombs, concludes that the Guodian tomb is generally closer in the type and number of its remaining vessels to that of the slightly higher-ranking "lower *dafu*" (*xia dafu* 下大夫) class, given especially its having such items as the *ding* 鼎 tripod and the dragon-head jade belt-hook, not to mention its preponderance of weapons and horse-carriage instruments.

[20] Cui Renyi was possibly the first to suggest on the basis of the inscription that the tomb occupant bore a close relationship to the crown prince (the cup perhaps a gift from him), and that the unusual presence of a large variety of scholarly texts in his tomb implied the occupation of tutor to the crown prince; see his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 16. Li Xueqin went a step further by reading the final graph of the inscription itself as *shi* "帀(師)" rather than *bei* 不(杯)—though this interpretation has since been disputed by Li Ling and others—and identifying this tutor's likely student as Crown Prince Heng 橫 (later King Qingxiang 頃襄; r. 298–263 BC), son of King Huai 懷王 (r. 328–299 BC); see his "Xian-Qin Rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian." Luo Yunhuan, independently from Li, drew the same conclusions (noting also that Heng did not return to Chu from Qin, where he was a human pawn, until 302 BC), though it is Li who is generally given credit for this theory; see Luo Yunhuan, "Guodian Chujian de niandai, yongyi ji yiyi" and "Lun Guodian yihao Chumu suo chu qi'erbei wen ji muzhu he zhujian de niandai." Pang Pu also early on makes brief mention of the inscription and the idea that the tomb occupant may have been tutor to the crown prince in "Gumu xinzhi," p. 7. In any event, this rendering and interpretation of the inscription proved influential and quickly came to be cited

conclusive, and serious questions have been raised not only about the reading of the inscription and its final graph, but also about such issues as whether the construction of the tomb would be commensurate with the status of a royal tutor.[21] The question of whether the occupant was indeed an instructor certainly has great bearing on how the texts were used and transmitted and just who their intended audience was,[22] but at this point the answer to it can only be a matter of speculation. At the very least, he appears to have been someone for whom intellectual works were important, and it is more than likely that such texts had something to

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by some scholars as established fact: Jiang Guanghui even goes so far as to wildly speculate that this tutor to the prince was none other than the historical figure of Chen Liang 陳良, a noted Ruist scholar from Chu; see his "Guodian yihao mu muzhu shi shei?" pp. 397–98. Others even drop the name of the famous Chu poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (body recovered for burial and shipped back home after drowning), a reckless leap of faith that has been deservedly—and perhaps even needlessly—rebuked by Zhou Jianzhong, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu kaolun," pp. 17–18 and 21–23.

[21] Peng Hao, for one, notes that tutor to the crown prince should have had a much higher status than the tomb construction suggests. Li Xueqin, however, would later express doubts about both the high status of royal tutors and the lowness of the tomb occupant's rank; see also Luo Yunhuan's explanation that this tutor had long since been demoted due to conflicts that the crown prince had caused with the state of Qin. Peng further argues that the inscription may instead have been an insignia of the manufacturer (a suggestion previously made also by Qiu Xigui), with the cup perhaps simply a gift to the occupant, or else the occupant may have even been a member of the military (師). Fang Xudong reiterates similar objections, and notes that even if we accept Li Xueqin's transcription, "Donggong zhi shi" is not an attested title. Li Ling disputes the rendering of the graph as 币(師) in the first place, citing graphic forms for both 不 and 币 and a convincing variety of other evidence to show that "東宮之杯" would make for a much more conventional type of inscription (contrast this with Luo Yunhuan's analysis of many of the same forms in pp. 69–70 of his second article; Luo also makes the point that no other Warring States instances of the graph 杯 are to be found without the 木 radical). Zhou Jianzhong also calls Li Xueqin's reading into question on largely identical lines, averring also that evidence shows that Chu royal tutors were consistently referred to as *fu* 傅, not *shi*. Li Xueqin, in a follow-up article, argues more extensively for his interpretation of the graph as 币(師) rather than 不(杯) and otherwise attempts to counter Zhou's objections. See Peng Hao, "Guodian yihao mu de niandai ji xiangguan wenti," p. 361 n. 62, and "Guodian yihao mu de niandai ji Guodian 'Laozi' de jiegou," p. 16; Luo Yunhuan, "Guodian Chujian de niandai, yongyi ji yiyi" and "Lun Guodian yihao Chumu suo chu qi'erbei wen"; Fang Xudong, "Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu shenfen kaoyi," pp. 150–51; Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti," pp. 47–49; Zhou Jianzhong, "Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu muzhu kaolun: jianlun Qu Yuan shengping yanjiu," pp. 15–17; Li Xueqin, "Guanyu 'Donggong zhi shi' de taolun"; and also "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 123–26. Most scholars at least agree on the point that the writings found in the tomb likely reflected the uniquely academic concerns of its occupant.

[22] Du Weiming, for instance, suggests that the texts may represent a "selective library" of an early elite Confucian educator; see his "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 2. Liu Zonghan stresses how such an ostensible tutor to the crown prince would use Confucian texts for his moral education and "Daoist" texts for education in the practicalities of rulership; see his "Youguan Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu de liangge wenti," pp. 391–95.

do with his occupation in life, whether that be tutor, political advisor, or some other such capacity. Let us now turn to those texts that were seen fit to accompany him into the afterlife.

B. RECOVERY OF THE STRIPS AND THEIR TEXTUAL CONTENTS

Sorting and Arranging

The bamboo strips were found among the objects in the head compartment of the outer coffin.[23] In all, over 800 strips of various dimensions were discovered, some 731 of these inscribed with graphs written by brush in black ink.[24] Most of the strips were physically intact and well preserved, and all but a few fragments from those that were broken could be reconstructed; as we shall see below, moreover, it appears that the vast majority of strips remain to us despite the looting of other goods. An examination of their contents quickly proved them to be a remarkable find: unique among pre-imperial excavated texts, they are entirely academic or intellectual in nature—there are no legal documents or court records, calendrical or divinatory texts, medical or military treatises, annals, inventories, or the like, but only works of philosophical import pertaining to matters of statecraft. Aside from the "Ziyi" and "Laozi" texts, which have received parallels, and "Wu xing," with a version previously found at Mawangdui, most of these are texts that were hitherto lost to us, having not survived the long process of transmission to the present.

Sorting these texts out, however, was no easy matter. The tying strings that had once bound them together had long since disintegrated, and at excavation the strips were found all jumbled together, immersed in water and encased in mud; a quick glance at the excavation numbers assigned to each strip as recovered, as compared with their textual positions as eventually determined, shows them to have been completely out of order, with only a few small blocks of the original order still clinging together here or there. Thus, after

[23] The placement of the strips is surely not insignificant. On the fact that writings found in tombs "often receive special treatment" or "are put in a special location that marks them as ritual items," see Michael Nylan, "Toward an Archaeology of Writing: Text, Ritual, and the Culture of Public Display in the Classical Period (475 BCE–220 CE)," p. 8.

[24] For a succinct overview of the tools and processes used in the preparation of bamboo strips for writing in the Warring States period, including those involving cutting, drying, scraping, carving of tying notches, etc., see Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 42–50.

painstakingly separating, cleaning, photographing, and treating the strips,[25] the first step in the process of textual recovery was to sort them into individual texts. Fortunately, distinctive physical features of the strips themselves aided greatly in this process, including strip length, strip-end shape, number of and distance between tying notches, and the structural and calligraphic features of the graphs themselves.[26] According to the editors' preface to *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡—the volume in which photographs of the strips, along with transcriptions and brief textual notes, were first published[27]—the lengths of the strips fall into three categories: those of around 32.5 cm, those of 26.5–30.6 cm, and those of 15–17.5 cm;[28] these groupings are overly general, but the editors later refine the categories when making distinctions between specific individual texts. The shapes of strip-ends fall into two types: those that are flat on both ends and those that are trimmed into beveled ends.[29] Each of the strips has tiny notches into which binding strings (usually silk) once fitted; all of the longer strips (categories one and two) have two such notches toward each end, whereas the shortest strips (category three) actually have an additional third notch in the middle.[30] On the

[25] For more details on this process, see Peng Hao, "Post-Excavation Work on the Guodian Bamboo-Slip *Laozi*: A Few Points of Explanation," p. 32; and Liu Zuxin, "Zaixian Guodian Chujian," pp. 58–61. According to Liu, the strips were covered with a greenish slime and exposed to contaminants from the robbery, necessitating their immediate treatment; it was only after a number of trials on other bamboo objects from the tomb that a successful chemical process was finally discovered and applied to the strips.

[26] All these differences appear to suggest, moreover, that the texts were not copied together specifically for the purpose of burial, as Sarah Allan notes; see her "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 240.

[27] The Jingmen City Museum took responsibility for the recovery and organization of the texts, which it completed within a pressing time period of only three years. Peng Hao and Liu Zuxin were responsible for piecing together, transcribing, and annotating the strips, with Wang Chuanfu 王傳富 assisting with the transcriptions, and Peng Hao responsible for the editing of the published volume. I will hereafter refer to these scholars collectively as "the editors." Qiu Xigui was invited to examine the draft of the volume and offer various opinions concerning the dividing, piecing together, and ordering of the strips, as well as the transcription, reading, and interpretation of graphs, etc. Many of his suggestions were directly incorporated into a revision of the volume prior to its publication; numerous others became additions to the endnotes in the form of "Qiu an" 裘按 citations. See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 2.

[28] Note that all the strips range from about 0.5–0.65 cm in width, and have a thickness of only about 0.1 cm. The number of graphs on each strip ranges from 8 graphs on some of the shortest strips ("Yucong" 1-3) to around 28-32 graphs on the longest.

[29] Some of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, such as "Kong Zi Shi lun" 孔子詩論, have a third type: rounded ends." For more on these various strip endings, see Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 49–50.

[30] In addition to the notches—which served the function of keeping the silk string that tied the strips together in place—residual marks from the binding strings are clearly visible. Note that given how many of the characters around the binding points are separated by more space than that found between other characters, many scholars

demonstrable assumption that all the strips of any individual text would share the same physical shape and dimensions, the strips could immediately be divided into twelve different groups on the basis of commonality between these three features of length, end-shape, and binding placement.[31]

This, however, is not quite the end of the story. For one, among the 32.5 cm texts, no less than 195 strips also share a common beveled end-shape and have the same length of 17.5 cm between tying notches. The editors' initial impulse was to treat them all as a single text, but on the basis of content and, importantly, graphic features (a point to which I shall return below), were later convinced to separate them into four distinct texts: "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," and "Liu de."[32] The discovery of another version of "Xing zi ming chu" among the Shanghai Museum texts (there given the title of "Xingqing lun" 性情論) served to demonstrate the correctness of this decision. Similarly, a number of strips dealing mainly with cosmogonic matters are identical in all their features to some of the strips that parallel portions of the *Laozi*; on the basis of the pedigree of the latter and

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surmise that the strips were first bound before being written upon. But there are also a number of strips in which graphs are written right over the binding points, suggesting that the binding must have come after the writing. Given this combination of situations, Li Tianhong concludes that the texts were written with the binding points clearly in mind, likely using pre-carved notches as a guide, and then bound afterward, which would account for the occasional lapses in placement over the binding points; Li also notes that a similar situation pertains to the Baoshan strips. As Li further notes, nearly all of the notches appear on the right side of the strips, but occasionally occur on the left of certain strips, a phenomenon perhaps also due to scribal error. See Li Tianhong, *Guodian zhujian "Xing zi ming chu" yanjiu*, pp. 6–8; cf. Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 46–49 and 58–59.

[31] See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 1. For a listing of the twelve groupings based on physical features alone, see Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 249–50. It should be noted that the distinctions between some of these groups are slight. The "Laozi A" text strips are only 0.2 cm shorter than those of "Ziyi" and "Wu xing," with roughly identical distances between the tying notches (though, of course, easily separated by content); "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhong xin zhi dao" are identical in length (not to mention close calligraphically), but with the distances between tying notches separated by less than a centimeter; a similar situation holds for "Yucong" 1 and 3. As *Guodian Chumu zhujian* notes, the strips in general are much shorter than those of the neighboring Baoshan Tomb #2, which consist of official documents, divinatory records, and the like; the editors suggest that this may be a reflection of Chu scribal customs or regulations (note, however, that many of the Shanghai Museum strips tend to be longer).

[32] Qiu Xigui (personal communication); Qiu also confirmed for me my sense that of the four, the graphic form and style of "Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de" were most similar, in contrast to the other two. Wang Bo adds the additional consideration that these strips also contain several text-end markers, each apparently indicating the end of a distinct text (save for the two ending separate sections of "Xing zi ming chu"); see Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 257–58. For more on these text-end markers—with perhaps actually three occurring in "Xing zi ming chu"—see the "Textual Notes" to the individual introductions to "Zun deyi" and "Xing zi ming chu" in Part Two of this study.

differences in form and content, the editors eventually chose to arrange the former into a separate text, the "Taiyi sheng shui," while, conversely, treating the three physically distinct "Laozi" texts, conceptually at least, as three "groupings" of a single text, as the names "Laozi" *jia*, *yi*, and *bing* imply. These last moves—especially the former—have proven to be somewhat more controversial.[33] "Ziyi" and "Wuxing" also share exactly the same dimensions, but were easily separated from each other on the basis of their counterparts elsewhere; "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" and "Qiongda yi shi" are likewise physically identical, but were easily distinguished by their separate narrative contents, each ending with its own text-end marker. As these last examples thus demonstrate, form and content are also factors in the separation of texts, and it is certainly possible that texts that were conceived as distinct could still be bound together on the same scroll of bamboo strips.

After all this sorting, there still remained the enormously complex tasks of ordering the strips within each text, piecing broken strips back together, and transcribing and reading the graphs—issues we will return to in the next section. At the end of this lengthy process, we are left with some eighteen distinct texts (counting the "Laozi" texts individually); as none of the manuscripts bore titles,[34] the editors added a title to each, usually on the basis of the first line of text in their arrangement, but in some cases on the basis of form or content. While many scholars have since proposed alternate titles, I retain the editors' original titles throughout this work (save for the abridgment of "Cheng zhi"; see below), so as to avoid adding further confusion to an already complex situation.

Contents of the Texts and the Issue of Completeness

We will discuss each individual text at greater length in the separate introductions to the translations. For now, brief descriptions of the texts may be given as follows, after the

[33] According to Wang Bo, the controversy over "Taiyi sheng shui" began among the editors themselves. Wang Bo himself approves of the separation of "Taiyi sheng shui," but suggests that the editors violated their own principles by grouping the three "Laozi" texts together, giving the readers the impression that they were meant to form a coherent whole, when in fact they may each be centered on a distinct theme. See his "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 248–51. These issues will be discussed more fully in my introduction to the translation of the "Laozi" texts below. Qiu Xigui notes that his and the editors' working principle was "to split the material into smaller units, rather than lump potentially independent units together"; see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 122.

[34] Note that some would count the initial two graphs of the first strip of "Wu xing" as its title, even though the more customary practice was to write titles, when present, on the back of one of the strips so that it would be visible when the scroll was rolled up or, occasionally, on a separate strip altogether.

editors' original grouping and ordering. Of these, the editors describe the first two (1a-c and 2) as "Daoist works" and the rest as "Confucian writings." While this may serve as an expedient point of departure, it does not tell the whole story, and we will return to the issue of categorization in a later section.

1a-c. "Laozi" *jia*, *yi*, *bing* 〈老子〉甲、乙、丙　"Laozi" A, B, and C

These are in fact three separate texts written on scrolls of different strip dimensions, yet they are loosely grouped together under the title of "Laozi" because all of their content (excluding the "Taiyi sheng shui" materials) corresponds to passages found in the received *Laozi*, or *Daode jing* 道德經. These passages—of which only one overlaps between the three texts—are found in sequences that are much different from that of the received work; added together, they constitute about 40 percent of the latter's content (or 31 full or partial versions of its 81 passages), and there are a number of both minor and significant variations within each passage. The relationship of these texts to the received *Daode jing* is still an open question: whether they constitute selections from a larger text—an early version of the *Daode jing*—already in existence, or themselves represent primary materials from which such a text would eventually take shape, is an issue that cannot fully be answered with the evidence at hand. As with the received work, the passages of these texts center on such themes as "acting to no purpose" (*wuwei* 無爲), "knowing what is sufficient" (*zhi zu* 知足), and the political benefits such attitudes have for both social harmony and longevity in rulership.

2. "Taiyi sheng shui" 太一生水　"The Great Unity Gives Birth to Water"

This text likely formed part of the same scroll as "Laozi C" and should perhaps be considered as belonging to the same text. It seems to naturally divide into two sections, which some would even view as independent. The first of these delineates a unique cosmogony in which "Taiyi" gives birth to water and, through a process of reciprocal generation, to Heaven, Earth, and other dualistic forces, eventually culminating in the cycle of the four seasons—the earliest such cosmogony known to us.

3. "Ziyi" 緇衣　"Black Robes"

This demonstrably Confucian text is roughly equivalent to the *Li ji* chapter that goes by this title, save for two "absent" passages, certain internal variations within and between passages, and, most significantly, a thoroughly different sequence of the passages. The text extols the powers of charismatic suasion as a model of governance largely opposed to

coercive measures and calls for caution in words and faithful correspondence to them in actions. Its passages take the form of quotations from the "Master" (Confucius), the Odes (*Shi* 詩), and the Documents (*Shu* 書), usually with brief commentary following the first of these. The main value of the Guodian "Ziyi"—which also finds a counterpart in the Shanghai Museum manuscripts—may lie in what it has to tell us about the process of textual transmission in the Warring States.

4. "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" 魯穆公問子思 "Lord Mu of Lu Asked Zisi"

Previously lost to us, this brief text takes the form of a pair of dialogues discussing Zisi's notion that a "loyal minister" is one who "consistently mentions his ruler's flaws." It is striking for its frank tone and the light it might shed on ruler-minister relations of the time.

5. "Qiongda yi shi" 窮達以時 "Poverty or Success Is a Matter of Timing"

Of the same dimensions and possibly part of the same scroll as the previous text, this text discusses the role that fate plays in the recognition of worthy ministers. Much of it overlaps with text found elsewhere in the *Xunzi* 荀子, *Han Shi wai zhuan* 韓詩外傳, and *Shuoyuan* 說苑, but it otherwise also promises to yield new information on the role of fate in early Confucian thought.

6. "Wu xing" 五行 "The Five Conducts"

Of the same physical dimensions as "Ziyi," this text is also related to it by possible historical associations both may have with the ostensible Si-Meng 思孟 tradition of Confucian thought (on which we will have more to say in a later section). It is essentially the same text as the "Wu xing" found previously at Mawangdui, except without the lengthy commentary attached to the latter, and with a couple of variations in the order of passages and certain textual variations within them. It centers on the themes of internally derived conducts and of achieving a balanced harmony among sometimes-conflicting virtues, at times using quotations from the Odes to authoritatively enliven its philosophical import.

7. "Tang Yu zhi dao" 唐虞之道 "The Way of Tang and Yu"

Previously lost to us, this text extols the "Way of abdication" against the practice of hereditary transmission of rulership, situating this Way in the historical examples of the legendary sage-kings Yao 堯 and Shun 舜. While it emphasizes certain virtues commonly associated with the Confucian tradition, its approbation of abdication is very much at odds with the position taken by the *Mengzi* 孟子, among other works. The text may well reflect

discourse associated with the tangible historical event of the abdication of Kuai, King of Yan 燕王噲.

8. "Zhongxin zhi dao" 忠信之道 "The Way of Loyalty and Trustworthiness"

Of roughly the same dimensions as the previous text, this one, too, was formerly lost to us. It extols the virtues of loyalty and trustworthiness as the "substance of humanity and propriety" and gives them a cosmological basis as the characteristics of Heaven and Earth. The text may be considered reflective of changing notions of loyalty in Warring States society.

9. "Cheng zhi" 成之 "Bringing Things to Completion"

This and the next three texts are all written on strips of the same dimensions and may have even formed part of the same scroll (though this is unlikely); although their calligraphic forms are to some degree similar, variations among them serve to help distinguish them into four distinct texts (more on this to follow). All four were previously lost to us. This first text was originally given the title "Cheng zhi wen zhi" 成之聞之, but as this was based on a misconstrued strip order, I here abbreviate to "Cheng zhi." The text stresses the Confucian themes of self-cultivation and its outward political manifestations, with an emphasis on such notions as "persistence," "urgency," and "completion." It also quotes liberally from chapters of the *Shang shu* 尙書 and may shed new light on questions surrounding the transmission of that work.

10. "Zun deyi" 尊德義 "Honoring Virtue and Propriety"

This text is replete with passages of rhymed (or nearly rhymed) prose and appears thematically related to both "Cheng zhi" and "Ziyi," sharing a similar emphasis on ruling the people through the "human way" (*ren dao* 人道; *min dao* 民道), of suasion through charismatic influence, here particularly as manifested through ritual and music. The three texts even share specific phraseology, showing a close relationship among them that is perhaps reflective of origins in a common lineage tradition.

11. "Xing zi ming chu" 性自命出 "Human Nature Comes via Mandate"

Another version of this lengthy text has since been discovered as part of the Shanghai Museum strips; the two versions are largely the same, save for possibly different placements of a particular section and a few more minor variations in wording and order. The text, which divides into either two or three large sections, is noteworthy especially for its delineation of the relationship between Heaven, human nature, human affections, and the Way and its ritual

and other "classical" manifestations, which both grow out of humanity and serve as the norms to properly guide it. The text bears a particularly intriguing relationship with the "Zhong yong" 中庸 chapter of the *Li ji*, and is rife with implications for better understanding the development of human-nature discourse from the time of Confucius to that of Meng Zi. Among other things, it also contains some interesting passages on the role of music.

12. "Liu de" 六德　"The Six Virtues"

This otherwise unknown text appears to have been written by the same hand as the previous text, but is nonetheless distinct from it. It divides into two sections, the first of which discusses the association among the "six positions" of human relationships, the "six duties" they are to uphold, and the "six virtues" that ideally characterize the performance of those duties. The text is especially valuable for providing the earliest known complete listing of the "six classics" (*liu jing* 六經) together, and for expressing a division between "internal" and "external" virtues that elucidates an intriguing new dimension of the dilemma of "state" versus "family" loyalties in early Confucian discourse.

13. "Yucong, yi" 語叢一　"Thicket of Sayings 1"

The "Yucong" texts, previously unknown to us, are all distinguished by their aphoristic nature and the fact that they are written on the shortest strips of the entire corpus. The first three of these four texts deal with largely Confucian themes that appear to reflect in a number of parts specific ideas addressed in some of the other texts in the corpus; these three also share in common certain calligraphic features and a highly regular spacing of graphs, as well as having each saying or aphorism self-contained on a single, small group of strips. "Yucong 1" broaches such diverse themes as Heaven's relation to mankind and the myriad things; the relationships between humanity, propriety and the other virtues; acting to no purpose; and the roles of the "six arts."

14. "Yucong, er" 語叢二　"Thicket of Sayings 2"

This set of aphorisms appears to bear a close relationship with "Xing zi ming chu," delineating in detail the generative processes by which human affections and desires arise out of different aspects of human nature, as well as offering a number of other more "general" truths.

15. "Yucong, san" 語叢三　"Thicket of Sayings 3"

In addition to containing some passages also found in the *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects of Confucius*), this set of aphorisms addresses such themes as friendship and filial piety and

provides a series of definitions for various virtues and explanations of different ritual behaviors. It also contains a section wherein the strips are uniquely divided into two separate "columns," a feature hitherto unseen among bamboo-strip manuscripts. More than any other, this text appears not to have survived wholly intact.

16. "Yucong, si" 語叢四 "Thicket of Sayings 4"

While given the same name as the previous three texts, this collection of sayings appears to be of a much different sort. In contrast to those three, its separate maxims are written contiguously on the strips without breaks, and its content is not readily classifiable as Confucian or, for that matter, that of any other single tradition. Dealing with everything from the art of persuasion, the promotion of wise counsel, and the need for caution in speech, to ironic laments of the abuse of power and privilege, the text appears to be a compendium of wisdom or handbook of words by which to live. Most notably, this text is unique among the corpus in being rhymed throughout.

The dimensions of each manuscript text, along with a grouping of its calligraphy by a modified version of Li Ling's types (see "Calligraphic divisions" in the next section), are as follows in Table 1.[35]

[35] Note that "F" refers to "flat" ends, "B" to "beveled" ends; "notch distance(s)" refer to the distance(s) of one notch to the next on each strip. All the dimensions given here are according to *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, save for the pairs of notch distances for "Yucong" 1-3, which are not given in that work; these instead come from Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu* pp. 2–14, who provides his own measurements for all the texts on the basis of the photographs given in the former work. Calligraphic type is based on my own sub-groupings of Li Ling's major divisions, for which see below. I move "Ziyi" here to after "Qiongda yi shi" to highlight its dimensional equivalence with "Wu xing."

Table 1: Manuscript Specifications

#	Title	Strip Length (cm)	Number of Notches	Notch Distance(s) (cm)	End Shape	Calligraphic Type
1a	老子甲	32.3	2	13	B	I
1b	老子乙	30.6	2	13	F	I
1c	老子丙	26.5	2	10.8	F	I
2	太一生水	26.5	2	10.8	F	I
4	魯穆公問子思	26.4	2	9.6	B	I
5	窮達以時	26.4	2	9.4-9.6	B	I
3	緇衣	32.5	2	12.8-13	B	II
6	五行	32.5	2	12.9-13	B	II
7	唐虞之道	28.1-28.3	2	14.3	F	IIIa
8	忠信之道	28.2-28.3	2	13.5	F	IIIb
9	成之	32.5	2	17.5	B	IVa
10	尊德義	32.5	2	17.5	B	IVb
11	性自命出	32.5	2	17.5	B	IVc
12	六德	32.5	2	17.5	B	IVc
13	語叢一	17.2-17.4	3	7 , 7	F	Va
14	語叢二	15.1-15.2	3	7 , 7	F	Va
15	語叢三	17.6-17.7	3	8 , 8	F	Vb
16	語叢四	15.1	2	6-6.1	F	I

We have already alluded to the question of whether or not all of the strips have survived the lootings intact, and tentatively answered it in the affirmative. It is true, as noted just above, that a text like "Yucong 3" appears nearly impossible to piece together completely with the strips and fragments that remain at our disposal. Yet this is at least partly due to our unfamiliarity with the text; a much more reliable barometer for judgment are those texts for which we have received or other excavated counterparts. Despite differences in order, both the "Wu xing" and "Xing zi ming chu" manuscripts have all of the passages found in their Mawangdui and Shanghai Museum versions; "Ziyi" lacks only—and exactly—two passages found in the received *Li ji* chapter, both of which show other signs of being later additions; and while the "Laozi" texts constitute only a portion of the received *Daode jing*, all of their individual passages appear to be complete in their own right. With the exception of "Laozi C," moreover, all of these texts read continuously from one strip to the next, without any passage stopping or beginning abruptly in mid-sentence at the end of a strip.[36] Most of the other texts can by and large be pieced together to read continuously, though there are admittedly a few uncertain connections here and there (in, for instance, "Zun deyi" and, especially, the non-contiguous "Yucong" texts). Given, however, the demonstrable completeness of the collatable texts, it seems a wise operating principle, when looking at issues of strip rearrangement, to proceed as if all the puzzle pieces were more or less intact for each text and to not resort too readily to theories of missing strips in the search for connections that may not be immediately apparent.

Since different texts are written on strips of different sizes, the question naturally arises as to whether strip-length might somehow be an indication of a text's importance. There are various sources from the Eastern Han (東漢 25–220 AD) onward purporting to delineate the regulation lengths of texts in relation to the six classics. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 AD), for instance, states that the six classics were two *chi* 尺 and four *cun* 寸 in length, the *Xiao jing*

[36] Peng Hao is cited as making a similar observation in "Account of Discussion," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 118 (this somewhat in contrast to Peng's initial claim that there were likely some missing strips as a result of the robberies, even in the "Laozi" texts; see *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 1). Paulos Huang, commenting specifically on the "Laozi" texts, argues that because there are some groups of passages among them that form self-contained blocks of texts, "Other texts or bamboo slips are possible [sic] to be added to these places which connect different slips. Thus, the content of the Guodian *Laozi* is incomplete"; see his "The Guodian Bamboo Slip Texts and the *Laozi*," p. 16. Aside from the obvious confusion between a necessary and sufficient condition for his argument, it seems to me that the lack of any missing text among the passages that *are* present in these texts (including many that do overlap on a single strip in both "Laozi" A and B) is far more suggestive of completeness than any speculation that these texts *could* have contained additional passages is for the converse (requiring the odd coincidence that only and precisely self-contained blocks had been removed).

孝經 "modestly half that size" (*qian ban zhi* 謙半之), and the *Lunyu* 論語, at eight *cun*, an even more "modest" third of the size.[37] Some have thus proposed that the Guodian texts written on longer strips, such as "Ziyi," "Wu xing," or even "Laozi A," may have been considered to have classical status, despite the fact that less lofty texts in other tombs, such as the legal texts of Baoshan, tended to be significantly longer in length.[38] Some of the texts on

[37] From his *Lunyu xu* 序 as quoted by (Tang) Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 in his subcommentary to the "Shipin li" 士聘禮 in the *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏 and by (Tang) Kong Yingda 孔穎達 in the preface to his *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 . The former source mistakenly writes one *chi* two *cun* for the length of the six classics; as (Qing) Ruan Yuan 阮元 remarks in his collation notes, the math dictates that this is an error for two *chi* four *cun*, as appears in the latter. The latter quotation has Zheng citing the figures from an apocryphal *Xiaojing* commentary, the *Goumingjue* 鉤命決. The "Liang zhi" 量知 chapter of Wang Chong's 王充 *Lunheng* 論衡 also gives the figure of two *chi* four *cun* for the "sayings of the sages" (*shengren zhi yu* 聖人之語). The application of such textual reports of dimensional regulations to the study of excavated physical manuscripts was first pioneered by Wang Guowei 王國維 back in 1912 with his *Jiandu jianshu kao* 簡牘檢署考 and refined with additional evidence over the years by other scholars; for details, see Hu Pingsheng, "Jiandu zhidu xintan," pp. 66–67.

[38] As Cui Renyi notes, the length of an actual Warring States bronze *chi* (23.1 cm) would suggest a length of around 55 cm for the classics, though Cui still asserts that the length of "Laozi A" suggests that the text had a kind of classical status for the Chu nobility; as for the greater length of texts in other tombs, he ascribes this to the higher status of those tombs' occupants and a separate set of regulations for non-academic texts. See his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 17–18. Hu Pingsheng, in a larger study of the physical dimensions of early Chinese bamboo and wooden texts, concludes for Chu bamboo texts that there was clearly no established system of regulations for strip lengths at the time, but there are certain tendencies to be noted within each genre of text (which are best analyzed separately), wherein longer strips tend to indicate either a higher status for the tomb occupant or, especially in the case of philosophical texts, greater importance placed upon the text(s) in question by that occupant. See his "Jiandu zhidu xintan," esp. pp. 66–67 and 70–71. Li Ling, also assuming a *chi* of 23.1 cm in length, gives a conversion of each set of Guodian texts into *chi* and *cun* in his "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," pp. 460–61. Zhou Fengwu also ascribes canonical status to all the roughly 32.5-cm texts of the Guodian corpus, but believes the most important marker of such status may actually be the beveled strip-ends; he would thus rank "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" and "Qiongda yi shi" to a status just below that of the longest texts, but still higher than more ostensibly "commentarial" works like "Zhongxin zhi dao" or "Tang Yu zhi dao." See his "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 53–55. Note that the Shanghai Museum versions of "Ziyi" and "Xingqing lun" are much longer than their Guodian counterparts, 54.3 and 57 cm, respectively—quite close, indeed, to the length that Zheng Xuan attributes to classical texts. For further discussion of the issue, see the remarks of Feng Shengjun, who, in *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu* pp. 43–46 and 49–50, concludes that there is no clear regularity in terms of how either strip length or end-shape may relate to textual importance in these manuscripts, though overall those with longer strips have thus far tended to be some of the more important texts, and beveled endings, which are aesthetically more pleasing and may also have made the strips less easily breakable, might naturally have been reserved for texts more valued by their owners. In a recent study, Dirk Meyer has plausibly suggested that the institution of correlating material form to textual status may have fully evolved only within the context of the Han imperial library. However, where he also asserts that the physical variations among Warring States strips reflect only the modes and locations of their manufacture and say "nothing about the texts themselves," he may be overstating the case somewhat on the basis of evidence that thus far remains insufficient to yield any clear conclusions. See his

the shorter strips, on the other hand, may well have enjoyed more practical use, being of a size convenient for carrying around on one's person.[39] These observations are certainly noteworthy, but current evidence remains insufficient to establish any definitive conclusions, and until we have a more complete understanding of textual practices of the period and of the region more specifically, it seems best not to let issues of strip length loom too heavily in our discussion of textual significance.

A related question is whether equivalencies in strip dimension might suggest a relationship in intellectual content. To be sure, dimensional equivalency allows for separate texts (regardless of calligraphic differences) to be bound together on the same scroll, but nothing precludes those texts from being vastly different from each other in terms of content.[40] Still, some have suggested that dimensional equivalencies among certain groups of Guodian texts may be indicative of common origins.[41] While we cannot reliably use it is a criterion for determining intellectual affiliation on its own, the fact remains that shared dimensions among Guodian texts do tend to correspond to groups of texts that, while not necessarily of identical origin, are at least amenable to common points of discussion, as we shall see in due course.[42]

"Texts, Textual Communities, and Meaning: the *Genius Loci* of the Warring States Chǔ Tomb Guōdiàn One," pp. 833–34.

[39] On this point, referring to the "Yucong" texts in particular, see Hu Pingsheng, "Jiandu zhidu xintan," pp. 70–71. Hu also notes that the Han dynasty Dingzhou 定州 *Lunyu* strips are of less than even eight Warring States *cun* in length, suggesting they were also likely intended for carrying around within one's breast pocket. Robin Yates, on the other hand, is noted as stating that the most important texts in other tombs are often written on the shortest strips (perhaps meaning relative to tomb inventory strips and the like), suggesting that the short-stripped "Yucong" texts of this corpus might in fact carry particular weight. See his comments as cited in "Account of Discussion," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 179. Yu Wanli has also proposed the existence of breast-pocket-sized versions of texts like "Ziyi," even though these are not yet evidenced among unearthed Chu manuscripts; see his "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben zhangci wenzi cuojian yitong kaozheng," pp. 158–64.

[40] A prime example of this is the "Wu xing" text being written together with one of the two *Laozi* texts on the same silk manuscript in Mawangdui, the reasons for which are still not altogether clear.

[41] Liao Mingchun, in "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu Xian-Qin ruxue" pp. 69–70, notes, for example, how dimensional groupings of the various Confucian works dovetail neatly with his own assessments of their authorship. The judgment is a subjective one, but not wholly without basis in thematic and intellectual commonality.

[42] The main examples of this are the following groups: "Ziyi" and "Wu xing"; "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," and "Liu de"; and "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao." There are of course commonalities among all these texts, and while I think dimensional similarities are worth keeping in mind, I have no intention of using it as a criterion on which to draw any sort of boundaries between these groups.

A Note on the Shanghai Museum and Qinghua University Manuscripts

At this point, a word or two should be said about two other, more recently unearthed corpuses of Chu bamboo texts from the Warring States period, beginning with the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, or *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書. Were it not for the relatively fragmentary nature of these manuscripts, the sheer number and breadth of the texts would certainly threaten to have them eclipse even the Guodian manuscripts in importance. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances of their recovery resulted in the loss or displacement of a great number of strips, so that while much valuable information can be gleaned from these manuscripts, most if not all of them stand as incomplete witnesses to the rich textual history they represent—not to mention the highly consequential fact that these manuscripts are of uncertain provenance. Nonetheless, while the Shanghai Museum manuscripts are not in themselves an immediate subject of this study, their probable temporal and regional proximity to the Guodian manuscripts in origin, as well as certain direct textual overlap between the two corpuses, will cause us to draw upon them time and again in our analysis of the Guodian texts.

The Shanghai Museum manuscripts, after having been looted from their tombs, began appearing in the Hong Kong antiquities market in the spring of 1994, only months after the discovery of the Guodian manuscripts. They were soon brought to the attention of the Shanghai Museum's curator, Ma Chengyuan, by Chinese paleographer Cheung Kwong-yue, who managed to provide him with hand copies of over a hundred of the strips. After detailed examination of these copies, Ma and his cohorts soon decided to purchase the manuscripts, which arrived at the museum in May of that year; the first batch of strips—which, including the fragmentary ones, numbered over 700—were still largely in their mud casings, but partially fragmented and with a number of strips exposed to the light and drying up, in need of immediate preservation. In the fall of the same year, a second batch of 497 strips with identical characteristics appeared on the market, and this was soon purchased and donated to the Shanghai Museum by wealthy patrons, bringing the total to over 1200; many of these strips could be directly matched into the same texts with strips from the previous batch. Additionally, it was also soon discovered that as many as ten individual strips missing from texts in the corpus—from such texts as "Ziyi," *Zhou Yi* 周易, and others—could be identified as strips that had found their way to the collection of the Chinese University of Hong Kong; other universities, reputedly, may also hold such strips, while the location of others remains a mystery. It is also likely that a number of strips may have been irretrievably damaged during the process of illicit exchange and inspection of goods. Needless to say, this all points to a situation of incompleteness, as is evident in any examination of the texts that have now been

sorted out from these strips. Though the percentage of unaccounted strips in the few texts with other witnesses may be relatively minimal, it is difficult to determine precisely how many strips may be missing from texts that are otherwise unknown outside the corpus, while it is clear that few of these texts can be read coherently from beginning to end. Regarding their provenance, the temporal proximity of the first appearance of the strips to the time of the Guodian excavation has contributed to the speculation that they were looted from roughly the same area, a type of concurrence of events seen elsewhere in the archaeological record.[43] What can be known with certainty is that the manuscripts are written largely in the same Chu script we see evidenced in the manuscripts of Guodian, Baoshan, and other Chu tombs of the period; include historical narratives that relate closely to the state of Chu; and share in common two key texts—"Ziyi" and "Xingqing lun" 性情論 (i.e., "Xing zi ming chu")—with the Guodian corpus.

Arrangement of the strips into texts and work on their decipherment began in 1995, initially under the guidance of Li Ling and other scholars, and continues to this day. The first published volume of texts appeared in November of 2001, and subsequent volumes (now eight in total) have been coming out, until recently, at the rate of about one per year. The corpus includes a variety of narratives, literary pieces, poetry discourses, and, of course, philosophical texts. Aside from the three texts mentioned above with received and/or excavated counterparts, and another text or two, such as "Min zhi fumu" 民之父母, with rough parallels in the *Li ji* and other works of the received Confucian canon, the Shanghai Museum corpus, like that of Guodian, consists largely of texts previously unknown to us. Among the philosophical texts, while many can be classified as Confucian—with some, such as that entitled "Kong Zi shilun" 孔子詩論, quoting the master directly—a similar number would appear to derive from different philosophical origins altogether, some even appearing to directly challenge Confucian views. Among the texts published to this point, we find, for instance, a rhymed text bearing similarities to the so-called "Huang-Lao" texts of Mawangdui ("San de" 三德), a rhymed compendium of practical wisdom ("Yong yue" 用曰), an "historical" genealogy of former kings and reflections on their practices ("Rongcheng shi"

[43] For details on all this, see Ma Chengyuan, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (vol. 1)*, Ma's "Introduction," pp. 1–4, and Chen Xiejun's 陳燮君 "Preface," pp. 1–4; and Zhu Yuanqing, "Ma Chengyuan xiansheng tan Shangbo jian," pp. 1–4. There is little compelling reason to doubt the authenticity of these manuscripts, especially as reading them alongside other excavated and even received texts has proven mutually elucidating in ways—particularly in terms of the script—that even the most brilliant of forgers could not possibly have anticipated. Additionally, a number of physical tests were performed on the manuscripts, including a carbon-14 dating that places the strips some 2257 ± 65 years before the present, and a testing of the ink-saturation levels demonstrating they were inscribed prior to the Ming dynasty (at the latest, of course), thus all but ruling out the possibility of forgery.

容成氏), a discourse on the clairvoyance of ghosts and spirits that may arguably derive from the *Mozi* ("Guishen zhi ming" 鬼神之明), and a nearly incomprehensible disquisition on the metaphysical origins of the world ("Hengxian" 亙[恆]先)—just to name a few.

The contents of these texts will be cited on occasion in this study, but only where they shed direct light on the Guodian texts; in this sense, the Shanghai texts will be treated for content just as we treat received texts dating from pre-Qin times, other than for taking note of their special status as excavated witnesses. Content aside, however, the Shanghai Museum manuscripts are invaluable to this study in a couple of more direct ways. First, as versions of both "Ziyi" and "Xing zi ming chu" appear in the Shanghai Museum corpus, they provide us with immediate textual counterparts for the examination of these two Guodian manuscripts. For the former text, for example, the overall similarity of the two excavated witnesses raises interesting questions about disparities with the received text; for the latter, the presence of the second manuscript helps us validate, among other things, the proper ordering of the strips. In both cases, moreover, the Shanghai Museum versions of these texts give us graphs by which their counterparts in Guodian, which in isolated cases appear to have been miswritten or poorly copied, may now be properly identified—though they sometimes raise as many problems as they solve.[44] This brings us to the second aspect of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts' value for this study: as they are written in the same Chu script as the Guodian manuscripts, they necessarily provide us with a greatly extended context for the decipherment of Chu graphs, and evidence gained from their study can often be brought back to clarify readings or resolve ambiguities in the script as it appears in the contexts of the Guodian texts.

There is yet another cache of grave-looted Chu bamboo manuscripts that has only recently come to light. The so-called "Qinghua University manuscripts," or *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, were purchased and then donated to Qinghua by a member of its alumni in July of 2008, after which they were evaluated for authenticity by an assembled team of experts in October of that year and then carbon-dated that December, the results showing an approximate origin of roughly 305 BC ± thirty years. Given that the script in which they are written closely resembles, on the whole, that of the Guodian manuscripts, the carbon-testing results only served to corroborate prior expectations of the Qinghua strips' most likely temporal provenance. The initial work on these manuscripts showed a count of 2,388 strips or strip fragments and produced an estimate that they would originally have amounted to at least 1,700 full strips, of various dimensions. As work on the

[44] For details, see the individual introductions and translations to these texts in Part Two of this study. On the issue of miscopied graphs, see Qiu Xigui, "Tantan Shangbo jian he Guodian jian zhong de cuobie zi."

manuscripts is still in its early stages, the extent of their preservation and the full scope of their contents remains somewhat uncertain, though we are told that they consist mostly of "classical and historical" works, including a large number of "document" (*shu* 書) texts that in some cases roughly correspond to chapters of the received *Shang shu* and *Yi Zhou shu*, as well as a number of ritual texts, divination texts, and a major set of annals bearing some resemblance to the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年, covering a period from the beginning of the Zhou 周 to the early years of the Warring States.[45] The first volume of these manuscripts was published in December of 2010 and contains a variety of the "document" texts; a second volume, comprising the aforementioned annals, just came out in December of 2011.[46] While the Qinghua University strips do not appear to have any of the sort of direct textual overlap with the Guodian manuscripts that we see in the case of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, they certainly promise to help us gain further insight into some of the *Shu* chapters from which lines are found cited in texts like "Ziyi." And as with the Shanghai manuscripts, the Qinghua strips will no doubt also provide us with invaluable clues by which to better understand and decipher the Chu script in which all these manuscripts are written. Let us now turn to an examination of the general features of that script.

C. THE CHU SCRIPT AND CALLIGRAPHIC FEATURES

The Chu Script

The Chu script in which the Guodian manuscripts are written is one regional variant of a Chinese script that remained un-unified prior to the advent of imperial China, at which point the Qin script came to be established as orthodoxy and the forms of the other states, the so-called "scripts of the six states" (*liuguo wenzi* 六國文字), were gradually relegated to history, given especially the Qin dynasty (秦 221–207 BC) proscriptions against private possession of the Odes, Documents, and philosophical texts, and the further destruction of imperial libraries during the Chu-Han contention. By the time of the early years of the (Western) Han dynasty (西漢 206 BC–8 AD), as a number of pre-Qin manuscripts were recovered and collected in both imperial and private reclamation projects, these scripts, referred to generally

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[45] For further details, see Li Xueqin, "Lun Qinghua jian 'Bao xun' de jige wenti," p. 76, and Li Xueqin and Liu Guozhong, "The Tsinghua Bamboo Strips and Ancient Chinese Civilization," esp. pp. 8–11.

[46] Qinghua daxue chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin, ed. (Li Xueqin, ed.-in-chief), *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (yi)* and *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (er)*.

as the “ancient script” (*guwen* 古文), had already become something of a foreign language to most scholars. The *Shi ji* 史記, for instance, mentions how Kong Anguo 孔安國 (156?–74? BC) began a career out of “reading in the modern script” 以今文讀之 the version of the ancient-script *Shang shu* that had been found in the walls of his ancestral home (*Kong bi shu* 孔壁書).[47] The *Han shu* 漢書 further mentions how during the reign of Emperor Xuan 漢宣帝 (r. 74–49 BC), a call was sent forth to find “someone from Qi who could correctly read” 齊人能正讀者 the many “ancient graphs” found in the *Cangjie* 蒼頡 character book (a work itself already imposing a Qin orthodoxy),[48] which “common teachers” (*sushi* 俗師) could no longer read; Zhang Chang 張敞 thus came to receive the work and eventually pass it and this rare knowledge of the “ancient script” on to his great-grandson.[49] The standard script of the Han into which such texts were transcribed, the “clerical script” (*lishu* 隸書), had been a kind of simplified script of convenience used by officials and clerics of the Qin, but by Han times had become the formal standard as well. While this script had developed over a long period of time, it differed markedly from the orthodox script of the state of Qin used during Eastern Zhou times, which would eventually develop into the *xiaozhuan* 小篆, or “small seal,” script. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that while the orthodox Qin script had continued to

[47] “Rulin zhuan” 儒林傳; see (Han) Sima Qian et al., *Shi ji*, p. 3125. The date of the discovery of this text (along with others) is uncertain, but if the story of its recovery from the destruction of the house by Prince Gong of Lu 魯恭王 is to believed, it must have taken place prior to Prince Gong’s death in 129 BC, though apparently during the reign of Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (r. 141–87 BC). See the relevant passages in the “Jing shisan wang zhuan” 景十三王傳, “Chu Yuan Wang zhuan” 楚元王傳, and “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 chapters of the *Han shu*, pp. 2414, 1969, and 1706; the “An shu” 案書, “Zheng shuo” 正說, and “Yiwen” 佚文 chapters of Wang Chong’s 王充 *Lunheng* (see Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, pp. 1161–62, 1125, and 860); and Chen Mengjia, *Shangshu tonglun*, pp. 152–53. For more on this process of transcription into “modern script,” see Wang Baoxuan, “Jinguwen jingxue zhi zheng ji qi yiyi,” pp. 300–1; cf. Gu Shikao, “Qian-Han guwen yu jinwen zhi bian guankui,” pp. 734–36.

[48] The *Cangjie* (usually written 倉頡) was supposedly written by Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BC) to promote the newly standardized Qin script, basically what we refer to as *xiaozhuan* 小篆, whereas the *guwen* given in Xu Shen’s 許慎 (58?–147? AD) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (hereafter *Shuowen*) appear to be forms from other states that differ radically from the *xiaozhuan* script on which his etymological dictionary is primarily based. Imre Galambos makes the case, however, that the *xiaozhuan* of the *Shuowen* had evolved a good deal from the official *xiaozhuan* script of the Qin, and that the script shows a greater degree of structural variability than the organization of the *Shuowen* itself would imply—a variability that was still evident to some extent through the later years of the Han. He contends that Li Si’s reforms took a long and gradual period to wholly implement, and that official Han regulations regarding scribes and the writing of orthodox script could not be entirely enforced; the *Shuowen* and Han dynasty stele inscriptions thus represented an ongoing attempt to create orthographic orthodoxy. See Imre Galambos, *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing: Evidence from Newly Excavated Manuscripts*, pp. 37–53.

[49] “Yiwen zhi”; *Han shu*, p. 1721. See also Qian Mu, *Liang-Han jingxue jinguwen pingyi*, p. 8.

closely resemble the orthodox forms of the Western Zhou (西周 ca. 1045–771 BC), a large variety of nonstandard forms rapidly began to develop throughout the different states during the early years of the Warring States period (as the uses of writing in general became more widespread), so that a number of distinct regional forms developed.[50] It is thus no wonder that Han scholars would have had trouble deciphering these various "scripts of the six states" and refer to them generally with the separate classification of the "ancient script."

The forms of the graphs written on the Guodian strips are, with few exceptions, representative of the Chu script, with all the features peculiar to that script yet commonly found among other contemporary writings from that region (such as the Baoshan texts).[51] The Guodian editors describe the calligraphy as elegant and refined, an assessment that leads them to conclude that they were written by professional copyists; Qiu Xigui and Li Xueqin, on the other hand, have argued that the professional level was certainly not too high, given especially the number of basic errors that appear in the texts.[52] Be that as it may, the Guodian manuscripts, along with those of the Shanghai Museum, have provided paleographers with such a wealth of new information on the Chu script that the vast majority of graphs seen to date can now reasonably be deciphered with some confidence. At the same time, however, enough puzzles remain to fill the pages of paleography journals for years to come.

Many of the Guodian graphs accord with the "ancient-script" (*guwen* 古文) form of characters recorded early on in Guo Zhongshu's 郭忠恕 (tenth century) *Hanjian* 汗簡 and Xia Song's 夏竦 (958–1051) *Guwen sisheng yun* 古文四聲韻, works hitherto suspected of presenting fabricated graphic forms. A prime example of this is the graph 衍, which both of these works identify as the "ancient form" of *dao* 道.[53] Scholars have long discounted this

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[50] For an excellent analysis of all these developments, see Qiu Xigui, *Wenzixue gaiyao*, pp. 51–52, 54–56, and 67–72. According to the "postface" (*xu* 序) to the *Shuowen*, the "ancient script" refers specifically to the writing found in such newly recovered classics as those from the Kong-family wall or those discovered and submitted by Zhang Cang 張蒼 and others, so there is little doubt that the term refers to the script found in texts handed down from pre-imperial times.

[51] Li Xueqin is cited as noting "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao" as two Guodian texts that might not actually be written in Chu script (more on this below); see Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 120 n. 8. Our knowledge of the Chu script is greatly enhanced by a couple of important reference works: Teng Rensheng, *Chuxi jianbo wenzi bian* (now in revised edition), and Li Shoukui's more recent *Chu wenzi bian* and *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi—wu) wenzibian*. For articles offering certain corrections to the first of these works, see Xu Zaiguo, "Du *Chuxi jianbo wenzibian* zhaji"; Li Ling, "Du *Chuxi jianbo wenzibian*"; and Wu Hongsong, "*Chuxi jianbo wenzibian* jiaokan (Zeng Hou Yi mu bufen)."

[52] See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 1; and "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 134.

[53] See *Hanjian, Guwen sishengyun*, pp. 5 (*Hanjian* 10a) and 44 (*Guwen sishengyun* 3.20a); the latter of these two gives its origin for the graph as the "ancient *Shang shu*."

identification, as this same graph appears elsewhere (as in the Stone-drum inscriptions [*Shigu wen*] 石鼓文 and Mawangdui manuscripts) in such contexts that appear to mark it as a variant of *xing* 行, but throughout the Guodian texts the graph is found instead to correspond to *dao* after all, interchanging more or less randomly with the more customary form of that character.[54] Li Xueqin notes that the "ancient *Shang shu*" (*gu Shang shu* 古尚書) cited in these works refers to the manuscript said to have come from the walls of the Kong-family residence and likely originated from the period (post 256 BC) in which Chu had control of Kong Zi's home state of Lu 魯, whereas the "ancient *Laozi*" (*gu Laozi* 古老子) refers to the text—on which the Fu Yi 傅奕 recension was in part based—discovered in the tomb of the concubine of Xiang Yu 項羽 (d. 202 BC), who was also a native of Chu. He thus suggests that these texts, too, were written in Chu script, thereby more directly accounting for the correspondence of certain Guodian graphs with those found replicated in these early paleographic dictionaries.[55] In any event, the Guodian manuscripts are replete with the kind of pre-imperial graphic forms that had long since become unrecognizable, save for by a few earlier scholars fortunate enough—like us—to have ancient-script copies of classical texts at their disposal.

In some cases, graphs found in the Guodian manuscripts have helped to solve longstanding puzzles in the decipherment of earlier Chinese inscriptions. For instance, a graph that in the Guodian texts clearly corresponds to *shen* 慎, "treat with caution," is written by a number of closely related graphs in the form of 誓, 訢, ⿰言⿱斤心, or ⿰言⿱斤心. As separate articles by Chen Weiwu and Chen Jian have now amply demonstrated, these forms can be unmistakably traced back to a graph frequently found in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions in such contexts as "*shu* X *jue de*" 淑 X 厥德 or "*ke* X *jue de*" 克 X 厥德, or in Warring States seal

[54] For details, see Li Xueqin, "Shuo Guodian jian 'dao' zi." According to Li, the Guodian find does not change the fact that the graph must read *xing* in these other texts (which also include Shang oracle-bone inscriptions), but only demonstrates that *dao* is in fact another way that this graph must be read in some of the later texts. Li speculates that the graph essentially derives from two characters with different origins: as *xing*, a combined-meaning (*huiyi*) graph of a person walking, and, as *dao*, an abbreviated form of an earlier graph written 衜, minus that graph's 首 (𦣻) phonetic. Wu Xinchou, on the other hand, argues that the two uses derive from nominal and verbal readings of the same graph and disputes Li's explanation of *dao* as an abbreviated form of a graph with 首; see his "Jianbo dianji yiwen yu guwenzi ziliao de shidu," pp. 365–66. All this is further complicated by the fact that the left side of the graph (彳人) closely resembles an ancient form of *yong* 永, leading some to identify this graph also, as it appears in the oracle-bone and Stone-drum inscriptions, as *yong*. Li Ruohui has even speculated that 㣺 as *dao* derived from 㣺 as *yong* because of semantic similarity; see Li Ruohui, "Guodian Chujian 'dao' zi lüekao," but see also his revised take in "You Shanghai bowuguan cang Chujian chonglun 'dao' zi," p. 463. See also Matthias Richter's discussion of the different forms of *dao* in the Guodian manuscripts in his "Suggestions Concerning the Transcription of Chinese Manuscript Texts," pp. 5–8.

[55] Li Xueqin, "Guodian Chujian yu Rujia jingji," pp. 20–21.

inscriptions in the form of "X *yan*" 言, "X *xing*" 行, "X *shi*" 事, etc. On the basis of the Guodian graphs, that earlier graph, formerly transcribed as 悊 and read 哲 (glossed as 敬, "treat with reverence"), can now with confidence be identified instead as an ancient form of *shen*.[56]

The graph for *shen* was identified primarily on the basis of its appearance in texts, like "Ziyi," "Wu xing," and the "Laozi" manuscripts, that have other excavated or received counterparts. Another case where textual comparison has led to the identification of a graph is that of the graph rendered 𠭥 (,)—though in this case much less directly. This graph appears in "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," and all four "Yucong" texts, but not in any of the texts with received or previously excavated counterparts. Analyzing its components as 虍 over 且 over 又, Qiu Xigui initially suspected the graph to be a variant of 䖑, with 且 as the phonetic element; given the contexts in which the graph appeared, he suggested reading it, in most instances, as either *xu* 序 or *du* 度.[57] The contexts remained indefinite, however, until Chen Wei pointed out that strips 31 and 97 of "Yucong 1" should be pieced together as follows:

> 豊（禮）因人之情而為之（31）即（節）𠭥（度?）者也。┃ （97）
>
> (Ritual is that which accords with human affections and provides them with rhythm and 𠭥)

—based on a nearly identical phrase found in the "Fang ji" 坊記 chapter of the *Li ji* and elsewhere.[58]

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[56] See Chen Weiwu, "Jiu shi 'zhe' ji cong 'zhe' zhi zi pingyi: jianlun 'shen de' he 'shen zhong' wenti," and Chen Jian, "Shuo shen"; for a somewhat different analysis of the various forms of this graph in the Guodian manuscripts, see Xu Zaiguo, "Guodian Chujian wenzi sankao," pp. 182–84. For further examples of how the Guodian graphs have helped in the decipherment of earlier inscriptional material, see Zhao Ping'an, "Guodian Chujian yu Shang-Zhou guwenzi kaoshi." The analysis of Chu graphs may also lead us, in some cases, to rethink some long-established readings in received classical texts; for my own examination of how possible confusion over dual readings of the graph 虖 as either 虐 or 呼/號 may have led early exegetes astray, see my "Chuwen 'hu' zi zhi shuangchong yongfa: shuo 'Jing Gong "gu"' ji Miao min 'wu "hao" zhi xing.'"

[57] For Qiu's initial entry on this graph (in "Xing zi ming chu," strip 17), see *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 182 n. 10.

[58] Chen Wei, "'Yucong' yi, san zhong youguan 'li' de jitiao jianwen," pp. 143–44. This rearrangement and subsequent rereading is also discussed briefly by Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 34–36. For the "Fang ji" reference, see (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1281.

The fact that the graph in question is given as *wen* 文 ("refined pattern") in those other texts led Li Tianhong to conduct a thorough contextual examination of all appearances of the graph in the Guodian manuscripts, demonstrating convincingly that the graph should in fact be read *wen*; as to why this particular graph should be so read, however, she could only speculate that it may have been a graph for the fabulous creature *lin* 麟, here used as a phonetic loan.[59] Soon thereafter, Li Jiahao noted how a similar graph, , is identified in both the *Han jian* and *Guwen sishengyun* as *min* 閔, a graph, in turn, in which *wen* (and perhaps also 門) appears as the phonetic element.[60] Based on this information, Li Xueqin identified the upper element as an abbreviation of *min* 民 (as phonetic) instead of the deer-head 声, the lower element as 旻 (seemingly as a secondary phonetic element), and the sometimes-present 彡 element as a signifier of "pattern" or "ornamentation."[61] Li Ling, however, disputes the rendering of the upper element as 民, instead identifying the upper portions of the graph (all above the 又) together as 每 and the graph as a whole as *min* 敏.[62] He Linyi, on the other hand, suggests in a brief entry that the graph should be rendered 暋, while Liang Liyong would see the phonetic instead as a slight corruption of a form of 昏 and the graph as a whole as 暋.[63] Finally, in the most extensive study of the graph to date, Chen Jian has examined a variety of oracle-bone and bronze inscriptional evidence to persuasively identify the phonetic as an abbreviation of 旻, a graph that represented a word alternatively

[59] Li Tianhong, "Shi Chujian wenzi 'wen.'" Note that *wen* is written with the more customary graph in such texts as "Ziyi," "Qiongda yi shi," "Wu xing," and even "Cheng zhi," but unlike the case with *dao*, it is in no instance written with *both* graphs within the same text.

[60] This particular graph, one of several versions, is taken from *Guwen sishengyun* 3.14a, based upon the "Shi jing" 石經 (i.e., Wei santi shijing 魏三體石經); see *Hanjian, Guwen sishengyun*, p. 41. For Li Jiahao's identification, see Zhang Fuhai, "Beida Zhongguo guwenxian yanjiu zhongxin 'Guodian Chujian yanjiu' xiangmu xin dongtai," p. 5.

[61] Li Xueqin, "Shi jie Guodian jian du 'wen' zhi zi." Li attributes the idea that the *Hanjian* graph's upper element was a "corruption" of *min* 民 to Huang Xiquan, and to Li Tianhong the idea of 彡 as the Guodian graph's semantic classifier (akin to that of the graph 彣). Based on Li Xueqin's rendering, Fan Limei would actually interpret the 旻 portion of the graph itself as a corruption of an early form of 民, with the upper element, also 民, eventually conflated with the deer-head 声 in later forms of the graph; see Fan Limei, "Chujian wenzi lingshi," pp. 81–84.

[62] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 53–55, or "Guodian Chujian zhong de 'min' zi he 'wen' zi," pp. 389–91. Note that Li Ling is unable to account for the presence of 且 (as he still renders it) in the graph. Li reads the graph in many instances as *wen* 文, but in others as *min* 敏. 敏 (*mǐə [明紐之部]) and 文 (*mǐwən [明紐文部]) form a so-called "*tongzhuan*" relationship, sharing the same initial and same main vowel.

[63] He Linyi, "Di'er pi Hujian xuanshi" p. 446; and Liang Liyong, "Shi 'min.'" Both scholars note that their graphs should be seen as interloanable with both 閔 and 文.

represented in such inscriptions by 䁎 or 敃, standing for what later orthography would write with 愍 or 旻.[64] Chen Jian would thus render our 㝵 graph as 䰜, seeing it as a double-phonetic graph formed of the phonetics 民 and 旻 (i.e., 旻); he further speculates that 攴 may be the original ideographic form of 拇 (*mə), "thumb," and provides a variety of additional phonological evidence to demonstrate the latter's close phonetic connection with such graphs as 愍, 旻, 閔, and 文.[65] In short, the reading of *wen* 文 for this graph in most instances is now more or less commonly accepted, but the precise interpretation of the graph whereby that reading may be accounted for is, while certainly evolving, still somewhat in dispute, and it is clear in this case that textual comparison and contextual analysis have played a large part in driving the paleographic examination.[66]

A similar case is that of a series of graphs with variants of what appears to be a recurring phonetic element, variously transcribed as 戠, 戔, 諓, 濮, and 敹. Most of these graphs occur in texts or passages with no received counterparts, but the few exceptions to this may be telling. Consider the following table:

[64] Chen Jian, "Jiagu jinwen jiu shi 'you' zhi zi ji xiangguan zhuzi xinshi."

[65] Interestingly, Chen makes note of the interchangeability of 拇 with 敏 and takes the latter's interconnections with all of the other graphs as part of the basis for his argument; he thereby inadvertently supports the plausibility of Li Ling's analysis on phonological grounds, even though his interpretation of the graph itself is much different. Note that Chen does not account for the original meaning of 旻 itself, which he sees as taking 攴 as its phonetic.

[66] Huang Ren'er, however, actually argues that there are two different graphs nearly identical in form: one with a 民 phonetic and read 文, seen in "Yucong 1" strips 4, 88, and 97 and "Yucong 3" strip 71; and one that he views as a pictographic form of 虞, seen in most of the other instances and likely read 度. See his *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi) yanjiu*, pp. 212–14. The distinction he refers to would appear to pertain to the precise form of the upper element in each graph, though this could easily enough be attributed to calligraphic variety rather than to any meaningful structural difference.

Graph[67]	**Transcription**[68]	**GDCJ locations (texts and strips)**	**Parallel texts**	**Counterpart character**
,	[illegible]	"Cheng zhi," 19; "Zun deyi," 8, 17	none	NA
	[illegible]	"Xing zi ming chu," 38	none	NA
, ,	[illegible]	"Wu xing," 8, 13; "Qiongda yi shi," 1; "Yucong 1," 68	MWD "Wu xing"	察; NA; NA
	菐	"Wu xing," 37	MWD "Wu xing"	辯
,	濮, [illegible]	"Wu xing," 46; "Yucong 2," 19	MWD "Wu xing"	淺; NA
	[illegible]	"Yucong 4," 8	*Zhuangzi* "Qu qie" 胠篋, "Dao Zhi" 盜跖	竊
, ,	戚, 慼	"Zun deyi," 7; "Yucong 1," 34; "Xing zi ming chu," 34	none	NA

[67] One graph represented for each text, in respective order. The graphs from "Zun deyi" strip 8 and "Wu xing" strip 8 are not given here, but they are more or less identical to the given forms from "Zun deyi" strip 17 and "Wu xing" strip 13.

[68] The transcriptions here are according to Cheung Kwong-yue and Yuan Guohua et al., *Guodian Chujian yanjiu: diyi juan wenzi bian*, with two exceptions: the graph of "Wu xing" strip 46 is transcribed directly as 淺 therein, and so I extrapolate here from the other transcriptions; and [illegible] is transcribed as 僕, but I change the transcription both to render the abbreviated lower element more literally and to avoid confusion with 僕 in its standard reading. For most of these graphs, *Guodian Chumu zhujian* simply copies them by hand rather than actually transcribing them.

Despite recurrent similarities in the upper left- or right-hand elements of these various graphs, it remains an open question as to whether they are all represented by the same phonetic element; we shall thus discuss them one at a time. Starting with the third type of graph, based on the fact that it corresponds to *cha* 察 ("examine") in the Mawangdui "Wu xing" text, and that in the Baoshan texts the same graph (more or less) can be easily read *cha* in the various contexts in which it occurs, Qiu Xigui felt confident in identifying the graph as *cha*, even though its paleographic origins remained uncertain.[69] As for the fourth type of graph, the editors suggested that it read *cha* as well; Qiu Xigui, however, noted that this graph is in fact different in form from the right side of the third type of graph, and that the corresponding Mawangdui graph in this instance is actually *bian* 辯 (=辨; "determine," "discern").[70] The complicating factor, however, is that *cha* and *bian* overlap somewhat in meaning: both can carry the sense of "investigate," and some have cited the Baoshan texts, where the object of the verb is usually a criminal case, as evidence for reading the third graphic form as *bian* as well.[71] The deciding factor, perhaps, comes with the readings of the penultimate two types of graph—if, again, scholars are correct in assuming that the phonetic elements are equivalent—which respectively correspond to *qian* 淺 (*tsʻĭan [清紐元部]) and

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[69] See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 151 n. 7. Qiu notes the difference between the "Wu xing" and "Yucong 1" forms of this graph as one of 又 versus 収 (one hand versus two together); see *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 200 n. 15. It is the seemingly abbreviated form found in "Qiongda yi shi" that, in fact, most closely resembles the form commonly seen in the Baoshan texts. Cheung Kwong-yue and Yuan Guohua, et al., *Guodian Chujian yanjiu: diyi juan wenzi bian*, identify *cha* by its alternate form of 詧.

[70] *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 154 n. 50. For more on this particular graph, see Wei Qipeng, *Jianbo 'Wu xing' jianshi*, p. 44, who sees it as an abbreviation of 龹, read like *ban* 頒 in the *Shuowen*; and Xu Xueren, "Zhanguo Chujian wenzi yanjiu de jige wenti—du Zhanguo Chujian Yucong si suo lu Zhuangzi yu ji Hanmu chutu Zhuangzi canjian suoji," pp. 47–48, who sees it as an abbreviation of 辡.

[71] See esp. Dong Lianchi, "Shi Chujian zhong de 'bian' zi." Dong notes how the Baoshan graph was originally read or seen as a variant of *dui* 對 ("respond"), and later taken as 諜, understood in the sense of "settle" or "determine," but he argues that the various contexts in which it is found require a reading of greater semantic breadth (the Baoshan graph has also been interpreted as 諜, read *yan* 驗, "examine"; for a brief overview of the various readings, cf. Huang Xiquan, "Chujian 'di' zi jianshi," p. 7). Dong would analyze the graph as the speech radical 言 plus a person 人 (rather than 又) wielding a punitive implement (an elaborate form of 辛); in other words, as a simplification of *bian* 辯, which depicts two such implement wielders engaged in verbal dispute. Though he occasionally sees it as a loan for either 判 (to "judge") or 徧 ("ubiquitously"), Dong in most cases glosses its use in the Baoshan texts as *mingcha* 明察 ("examine clearly")—without, interestingly, even contemplating the possibility that the graph itself might instead read *cha*. Note that Dong treats type four of the Guodian graphs given above as equivalent to type three. Previously, Chen Wei, in "Guodian Chujian bieshi" p. 68, also identified 諜 as 辯, on the basis of a graph thus identified in the *Guwen sishengyun* that resembles it in some ways. On the other hand, Xu Xueren, in "Zhanguo Chujian wenzi yanjiu de jige wenti" pp. 41–45, interprets this graph as 諜 and reads *cha* 察; whereas Liu Xinfang, in *Jianbo Wuxing jiegu* pp. 393–94, would render 諿 and read *du* 督 instead.

qie 竊 (*tsʿiĕt) [清紐質部]). Both form a plausible phonological relationship with *cha* (*tʃʿeăt [初紐月部]), but less so with *bian* (*bĭan [並紐元部]) (though it shares the same final with *qian*, the initials are quite distant), and thus the reading of 諓 as *cha* gains probability as a result of this ostensible relationship. But even supposing this to be correct, what of the first two types of graph, 戠 and 戔? Even if we accept that they share a common phonetic element with 諓, the other components of the graphs are clearly different (given especially the presence of the halberd *ge* 戈), and the contexts in which the graphs appear are all too vague and confusing to tell whether *cha* is a likely reading. The editors thus cautiously offer no reading at all for these particular graphs; Qiu Xigui, however, does suggest *cha* for the latter of the two, and other scholars would extend that reading to the former graph as well.[72] Perhaps of further relevance here is the final graph, which is confidently identified in each instance as *qi* 戚 (or 慼) (*tsʻiək [清紐覺部]) by the editors and seldom appears in discussions of the other graphs, but which bears some obviously close resemblances in form to those first two types of graphs, 戠 and 戔. As Chen Wei has pointed out, 戠 may well be essentially equivalent to the graph 慼, only with a 言 signifier (sharing some strokes with the phonetic element) replacing the 心 of the latter.[73]

Other studies have since continued to debate the etymological origins of this recurring phonetic element, if not necessarily the readings that have been proposed for the various graphs in context. Qiu himself would later note that the forms of the phonetic in many of these graphs are equivalent to that of the graph *jian* 踐 as written in the Three-form Stone-Inscription Classics 三體石經 version of the *Chunqiu* 春秋, and thus sees them deriving from a corruption of 戔.[74] Huang Xiquan, taking the most common Baoshan form (roughly equivalent to the "Qiongda yi shi" example above) as the primary form of the graph, offers a convincing analysis that the phonetic of the graphs of the third, fifth, and six forms above is in fact an abbreviated form of *dai* 帶 (*tāt [端紐月部]), even if it in some ways had come to coincidentally resemble such etymologically distinct graphs as *pu* 菐, *ye* 業, or *zhuo* 丵. The identification of the phonetic as 帶 had actually been made earlier by Zhou Fengwu, though not in the form of a concentrated study of the graph itself; Qiu Xigui also approves of Zhou's

[72] See Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji" (who reads *qie* in one instance), pp. 514 and 524; Zhou Fengwu, "Du Guodian zhujian Chengzhi wenzhi zhaji," pp. 48–49; and Liu Zhao, "Du Guodian Chujian zici zhaji (1-3)," p. 87. For other proposed readings for this graph, see the notes to the translation of "Cheng zhi," strip 19.

[73] Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 138–39. Note that Chen reads 戠 as *jiu* 就 in all three instances.

[74] Qiu Xigui, "'Taiyi sheng shui' 'ming zi' zhang jieshi: jianlun 'Taiyi sheng shui' de fenzhang wenti," p. 225. Qiu also sees the "Xing zi ming chu" graph 戔 (which he also read 察) as being the elaborate form of this 戔, and the "Cheng zhi" and "Zun deyi" graphs as comprising an abbreviation of that graph plus a 口 signifier.

identification of the phonetic, at least when it comes to the graphs of third type.[75] Unlike Zhou, who reads 察 for most of the graphs, Huang chooses instead to see all those with the 言 classifier as variant forms of *di* 諦 (*tiēk [端紐錫部]), though also understanding them in the same sense of "examine" or "investigate."[76] But given that that character is rarely even found in pre-Qin received texts, let alone in the verbal sense of "examine," there is little basis to read it that way in all these instances from excavated texts. Soon after Huang's study, Li Ling offered a similar analysis of the graphs (including all but the fourth and seventh forms in the chart), seeing the phonetic as most closely related to early forms of *dui* 對 (*tuə̄t [端紐物部]) and *dai* 帶, though he would still hold to his and others' previous readings of the graphs as 察, 竊, etc., and rejects Huang's reading of 諦.[77] The matter has since been further complicated by the publication of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, most notably with the graph 戠 ( ) found in the v. 7 manuscripts "Fan wu liu xing" A and B 凡物流形（甲、乙）, for which several possible interpretations have been proposed, among which the reading of 察, with the graph seen as a variant of some of those just discussed, remains the most convincing.[78] In sum, the weight of evidence suggests that *cha* 察 is the most likely reading for at least those graphs bearing the 言 semantic classifier—with the graphs having the 氵 and 攵 classifiers sharing the same phonetic and read 淺 and 竊, respectively—but the etymological origins are still the subject of some debate, and whether or not the first, second, fourth, and possibly seventh forms above might represent variations of the same graph remains very much uncertain given our present level of information.[79] This is just one case

[75] See Zhou Fengwu, "Du Guodian zhujian Chengzhi wenzhi zhaji," pp. 48–49; Qiu Xigui, "Shi 'Zigao' pian 'jin' zi bing lun Shang de jin de zhi shuo," pp. 67–68.

[76] Huang Xiquan, "Chujian 'di' zi jianshi."

[77] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 55–57. As Li notes, the reading of 㡀 as 竊 in "Yucong 4" serves to confirm his own previous analysis of a similar graph in the Baoshan manuscripts, where the object stolen was a horse. Note that Liu Guosheng, in "Guodian zhujian shizi ba ze" p. 43, had previously sought to identify the type one graph as a form of 對. Cf. the analysis in Liu Zhao, "Shi 'yu' ji xiangguan zhuzi," pp. 125–27; Liu, however, sees the graphs' main phonetic component as deriving instead from *qian* 䇂 (*kʽĭan).

[78] For details and further references, see my (Gu Shikao) "'Fan wu liu xing' xiabanpian shijie," pp. 339–40. The manuscript's editor Cao Jinyan himself identifies the graph as 識. This accords with a previous identification by Zheng Gang of most, if not all, of the various Guodian graphs in question as variant forms of 識, with the 戈 of 戠 now transformed into a 戚 phonetic; for details, see his "Shi 'qi'" 釋「戚」 in his *Chujian Kongzi lunshuo bianzheng*, pp. 42–49.

[79] Note that in my translations, I take all examples of the third type as *cha* 察, but do treat the fourth type, "Wu xing" strip 37, as a phonetic for *bian* 辯. For the first (and second) type above, I also read *cha*, save for the case

where a nexus of early graphs closely related in sound, form, and even meaning presents us with a complicated picture of interrelationships and overlaps that makes it difficult for us to gain any precise picture of graphic identifications and etymological derivations.

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of the Chu script (and others) is that there are certain graphs that can apparently be read in more than one way, due in part to a combination of both graphic and phonetic similarities, or perhaps as the result of common origins.[80] The most obvious case may be that of the graphs for *xue* 學 (*ɣeǒuk [匣紐覺部]) and *jiao* 教 (*keau [見紐宵部]), both of which may in turn derive from the form of 𡥈, which the *Shuowen* defines vaguely as “emulate” (*fang* 放, i.e., *xiao* 效). In the Guodian manuscripts, *jiao* (教) is most frequently written ⿱爻言, but occasionally is written 𡥈, and often the two forms are written interchangeably within the same text; *jiao* is also written 效 in one particular text.[81] As for x*ue*, it is most often written 學; once (problematically) written 𡥈; and, counter-intuitively, the graph that is directly renderable as 教 seems, in its limited occurrences, to correspond more often to *xue* than to *jiao*.[82] The single case where *xue* is

of “Zun deyi” strip 17, where I admittedly hedge my bets a little and, following Chen Wei, interpret the graph as a form of *qi* 戚, read 就.

[80] By different readings, I intend here something more than just different semantic classes of a coherent group of cognate words (though in the case of *xue* and *jiao* below, one could be thought to have originated as a causative form of the other). For *homography* in that more ubiquitous sense, see Robert H. Gassmann, “Preliminary Thoughts on the Relationship Between Lexicon and Writing in the Guodian Texts,” esp. pp. 233–42.

[81] Specifically, *jiao* is written ⿱爻言 in “Ziyi” strips 18, 23, and 24, but as 𡥈 in “Ziyi” strip 27; written ⿱爻言 in its sole occurrences in “Cheng zhi” (strip 4) and “Yucong 1” (strip 11), and in all but one occurrence in “Zun deyi” (strips 4-5, 12, 13-16, 18-19), but in its sole appearance as 𡥈 in the latter the reading is far from certain; always written 𡥈 in “Liu de” (strips 2, 21, 40, 41); and written 𡥈 in its sole appearance in “Laozi A,” though that graph also likely reads *xue* in its other occurrence in that text (see below). *Jiao* is consistently written 效 in “Tang Yu zhi dao” (strips 4-6, 12, 21). One other form to be mentioned is the graph ⿰⿱爻言攵 of “Zun deyi” strip 5, which occurs in the sentence “⿱爻言非改道也，⿰⿱爻言攵之也.” The 攵 added to ⿱爻言 would appear to serve to indicate or emphasize a transitive or even causative use of the word, somewhat akin to the way 政 as “governance” derives from 正, “proper,” in the transitive sense of “make proper,” “rectification.” Gassmann (see previous note) has suggested other ways in which variant forms of certain Guodian graphs may serve to indicate different lexical derivations of words, such as 敳 in strip 7 of “Laozi C” possibly indicating a putative variation on ⿰女⿱山兀(美) (see my notes to the translation). While I may not concur with some of Gassmann’s readings, or with his assumption that the relationship between graphic variant and word represented is a stable one in these texts, I certainly agree with the general principle that variations in graphic form may, in some cases, be representative of differences in semantic class, and there is surely no paucity of such examples previously noted in traditional etymological studies. We will discuss this phenomenon at greater length below.

[82] *Xue* appears as 學 in “Laozi B” strips 3 and 4, “Laozi C” strip 13, “Liu de” strip 9 (in slightly abbreviated form), “Xing zi ming chu” strips 8 and 36, and “Zun deyi” strips 4-5 and 19; but as 𡥈 in “Laozi A” strip 12 (based, for now, on comparison with “Laozi C” and the received versions). Context suggests that 教 read *xue* in

written 𡥈 is in the phrase 𡥈不𡥈 of “Laozi A,” strip 12, and given how it would be the sole instance of that graph read as *xue* in the Guodian texts, many have been inclined to read it there as *jiao* as well, against the evidence of both “Laozi C” and the received texts, where the line is clearly *xue bu xue* 學不學 (“learn not to learn”). Against this, however, we may note that in the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Xingqing lun,” the graphs that correspond to both *jiao* 𧥺 and *xue* 學 in its Guodian counterpart (“Xing zi ming chu”) are there all written 𡥈.[83] In short, whereas the graphs without the “child” radical (𧥺 and 效) can consistently be read *jiao*, those with the “child” radical (𡥈, 教, and 學) can at times also (or, in the last case, always) be read *xue*. The partial overlap in graphic forms is not surprising, given the close organic relationship of these two words, and the fact that 𡥈 would appear to stand for *jiao* with somewhat greater frequency than it does for *xue* in these texts should not, in the face of other evidence, compel us to assume it represents the former in every instance.

A similarly problematic case is that of the graph , transcribed by the editors as 亙. The graph appears some six times in the “Laozi” manuscripts, but with two different counterpart characters in the received versions representing entirely different words. In the first instance, we have the lines of “Laozi A” 3 (R 46b), strip 6: “知足之爲足，此亙足矣” (“Knowing when enough is enough—with this, one will constantly have enough”); “Laozi A” 7 (R 37), strip 13: “道亙亡爲也” (“The Way constantly acts to no purpose”); “Laozi A” 10 (R 32 A), strip 18: “道亙亡名” (“The Way is constantly without name”); and “Laozi C” 4 (R 64 B), strip 12: “人之敗也，亙於其且成也敗之” (“When people ruin something, they constantly do so while on the verge of accomplishing it”)—where 亙 corresponds to *chang* 常 in the received versions and should thus clearly be read *heng* 恆.[84] In the second instance, we have

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both “Tang Yu zhi dao” strip 5 and “Yucong 3” strip 12 (both readings are suggested by Qiu Xigui); the only place it would unambiguously read *jiao* is in strip 9 of “Liu de,” but unfortunately in that case only the bottom strokes remain and thus identification of the graph is uncertain. In “Yucong 1,” the graph appears in strip 43 in an uncertain context, and also as a possible combined graph 教= in strip 61, though the reading is again uncertain. Feng Shengjun suggests that the common features of all early variants of 教 and 學 are the presence of the phonetics 爻 and 臼, respectively (*Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, p. 228); but there are clearly at least occasional examples where this is not so. Note that 教 is in form basically equivalent to the 效 (*jiao*) seen in “Tang Yu zhi dao,” but with the “child” element added below the 爻 phonetic.

[83] The graph 學 occurs only twice in “Xing zi ming chu”: strips 8 and 36. In “Xingqing lun,” the strip corresponding to the text of the former’s strip 8 is missing, whereas in the latter’s strip 31, 𡥈 corresponds to the 學 in the former’s strip 36. For more on the graph, see Pu Maozuo’s note on p. 226 of the “Xingqing lun” transcription, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu, v. 1*.

[84] For brevity’s sake, I give all graphs here (and below), except the one in question, in their standard orthographic equivalents (i.e., 知 for 智, etc.); for a more faithful rendering, see the transcription to the translations. Note that 亙(恆) has been changed to 常 in the received versions due to taboo avoidance of Han Emperor Wen’s 漢文帝 given name.

the lines of "Laozi A" 14 (R 16 A), strip 24: 至虛，亙也 ("In attaining emptiness, be absolute"); and "Laozi B" 1 (R 59), strip 2: "無不克則莫知其亙" ("If there is nothing you do not overcome, no one will know its limits"), where 亙 corresponds instead to 極 in the received versions. While many have made the case that *heng* is in fact a more sensible reading for the former of these last two cases, few are inclined to argue likewise for the latter, and in each instance the *rusheng* rhymes of the passage better support the reading of *ji*. The reason for the confusion of the two characters is both graphic and phonetic. *Heng* and *ji* both had elements that appeared closely similar in form to each other in the Chu script, the former graph (*gen* 亙) written and the latter (亟) written ;[85] the two were also relatively close in sound—*kəŋ (見紐蒸部) and *kĭǝ̆k (見紐職部), respectively, sharing the same initial and main vowel—likely further contributing to their confusion. While one would hope that the crucial semantic distinction between the two words would have caused scribes to be vigilant in preserving this distinction in graphic form, the undeniable merging of the two, at times, into a single form forces us to the conclusion that they assumed context alone—aided, no doubt, by teacher-disciple instruction—would suffice in each instance to indicate the intended word.[86] In the absence of compelling arguments to the contrary, we can only assume—with all appropriate reservations—that later redactors of the *Daode jing* still had sufficient resources of one form or another (including perhaps graphic) to determine the correct reading in each case, though the possibility of their having misread the graphs always exists. Where we are on most tenuous grounds is when the graph appears in texts with no received counterparts, in some of which, unfortunately, it happens to occupy a crucial position. Namely, in "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," strips 1-2, where Zisi is quoted as professing: "亙稱其君之惡者，可謂忠臣矣," is the loyal minister one who "constantly" 恆 mentions his ruler's flaws, one who "repeatedly" 亟 mentions them, or one who "vehemently" 極

[85] For further discussion of their graphic similarity and semantic overlap, as related to the Mawangdui and received versions of the "Xici zhuan" 繫辭傳 commentary to the *Yi jing*, cf. Sarah Allan, "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," pp. 269–70 and 277–78.

[86] Li Ling, in "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji" p. 466, argues that the common confusion of these two graphs was in fact a kind of "accepted" graphic mixing in the scribal habits of the time, similar to the way, for example, 叚 was often written for 段 during the Tang dynasty; for further examples of what Li refers to as *xingjin hunyong* 形近混用, see his "Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti," p. 51. In some cases, this sort of graphic interloaning (*zixing tongzhuan* 字形通轉) may derive from an organic connection between the graphs (as with *jiao* and *xue* above). Yan Shixuan identifies the interchanges between *tian* 天 and *da* 大 and between *yan* 言 and *yin* 音 in these texts as examples of much the same phenomenon; see his "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 626–29.

mentions them?[87] Or in "Cheng zhi," strip 1: "古之用民者，求之於己爲亙," were those of old who employed their people "constant" 恆 in seeking the model within themselves, or were they "urgent" 亟 in doing so? Or in strips 24-25 of that text: "上之亙務在信於眾," was gaining the trust of the masses the "constant" task of those above, or was it their "urgent" task? Arguments in each case have been proffered for both alternatives, but ultimately the decision as to how to read the graph must in each instance be based on contextual considerations that go beyond the presumption of one particular phonetic reading or the other.[88]

Chu Scribal Peculiarities

While the case of 亙/亟 may be a case of tacitly acceptable graphic confusion, there are also instances where graphs are simply sloppily or incorrectly written, often resulting in another graph altogether. The line between acceptable form-borrowing and outright mistakes is at times hard to draw. Confusion between the graphs *tian* 天 and *er* 而, for instance, occurs with so much regularity that one wonders whether the scribes thought much of it at all. Similar interchange occurs between *wang* 亡 and *zuo* 乍(作), *tian* 天 and *fu* 夫, and *jian* 柬 and *dong* 東, just to name a few examples.[89] The problem of mistaken character switches is prevalent enough in these texts that Qiu Xigui was prompted to write an article specifically drawing attention to the issue, using comparison between Guodian and Shanghai Museum versions of the same texts as his evidential basis.[90] In some cases the confusion may arise from scribal simplifications of what are ordinarily more complex graphic forms, as, for

[87] In this case there is also potential semantic overlap, with 恆 and 亟 effectively amounting to the same idea. For the reading of the graph as 亟 in this text, see Chen Wei, "Guodian Chujian bieshi," p. 68. Aside from its meaning of "repeatedly," Chen also notes the possibility of taking 亟 in the sense of "urgently," which is also how Zhou Fengwu reads the same graph in the "Cheng zhi" examples; see Zhou Fengwu, "Du Guodian zhujian *Chengzhi wenzhi* zhaji," pp. 42–44.

[88] For another instance where the same graph may arguably be used to represent two different words based on different phonetics, see the note to the graph 㯻 in strip 1 of "Liu de."

[89] On these and other examples, cf. Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 623–29.

[90] Qiu Xigui, "Tantan Shanghai jian he Guodian jian zhong de cuobiezi." Qiu compares the separate versions of both "Ziyi" and "Xing zi ming chu" (/"Xingqing lun"), noting a number of mistaken character transpositions in both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts.

example, with the graph in strips 2 and 24 of "Laozi A," which was initially rendered *xu* 須 but later recognized to be an abbreviation of *gua* 㝸(寡) (read 顧 in the second instance).

On the issue of Chu scribal practices, there remain a number of other noteworthy phenomena. We observed above in the case of *dao* how two different graphs (道 and 衍) are used to represent the same word almost indiscriminately; this is by no means an isolated case. More often than not, the phonetic remains the same, but the radical signifier often appears to be exchanged or omitted at will, even within the same sentence.[91] Yan Shixuan has brought together numerous examples of such proximate variations, of which let us consider the following:[92]

> 炁（愛）罙（親）忘（忘）臤（賢），忎（仁）而未義也。尊臤（賢）遺罙（親），我（義）而未忎（仁）也。 ("Tang Yu zhi dao," strips 8-9)

> 审（中）心誃（辯）肰（然）而正行之，植（直）也。悳（直）而述（遂）之，逮（肆）也。 ("Wu xing," strips 33-34)

> 唯眚（性）炁（愛）為近㤅（仁）……唯宜（義）衍（道）為忻（近）忠……唯亞（惡）不㤅（仁）為忻（近）宜（義）。 ("Xing zi ming chu," strips 40-41)

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[91] Though phonetics could always be substituted for others of identical (or nearly identical) sound, there is little doubt that the phonetic component was the more primary feature of early graphs, as a number of recent studies have stressed. As Imre Galambos puts it, "The scribes could abbreviate or leave out almost any other part of the character, could introduce new components, yet they retained the phonetic component in virtually every instance. This realization reinforces the priority of spoken language (sound) over writing (visual form), a connection easily forgotten when it comes to Chinese writing." See his *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing*, p. 3.

[92] For these and many other such examples, see Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 635–38 and 641–42. Yan distinguishes between phonetic loans and graphic variants, but in nearly all the cases he cites, the same phonetic element is shared in common. For an additional example where there is no common phonetic element, we may note the alteration of 云 and 員 for Ode citation, as in strips 35-36 of "Ziyi."

宔（望）生於敬，恥生於憲（望）。 (“Yucong 2,” strip 3)

In all these cases, it seems clear from context that both the meaning and usage of the two different graphs remain more or less the same, and this is also borne out by comparison with other excavated versions.[93] It is certainly possible in some instances that a change to or addition of the semantic classifier may point to a difference in semantic or syntactic use, as is possibly the case with:

和其光，迵（同/通）其新（塵），副（屠）其䈉（嬰），解其紛，是胃（謂）玄同。 (“Laozi A,” strips 27–28)[94]

Here, the first *tong* (迵), written 同 in all the received and Mawangdui versions, is clearly a verb, and the same graph is read 通 elsewhere in these manuscripts, whereas the second 同 is a nominal form; it is not unlikely that the addition of the 辵 radical may have served as some sort of syntactic marking.[95] Given, however, the evidence of examples where such changes or omissions are clearly random, it is difficult to place too much credence in arguments that variations in the form of any given graph carry great significance, though the potential that

[93] In the Mawangdui “Wu xing,” the corresponding graph is both times simply written 直 (line 192); in the Shanghai Museum manuscript of “Xingqing lun,” the graph in question appears to be consistently written 近. It is worth noting that in both these cases the switch involves two classifiers that are not normally interchangeable (in contrast, for example, to the way that 口 may regularly switch for 言, or 彳 for 辶). Note also that the same graph 忻 (“delight”) appears as the opposite (assumedly) of 悲 (“sorrow”) in strip 32 of “Xing zi ming chu.”

[94] For this and a couple of other possible such examples, see Yan Shixuan, “Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu,” pp. 638–39. As we noted above, Robert Gassmann has also made much of such variations, particularly in the reading of the graphs 娧 and 敓 in strip 7 of “Laozi C”; see his “Preliminary Thoughts on the Relationship Between Lexicon and Writing in the Guodian Texts,” pp. 233–42. We might also incidentally point out here that the graph 新 of this line, here read *chen* 塵, is more ordinarily used in these manuscripts to represent the word *shen* 慎—here yet another case of purely phonetic borrowing.

[95] Citing a number of cognate examples that happen to come from the same phonetic series (and the phonetically interchangeable 甬 series), Haeree Park notes that 洞 and 迵, though written with different semantic classifiers and attesting to different meanings in early texts, “stand from a phonological perspective for the same etymological word,” and he sums up the situation well by noting that “the apparently different *meanings* associated with the distinct forms of characters are linguistically nothing but different shades of the same word’s meaning. The graphic distinction 氵 versus 辶 would likely have been initially made according to the contexts where this word typically occurs. When such a distinction becomes conventionalized the variant forms come to constitute orthographically different characters.” See his “Linguistic Approaches to Reading Excavated Manuscripts,” p. 861.

they might in some instances is always there. A couple of the more significant cases where a radical signifier may have more far-reaching consequences, such as with the graph 𢡺, will be discussed in due course.

There is also the inverse case where the same graph is used to represent two or more different words, or at least different usages derived from a common word that would become clearly distinguished in later orthography. A good example of this is the character 聖, which often stands in these texts to represent three closely related words of distinct function: "sound/voice" (聲), "listen" (聽), and "sagacity" (聖). To borrow again from Yan's examples, this time of where such distinct uses of common graphs co-occur in the same sentence:

> 聖（聽）𨥓（琴）幵（瑟）之聖（聲），則誖（悖）女（如）也斯戁（歎）。 ("Xing zi ming chu," strips 24–25)
>
> 𢿢（竊）鉤者戜（誅），𢿢（竊）邦者為者（諸）侯。 ("Yucong 4," strip 8)
>
> 唯與可（訶），相去幾可（何）？ ("Laozi B," strip 4)
>
> 氏（是）古=（故，古）之所以行虖（乎）閔（蠻）嘍（貉）者，女（如）此也。 ("Zhongxin zhi dao," strips 8–9).[96]

In the last example, even a repetition marker is used with double duty to represent two distinct word usages.

All of this creates for us a number of potential problems in interpretation, especially where the context is not so clear. If in the final example just above, for instance, should the fact that the "Man" 蠻 "barbarian" peoples are seemingly already represented by the graph 緜 in the same text just a couple of sentences prior dissuade us from reading the graph 閔 here as "Man" as well? In the sentence from strips 7 of "Wu xing" that reads "士有志於君子道謂之時(志)士," can we assume that the variation of 時 for 志 is insignificant, and should we feel free to read the 之 of "德弗之不成" in the next line as 志 also? To be sure, the

[96] For these and other examples, see Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 639–42.

examples cited previously suggest that common readings for these different graphs are certainly possible, but we should nonetheless be on guard against too easily giving in to the impression of scribal randomness in character selection when choosing among different plausible readings. It is in the very nature of Chinese writing itself, after all, that radical signifiers are employed to impart visual meaning to graphs in their representation of words, and while purely phonetic loans are certainly common in early texts, this does not mean that the writing system as a whole was haphazard.[97] It is a system that can only be described as complex and somewhat inconsistent, but the inconsistency itself can only be defined in terms of exceptions to a greater rule, regardless of just how "consistent" those inconsistencies are.

There are clearly cases where semantic classifiers appear to impart specific meaning to the words represented by graphs, and in some instances whether or not we recognize them to hold such significance may have far-reaching consequences for how we interpret the overall import of passages in these texts. Pang Pu takes special notice of graphs written with the *xin* 心, "heart-mind," radical, arguing that they tend to highlight the sense of mental attitude over that of action in these and other texts of the period. For instance, the word *yong* (勇), "courage," may (in one interpretation) be written with the 心 classifier in strip 33 of "Zun deyi":

> 不忠則不信，弗恿（勇）則亡復（報）
>
> If [he] is not faithful, he will [gain] no trust; if [he] is not courageous, he will not be requited.[98]

but with the *ge* 戈, "halberd," classifier in strip 35 of that text:

> 愋（寬）不足以安民，甬戈（勇）不足以沬（潰）眾

[97] As a further instance of how the radical signifier is of limited value in determining the reading of graphs in these texts, Yan Shixuan gives the pervasive example of graphs in the 台/司 phonetic series, wherein such graphs as 台, 怠, 司, 忖, 訂, 絧, 幻, 詞, 兌, and 銅 are variously read 治, 始, 殆, 司, 詞, and 事, at times almost indiscriminately. But Yan, too, also notes the converse case of where signifiers are used to impart particular meanings to graphs, citing such examples as strip 36 of "Laozi A," where the graphs for "gain 得, "loss" 亡, "expense" 費, and "hoarding" 藏 are all suggestively written with the cowry-shell radical: 貴, 貢, 賈, and 贓, respectively. See Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 653–55.

[98] Note that in contrast to others, I actually read 恿 here as 聳, "encourage," and divide these two phrases between different "paragraphs"; see the translation for details.

> Leniency is insufficient to secure the people; courage is insufficient to break through the masses.

Pang suggests that the former emphasizes the *mental* attitude of courage, while the latter stresses courageous or fierce *action*, thus accounting for the difference in orthography—a reasonable enough conclusion given the respective contexts. He goes on to draw similar distinctions between such graphs as 遜 and 愻, 返 and 㤆, 亡 and 忘, and 順 and 𢖻, arguing that the latter of each pair highlight the senses of psychological "submissiveness," mental "reflection," mental "loss," and emotional "accordance," respectively.[99] Particularly significant in this regard is the graph 𢥞 that appears, among other places, in both strip 1 of "Laozi A" and strip 48 of "Xing zi ming chu," which the editors read as simply 僞, "artifice." While it is certainly closely related to the latter graph in meaning, Pang argues that the use of the 心 radical lends it a special sense of "conscious mental activity," particularly in "Laozi A," where he argues that it must have represented a traditionally positive virtue.[100] The most celebrated case is that of the character for *ren*, "humanity": Pang and others have made much of the fact that is written in these manuscripts not with the more customary form of 仁, but rather with "body/self" over "heart-mind," or "𢙐," with 身 serving not only as the phonetic element, but also combining semantically with 心 to impart the philosophical sense of "humanity" as a virtue that is part and parcel of one's physical and mental endowment.[101] It is no doubt easy to overstate such cases, but as Pang suggests, it may well be true that many of these instances reflect subtle distinctions in the early orthography that would eventually be lost, once such graphs were simply replaced by then-more-common forms in Han redactions.

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[99] Pang Pu, "Ying Yan shu shuo: Guodian Chujian, Zhongshan sanqi xinpang wenzi shishuo," pp. 37–38.

[100] Pang Pu, "Gumu xinzhi: mandu Guodian Chujian," p. 11, and "Ying Yan shu shuo," p. 39. For details, see also Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 23–30, and the notes to strip 1 of "Laozi A" in the translations of the present book.

[101] See Pang Pu, "Ying Yan shu shuo," pp. 40–41; Du Weiming, "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 6; Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," pp. 622–23. The graph 𢙐 appears also in early seals, where it was previously identified as *xin* 信, a variant of the latter's alternative form of 䚱. Yu Wanli suggests the graph may indeed have been used at times in seals as 信, but only as a phonetic loan from 仁 and, in part, as a result of the similarity to that latter form; see his "Shangbo jian, Guodian jian 'Ziyi' yu chuanben hejiao shiyi," pp. 435–37, or "Shangbo jian, Guodian jian 'Ziyi' yu chuanben hejiao buzheng (yi)," pp. 12–13. For somewhat different speculation on the historical relationship between these two forms of *ren*, cf. Liao Mingchun, *Xinchu Chujian shilun*, pp. 157–59. The word *yi* 義, "propriety," is also written with the 心 classifier (𢡺) in a couple of the "Yucong" texts, but this is an uncommon variant in the Guodian manuscripts; Pang suggests this is reflective of the fact that the texts were written down at a time when conceptions of the notion of *yi* were still in transition.

Edward L. Shaughnessy has also argued strongly for the merits of Pang's approach toward analyzing such pre-"devolutionary" graphic variations, noting that the tendency to reduce such forms to later orthographic standards in transcription "unnecessarily limits the range of nuances that may have been available to the Warring States author or editor of the manuscript."[102]

In short, then, the form of the graph chosen to represent any given word *does* matter—sometimes. The Guodian scribes had available to them a Chinese script rich in possibilities for precise semantic representation, but it is more than evident that they made full use of such possibilities only sporadically.[103] Given both the potential for semantically nuanced graphic representation and the inconsistency in its application, we can lay no hard-and-fast ground rules for how to interpret graphs for both sound and meaning, but must ultimately make such decisions on a case-by-case basis in full consideration of all available evidence. We will return to these issues again in the next section.

On the topic of Chu scribal peculiarities, there are a couple of other phenomena that bear mentioning here. The first is that while all text is generally written on a single side of the strips, the backsides are also used on rare occasion. The most common instance—though this does not occur in the Guodian manuscripts—is where a title is occasionally written on the backside of a strip near the beginning or end of the manuscript, so that it might be visible on the outside once the scroll is rolled up.[104] In the Guodian manuscripts, there is further at least one, and perhaps two, instances where accidentally omitted text was subsequently added at the corresponding position on the back of a strip, and even another instance where a corrected or alternative form of a graph was written on the back to presumably emend a

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[102] Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, p. 26.

[103] Olivier Venture argues that this is not necessarily a feature of Chu scribal practices more generally, and that "common writing habits" involving a greater degree of precision can be detected in less literary forums of textual production: "Textual ambiguity may be intended by some authors for poetic or philosophical purposes, but certainly not in the case of legal or administrative documents," whereby officials "had to communicate and be understood without possible ambiguity." See his "Looking for Chu People's Writing Habits," esp. pp. 948–49.

[104] See the manuscripts "Zigao" 子羔, "Rongcheng shi" 容成氏, "Heng xian" 亙先," "Zhonggong" 中弓, "Nei li" 內豊, "Cao Mo zhi zhen" 曹沬之陳, "Jing jian na zhi" 競建內之, "Jing Gong nüe" 競公瘧, "Shen Zi yue gongjian" 慎子曰恭儉, "Fan wu liu xing" A 凡物流形（甲）, "Wu ming" 吳命, "Ming" 命, and "Wang ju" 王居 in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, volumes 2–8. In the case of "Rongcheng shi," "Zhonggong," and "Ming," the title appears to be written on the back of one of the final strips rather than the opening ones; for further details, see Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 60–62. Feng notes that differences in calligraphic style or even character choice between a few of these titles and their corresponding texts suggest that some of the titles may have not been written by the copyists, but rather added later by readers or collectors.

potentially unrecognizable graph on the front.[105] Whether such emendations were conducted by the scribes themselves or by later readers is difficult to determine.[106] Second, while text is generally written consecutively on strips from top to bottom, there are a couple of exceptions to this rule in the "Yucong" 1-3 texts. In those manuscripts, each aphorism begins anew at the top of its own initial strip, and, in "Yucong" 3, a number of strips are even written in "columns" that are to be read horizontally across strips—a phenomenon not previously encountered in excavated texts.

Finally, it may be the case that in a couple of the manuscripts, the script may not purely reflect the Chu script after all, as vestiges from other local scripts may still remain. With this possibility in mind, let us now examine the individual graphic and calligraphic idiosyncrasies of these manuscripts more carefully.

Calligraphic Divisions

The Guodian manuscripts can potentially be divided into groups of production by different scribes on the basis of similarities in graphic forms and calligraphic styles. Li Ling, for instance, has identified five distinct hands at work, while Zhou Fengwu notes four general types, essentially equivalent to Li's but with the first two groups combined into one.[107] Prior to evaluating these two studies, I conducted my own analysis of graphic/calligraphic types by looking at a number of commonly encountered graphs, which resulted in conclusions largely

[105] For the first case, see the notes to strip 40 of "Ziyi" and, more problematically, strip 27 of "Yucong 4"; for the second, see the notes to strip 36 of "Wu xing." These cases are also discussed in Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 631–33. Note also the unusual case of numbers written on the back of a few of the strips in "Zun deyi" and "Cheng zhi," for more on which see the "Textual Notes" to the introduction to my "Zun deyi" translation later in this book.

[106] Li Songru, however, contends that the writing on the back of "Ziyi" strip 40 is calligraphically distinct from the remainder of that manuscript; see her "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu," p. 159.

[107] See Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," pp. 459–61; Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 57–59. Zhou's four groups correspond to Li's types I+II, IV, V, and III, respectively. More recently, Matthias Richter has also proposed a modified version of Li's groups, which, like Zhou's, sees Li's I and II as subgroups of a single type; see his "Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands within the Guodian Manuscript Corpus," p. 3. In perhaps the most extensive study to date, Li Songru has given her own categorization, which also accords with that of Li Ling, except that she would place "Yucong 4" into the second category instead; see her "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu," esp. pp. 151–52. Li Songru also argues (pp. 157–67), however, that some of the manuscripts in group II were actually written in two different hands, one of those hands bearing striking resemblance to the scribal features of group I; we shall return to this issue shortly.

in accord with those of Li and Zhou.[108] For instance, texts 1-6, along with 16, are largely all similar in form, but 3 and 6 ("Ziyi" and "Wu xing") stand out as at least a subtype within this group. On the other hand, there is clear evidence to further subdivide a few of the groups, most notably texts 9-12, which despite their mutual similarities can be distinctly separated into three groups: texts 9 ("Cheng zhi"), 10 ("Zun deyi"), and 11-12 ("Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de"). The various graphs for 而 give a good example of some of both the general similarities and subtle distinctions: texts 1-6 and 16 give a consistent form of , varied only by sometimes having only a single horizontal stroke at the top ; 10-12 have a structurally equivalent form but calligraphically with more pronounced curvature in the strokes: ; 9 ("Cheng zhi"), by contrast, has its own unique form of ; 7-8 have yet another form: ; 13-14 give a similar but nonetheless clearly distinct form of ; and of the three lone examples from 15 ("Yucong 3"), while one roughly resembles the forms of 13-14, the other two are unique altogether: .[109]

Li himself notes that his are only general groupings that could be further subdivided, and in what follows, Li's types form the basis for my consideration of further formal distinctions among them: Roman numerals indicate Li's major categories, while letters following these numerals indicate my proposed subdivisions. Note that Li does not give any description of the basis upon which these graphic/calligraphic divisions are made; Zhou, however, does, and I note some of his observations below.[110] It should be stated at the outset that there are more than a few gray areas within these divisions, and I do not intend to give the impression that they are by any means clear-cut.

Type I

The texts included in this type are 1-2, 4-5, and 16: "Laozi" A, B, C, "Taiyi sheng shui," "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," "Qiongda yi shi," and "Yucong 4" (note that Li Ling groups texts 4

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[108] Specifically, the characters I analyzed were 之, 也, 者, 則, 而, 德, 仁, 我/義, and 爲. A comparative chart for the first five of these graphs appears at the end of this subsection.

[109] For a more comprehensive picture of these differences, the reader may examine the various forms laid out in Cheung Kwong-yue, Yuan Guohua et al., *Guodian Chujian yanjiu: diyi juan wenzi bian*, pp. 332–38.

[110] Li Songru also gives concrete descriptions of the general calligraphic features of graphs for a number of texts falling within the first and second categories—for which I shall direct the reader to her work—along with numerous comparative examples of some of the more distinctive graphs themselves. See her "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu."

and 5 into his second category instead). It is worth noting that while the three "Laozi" manuscripts (including "Taiyi") reveal largely the same calligraphic hand, certain variations can be seen among them or even within a single text, showing how even the same scribe may not always have written the same forms consistently.[111]

Zhou Fengwu sees this type as part of a larger group that includes Li's category II, which, together constituting the most numerous type, he sees as the common utilitarian script of the Chu region, similar to the style of Baoshan. Zhou describes this group as marked calligraphically by strokes with thick heads and thin tails, perhaps similar in nature to the pre-Qin "tadpole script" (*kedou wen* 科斗文).[112]

Type II

Texts 3 and 6 constitute this type, that is, "Ziyi" and "Wu xing." This type is largely in accord with Li's category I, and we could alternately label it as IB; Zhou, as just noted, in fact places these two manuscripts within the same group as Type I (whereas Li includes "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" and "Qiongda yi shi" together with these two). Yet among this larger group, texts 3 and 6 do appear to have the greatest range of variations, some of which are unique to each of the two individual manuscripts, but many of which overlap with each other.[113] For example, the form of *zhe* 者 as , which appears regularly in "Wu xing," does

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[111] For example, 爲 is generally written in "Laozi" A, but it is sometimes there written , as it appears in "Laozi" B and C. Peng Hao, on the other hand, while noting only minor variations between A and B such that they may have been written by the same scribe, suggests that "Laozi C"/"Taiyi sheng shui" were written by a different scribe from these two altogether; see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 133–34. Li Songru observes certain calligraphic differences between all three manuscripts, but suggests that they were probably still copied by a single scribe, being reflective only of differences in the source manuscripts and differences in the time periods of that scribe's career in which they were copied; see her "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu," pp. 153–55. Matthias Richter, in "Tentative Criteria," pp. 5–7, provides a detailed analysis comparing forms of 爲, 者, and 之 in these particular manuscripts, and concludes that "'Laozi A' clearly employs a hand different from the others," but with the exception that strips 5 and 6 are written in a script more closely resembling that of texts like "Ziyi" and "Wu xing." However, given how unlikely it is that there would have been any changes of scribes mid-passage, I would assume that any observable differences in calligraphic style for those two individual strips would likely have been caused instead by simply having had more ink on the brush. On this last point, see also the notes to calligraphic type II just below.

[112] Note that Zhou also thus sees these texts—with the exception of "Yucong 4"—as ones that either originated in the region or made their way there early on; see his "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 57.

[113] Zhou also makes a somewhat different observation, noting that while most of the graphs in "Wu xing" resemble others from Li's Types I and II, some appear closer to the ostensibly non-Chu forms of Li's Types III and V. See Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 59 and 63 n. 48. Feng

not occur at all in "Ziyi," where the graph is usually written either or ; neither of these first two forms, on the other hand, appears in any of the Type I manuscripts. At the same time, there is a certain degree of variation internally within each of these two manuscripts, prompting at least one scholar to conclude—to my mind untenably—that there were at least two hands involved in the production of each.[114] Once again, it appears to be the case that individual scribes did not always adhere rigidly or consistently to a single structural form or even calligraphic style when writing or copying a graph onto a manuscript, but were subject, like the rest of us, to both the vicissitudes of individual whim and, perhaps, to the now-unascertainable influence of their source text.

Type III

This type consists of texts 7 and 8, "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao." Zhou sees this type as close in style to Li Ling's category V, but much thicker in brush, especially in the middle parts of the strokes. He notes structural similarities in a number of the graphs with the formal characteristics of those from the state Qi 齊, suggesting they were closely copied from a Qi edition and thus not yet "domesticated."[115] Note that while texts 7 and 8 are always close to each other in form, they are often unvaryingly distinct from each other in

Shengjun offers similar conclusions, but sees the non-Chu forms as even more dominant in this text than does Zhou; see his "Tantan Guodian jian 'Wu xing' pian zhong de fei Chu wenzi yinsu," esp. p. 51.

[114] Li Songru divides "Ziyi," "Wu xing," and "Yucong 4" each into two different shared calligraphic styles (plus a third in the case of "Wu xing"), the second of which she describes as more "casual," "lax in form," and "curvy"—a typology she also extends to the punctuation on these manuscripts—and she concludes from this that each of these manuscripts was completed by at least two different scribes; see her "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu," pp. 157–67. In the case of "Ziyi," her style A occurs on strips 1-9, 16b-18, 20-28a, and 29-41, with style B occurring on all the others; the other two manuscripts show a similar variety in strip positions. The problem with her conclusions should be self-evident: the notion that a second "Ziyi" scribe would have come in just to copy strip 19 and, again, the last few graphs of 28, for instance, seems, while not impossible, too far-fetched to be given serious consideration, and shows a bit too much confidence in our ability to distinguish scribal hands on the basis of idiosyncratic structural or calligraphic variations (the case of "Wu xing" strips 10-11 may be somewhat unique, for which see the notes to that translation). While the differences may be real, they should alert us rather to the fact that scribes did not always write character forms with any strict consistency. There are also, moreover, some manifest calligraphic differences *within* each of her two styles, making any clear-cut distinction between the two ostensible hands all the more problematic. Note also that Li contends that style B bears a striking resemblance to the calligraphy of the "Laozi"/"Taiyi sheng shui" manuscripts, suggesting that there may have been some sort of lineage relationship between the scribe who copied those manuscripts and the second scribe involved with these three; see pp. 166–67.

[115] Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 59.

very subtle ways, as, for example, in the case of the graphs for 者, written throughout most of "Tang Yu zhi dao," but consistently written in "Zhongxin zhi dao."[116] We may thus further subdivide this type into:

IIIa "Tang Yu zhi dao"
IIIb "Zhongxin zhi dao"

Type IV

This type, taken together as a single group, corresponds to the four texts of 32.5 cm in length with two notches spaced at a distance of 17.5 cm (texts 9-12). Zhou sees this group as closely related in form to Li Ling's categories I-II, but marked by a calligraphy that possesses more of an ornate flair and composed of strokes that are thick in the middle yet fine on both ends. He sees it on the one hand as having more of the characteristics of the "ancient script" of the pre-Han classics, and on the other as possessing the ornateness of the "bird-and-insect script" (*niaochong wen* 鳥蟲文).[117] Close inspection of this group, however, reveals some clear differences in graphic forms between the individual texts, and it may thus be further subdivided into three subtypes:

IVa "Cheng zhi": this text has a number of rather unique graphic structures, such as the form of 而 ( ) noted above, which appears as such dependably throughout the text. We might also note the unique forms of 則, consistently written , and 者, usually (though not always) written . Differences aside, however, the graphs of this text on the whole bear greatest similarity to those of IVb ("Zun deyi").

IVb "Zun deyi": the forms of this text are often like those of IVc ("Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de"), but still clearly distinct in some ways. The graph for 者, for instance, is

[116] Peng Hao also notes a "very particular" style for "Tang Yu zhi dao" that may suggest a "different origin" for the manuscript; see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 134. The issue of regional variation is analyzed most extensively in Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 250–314.

[117] This is in an attempt, Zhou speculates, to beautify or even mystify texts of canonical status; see his "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 57.

written , just as it is found in the IVc forms, whereas 則 is consistently written , distinct in form from those of both IVa and IVc.

IVc "Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de." The forms of these two texts are consistently the same, with 而, for example, written throughout both texts (not to mention "Zun deyi"), and 則 uniformly written . Fortunately, the existence of the Shanghai Museum version of the former text (there entitled "Xingqing lun") makes clear separation of these two texts relatively unproblematic in spite of the identical calligraphy.

Type V

This type, that of texts 13–15 ("Yucong" 1-3), is easily the most distinctive calligraphic style of the Guodian corpus, exceptionally well crafted with elongated and evenly balanced strokes, and the graphs all spaced at regular intervals with a norm of exactly eight characters to every fully written strip.[118] Zhou suggests that they may be equivalent in form to the classical "ancient seal-script" (*guwen zhuanshu* 古文篆書), said also to have been written eight characters to a strip;[119] he also suggests they may, much like the case with Li's category III, preserve some of the formal characteristics of graphs from the areas of Qi, Lu 魯, and the central-plains states.[120] While these three manuscripts are calligraphically all closer to each other than to any other text in the corpus, text 15 ("Yucong 3") is still clearly distinct in some ways from 13–14, so that we may further subdivide them into two subgroups:

Va "Yucong 1" and "Yucong 2." These two texts are almost certainly from the same scribal hand.

Vb "Yucong 3." This subtype is generally close in style to Va, but nonetheless having some distinct differences. In fact, scholars have distinguished at least four different calligraphic styles within this single text alone (see the introduction to "Yucong 3"), but structurally they would appear to belong to the same general type.

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[118] As Zhou Fengwu notes, there are a few instances—mostly in "Yucong 3"—where an extra character or two is squeezed in, but these should be seen as exceptions to the rule.

[119] This is based upon Eastern Han scholar Fu Qian's 服虔 description of the graphs in an ancient *Zuo zhuan* edition: "古文篆書，一簡八字." See Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 57–58; see also the reservations raised by Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 52–53.

[120] Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 58–59. For more on this possibility, cf. Chen Jian, "Ju Zhanguo zhujian wenzi jiaodu gushu liang ze," p. 378.

A sense of the nature of both similarities and differences among these five types and their respective subtypes may be glimpsed from the following comparative chart of representative examples of five of the most commonly encountered characters:[121]

	之	也	者	則	而
I					
II					
IIIa					
IIIb					
IVa					
IVb					
IVc					
Va					
Vb					

[121] The chart is by no means exhaustive for these characters, and a few other occasional variant forms not listed here may be found in the manuscripts. For a series of somewhat more detailed charts involving a number of different characters, see Li Songru, "Guodian Chumu zhujian ziji yanjiu."

The most noteworthy aspect of all this is that, excluding the most general Type I, the calligraphic groupings tend to tally with the other dimensions of the strips, and quite possibly with intellectual categories as well.[122] For instance, the texts of Type II, "Ziyi" and "Wu xing," are not only practically identical in dimension, but have, for reasons we will discuss below, also been closely associated in terms of intellectual lineage. Types IIIa–b, "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao," are also of roughly the same dimensions, while likewise appearing to possess certain philosophical affinities. Comparable similarities in calligraphy, form, and content may, of course, also be observed among the "Yucong" 1-3 texts of Type V.

Implications for Strip Reassignment and Internal Reordering

Equally significant in implication, however, are the subdivisions within groups, in particular those that serve to distinguish types IVa, IVb, and IVc. Given that the 195 strips involved here are all of precisely the same dimensions, the editors' initial impulse was to assign them all to a single—though very large—text. Qiu Xigui, however, advocated their division into the four separate texts with which we were eventually presented: "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," and "Liu de," and there is no doubt that calligraphic distinctions played a large role in his textual reallocation. The editors, however, mention graphic forms as a general criterion for separating texts only in passing, which appears to have caused more than a few scholars to overlook this aspect. In a paper the findings of which I first publicly presented in August of 2000, I discuss the need for caution in the reassignment of strips among the four texts in question, given the consistent calligraphic distinctions among them discussed above.[123] Directly implicated in this admonition was the work of Chen Wei, who had recently written an article that radically reassigned many of the strips and even completely regrouped the texts in question, on the basis of wording and

[122] Liao Mingchun even suggests that strip dimensions and shape may be indicative of a text's origin in terms of philosophical lineage; see his "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 69–70.

[123] See my "Guodian Chujian Rujia yishu de pailie tiaozheng chuyi," pp. 207–8. Wang Bo, in "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," also mentions there are clear differences in graphic forms among these 195 strips (p. 258), though he elsewhere states that the forms in "Liu de" and "Zun deyi" are "basically the same" (p. 262). Li Ling makes a related point about the failure of scholars to pay attention to graphic forms in *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, "Fanli" 凡例 p. 5.

contextual considerations alone.[124] Liao Mingchun later followed with a similar critique on some of Chen's specific reallocations.[125]

In his major work on the Guodian manuscripts, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, Chen later admitted the validity of our observations but still defended his efforts with the reasonable explanations that a) not all of our claims to consistency were themselves absolute (as I note in the case of 者); b) even for those, like 而 or 則, that are absolutely consistent in their differences across the texts as currently divided, the fact that *other* graphs have demonstrably appeared in different forms within a single text shows at least the possibility that these graphs, too, *could* be written in different forms within each single text as well; and, of course, c) even if we forbid reassigning strips in which those particular graphs appear, there is nothing to stop us from relocating those in which they do not.[126] These explanations are all perfectly valid, and any of Chen's reassignments are thus still worth considering, but the sheer weight of the consistency of distinctness in the forms of such characters as 而 and 則 between different texts that were originally divided as much on the basis of contextual linkages as on calligraphic considerations alone, coupled with the fact that there are few strips on which these common graphs do not occur, makes, to my mind, the possibility of any wholesale reassignments highly unlikely. And after all, the unveiling of the Shanghai Museum version of "Xing zi ming chu" ("Xingqing lun") itself forced Chen to revise at least some of his strip reallocations in the final version of his work.[127] Given all these considerations, I retain my

[124] See Chen Wei, "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng."

[125] Specifically, Liao looked at differences in the forms of the characters 也, 之, and 可 to question Chen's reassignment of "Cheng zhi" strips 31-33 and "Zun deyi" strip 1 (as discussed two notes below). See Liao Mingchun, "Guodian jian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' pian de bianlian he mingming wenti," p. 19. However, the distinctions in the graphs Liao chooses for analysis are, as Chen notes, somewhat less manifest than those considered here, and also less than entirely consistent across the texts. Liao also points to general differences in brush-stroke thickness between "Cheng zhi" and "Liu de," but as Chen rightly points out, while this is generally true, there are, owing to a variety of physical factors, demonstrable exceptions to the phenomenon of uniformity in thickness within each single text, and even on occasion within a single strip—making this a very problematic criterion for assignment. See Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi,* pp. 95–96.

[126] Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 90–96. While this last point is generally true, it becomes problematic where there is a close contextual relationship between such strips and others of the same text where such graphs do indeed appear, as is the case with strips 31-33 and 3-40 of "Cheng zhi"; for details, see the introduction to that text later in this book.

[127] This primarily involved Chen's placement of "Liu de" strips 1-5 at the head of what is essentially the second half of "Xing zi ming chu," strips which in his later work he reassigns to the head of the bulk of the "Liu de" text (following "Cheng zhi" strips 31-33); note, however, that this particular rearrangement had been between the two texts with identical calligraphy. The changes that Chen retains through both works include reassigning "Zun deyi" strip 1 to the beginning of a reordered "Cheng zhi" text (and entitling that text "Deyi" 德義); moving strips 31-33 and 40 of "Cheng zhi" respectively to the head and tail of "Liu de" (in a text retitled "Da

own sense of caution in strip reassignments between these texts in my translations to this volume, and in the end make only one exception to Qiu's original assignments, accepting Chen's (and Wang Bo's) suggestion of moving the tentatively assigned strip 49 of "Liu de" to the end of "Zun deyi"—a strip in which none of the graphs in question happens to appear.[128]

While the possibility of reallocation between texts thus remains highly problematic, the need for the reordering of strips within texts is another issue entirely. The *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors freely admit that they were unable to completely reconstruct the texts to their original form,[129] and this is not surprising given especially both the complexities of the task and the short amount of time in which they—on the whole quite successfully—completed it. The tentative nature of the ordering was made abundantly clear in the transcription itself, wherein groups of strips that could be read contiguously with some confidence were each placed into a single block, with all neighboring blocks—between which any direct connections were speculative at best—left visibly separated on the page. Given the provisional nature of things, it did not take long for scholars to offer a number of suggestions for the reordering not only of these larger blocks, but also, in some cases, of strips within and between such groupings.

The most celebrated early example of this is no doubt the work that Guo Yi did on the text of "Cheng zhi"—overlapped to some extent by the simultaneous, though not immediately published, findings of Zhou Fengwu—showing, among other things, that strip 1 of that text should actually follow strip 30, a move that immediately rendered nonsense out of the editors' original title for that text ("Cheng zhi wen zhi").[130] The success of these

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chang" 大常); and, as noted below, relocating strip 49 of "Liu de" to the end of "Zun deyi" (which Chen entitles "Shang xing" 賞刑). See his "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng," pp. 65, 67–68, 70–72; and *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 109–11, 133, 168.

[128] Following Chen, I place it after strips 17–23, locating the entire block at the end of the text; see his "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng," pp. 70–71, and *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, p. 168. Wang Bo, in "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," also sees the "Liu de" strip as belonging to "Zun deyi," but would place it in the context of strips 26-27 instead. It should be noted that Chen makes the point that none of his final reassignments involve strips with the problematic graphs of 而, 則, or even 矣, in them (*Guodian zhushu bieshi,* p. 95)—though the graph 而 does in fact appear in strip 33 of "Cheng zhi." On my reasons for not accepting Chen's move of "Cheng zhi" strips 31-33 to "Liu de," see the introduction to my "Cheng zhi" translation.

[129] See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, "Preface" p. 1.

[130] See Guo Yi, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' pian shuzheng," pp. 281–82, and Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' zhujian bianxu fuyuan yanjiu"; Zhou's reorderings were later published in summary form in Zhou Fengwu and Lin Suqing, "Guodian zhujian bianxu fuyuan yanjiu," pp. 56–57. For details on this and other strip rearrangements for the manuscript, see the introduction to "Cheng zhi."

rearrangements soon inspired attempts by others to find more logical reorderings for this and other texts, including those of Li Ling, Wang Bo, Chen Wei, and myself, among others.[131] We shall make note of all such tenable proposals in the notes to the translations, but for now let us give a couple of examples to illustrate the process by which such proposals are formulated.

There are a variety of factors that go into determining the strip order for texts with no received or excavated counterparts. These include such things as general syntactic flow, shared content or parallel structures between strips, or, occasionally, comparable lines from other early texts. Sometimes the linkages between strips are obvious, other times not. One relatively conspicuous connection that the editors, given their time constraints, somehow managed to miss is that between strips 27 and 12 of "Zun deyi," two parallel chains of inevitability that would clearly seem to belong together:

> ……善者民必福（富），福（富）未必和，不和不安，不安不樂。（27）
>
> 善者民必眾，眾未必訂（治），不訂（治）不順，不順不平。……（12）

[131] Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji"; Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa"; Chen Wei, "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng"; Li Xueqin, "Shi shuo Guodian jian 'Chengzhi wenzhi' liangzhang"; and Gu Shikao, "Guodian Chujian Rujia yishu de pailie tiaozheng chuyi." Liao Mingchun examines the pros and cons of various reorderings in some detail and suggests some of his own; see the relevant chapters in part three of his *Xinchu Chujian shilun*, pp. 203–47 (or their earlier instantiations in *Qinghua jianbo yanjiu, v. 2*). For a concise summary of the various suggested reorderings for the texts "Cheng zhi," "Liu de," and "Zun deyi," see Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 84–90 (note that Chen mistakenly records my suggestion for "Cheng zhi" as following strips 31-33 with strips 37-40, whereas my actual direct suggestion is simply to follow 19-20 with 34-36). Reordering attempts have not been limited to these 32.5-cm texts; they have also involved such texts as "Taiyi sheng shui," "Tang Yu zhi dao," "Qiongda yi shi," and the various "Yucong" manuscripts. For details, see the translation notes to those texts. Attempts to rearrange the "Xing zi ming chu" manuscript have, again, been more or less rendered moot by the discovery of the Shanghai Museum version of the same text; see the introduction to that manuscript later in this book.

—as several scholars were quick to point out.[132] Other connections, however, are much harder to spot, especially where alternative connections already made by the editors have been taken as more or less established. Take the following lines from strips 29-30 and 22-23 of "Cheng zhi," as read in the editors' original arrangement:

> ……君子曰：唯又（有）其亙（恆）而（29）可能終之為難。……（30）
>
> ……君子曰：疾之。（22）行之不疾，未又（有）能深之者也。……（23）[133]

While both sets of lines are slightly awkward as they stand, they are not so problematic as to have caused anyone to suspect the validity of their internal connections, and any attempts to reread them have at most involved only the reparsing of phrases, not any reordering of the strips themselves. Closer inspection, however, reveals a much more plausible set of connections between strips:

> ……君子曰：唯（雖）又（有）其亙（恆），而（29）行之不疾，未又（有）能深之者也。……（23）
>
> ……君子曰：疾之（22）可能，終之為難。……（30）[134]

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[132] The connection was independently noted by Zhou Fengwu, Wang Bo, Chen Wei, and the present writer; see Zhou Fengwu and Lin Suqing, "Guodian zhujian bianxu fuyuan yanjiu," p. 57; Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," p. 260; Chen Wei, "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng," pp. 70–71; and Gu Shikao, "Guodian Chujian Rujia yishu de pailie tiaozheng chuyi," pp. 213–14.

[133] A rough English rendering of these imaginary lines might read, respectively: "The noble man says, 'Although one may have persistence, the difficult thing is being able to bring it to completion" and "Treat it with urgency! There has never been one who could make it have a deep impact without practicing it with urgency."

[134] We may respectively translate these as: "Though one may have persistence, there has never been one who could make it have a deep impact without practicing it with urgency" and "The noble man says: 'To treat things with urgency may be possible, but it is difficult to bring them to conclusion.'"

—a rearrangement which, if correct, at the same time reveals a whole new logical structure for the text as a whole.[135]

Things get even more problematic when there are strips that are broken in two and perhaps even have portions missing. A particularly thorny case involves the broken top segments of certain strips within the "Zun deyi" manuscript, which the editors apparently saw fit to simply stick back together and photograph in a manner that left little evidence of their original breaks. The problem is that at least a couple of these strip-tops would appear to have been rejoined with the wrong lower strip portions, yielding sentences of which even the best scholarly minds have been helpless to make any sense. To take one of the examples, involving the top portions of the ostensible strips "20" and "23":

……可學也而不可矣（疑）也，（19）可孝（教）也而不可｜迪其民，而民不可㱏（止）也……（20）

桀不胃（謂）其民必亂，而民又（有）（22）為亂矣。爰（？）不｜若也，可從也而不可及也……（23）[136]

—the text in each case reads smoothly enough up until the juncture of the break, at which point it degenerates into nonsense. Once the bottom portions of strips 20 and 23 are switched, however, all issues of interpretation are suddenly resolved at once, yielding sentences with perfect parallelism and logical structure:

……可學也而不可矣（擬）也，（19）可孝（教）也而不可（20a）｜若也，可從也而不可及也……（23b）

[135] For more details on the rationale for my rearrangement, see my (Gu Shikao) "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi' deng pian zazhi," pp. 80–83; cf. Chen Jian, "Guodian jian 'Zun deyi' he 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' de jianbei shuzi yu jianxu guanxi de kaocha," pp. 211–15. See also the introduction and notes to the translation of "Cheng zhi" later in this book.

[136] The first of the two would read something like: "[King] Jie never called upon his people to wreak havoc, but they wreaked havoc nonetheless," followed by something like: "He thus(?) could not compare [to Tang?]; he could follow, but could not catch up"; the second might then go something like: "One can learn but cannot doubt; one can teach but cannot guide the people, and the people cannot be stopped."

桀不胃（謂）其民必亂，而民又（有）（22）為亂矣。受（紂）不（23a）｜迪其民，而民不可㞢（止）也……（20b）[137]

Such uncanny parallelism in *both* reconstituted strips would appear to leave little doubt that the original strips had indeed been pieced together incorrectly.[138]

These examples should serve to demonstrate the tentative nature of our current state of understanding of these texts. While the process of refining the initial arrangements and transcriptions has gone on for some time, and many problematic areas have now been resolved with some confidence, many more undoubtedly lay lurking in the background unsuspected, only to be rendered visible, perhaps, by the light of future discoveries.

The process of working through the Guodian manuscripts thus began with the sorting and arranging of the strips, the specific ordering of which has both helped determine and been determined by the transcription and reading of the graphs inscribed thereon. We will examine the acts of transcription and reading in more detail in the next major section. Before we do so, however, we must first make note of another set of markers that play a large role in the process.

Markers for Punctuation, Division, Combination, Repetition, and Insertion

The Guodian manuscripts are generally unpunctuated, but a number of different markers occur at various points on the strips. Some of these do serve to punctuate between phrases or sentences, whereas others function to divide passages or major sections, and still others to indicate the end of an entire text. Aside from these, there are also markers to indicate the repetition of graphs, as well as those to demarcate combined graphs that are to be read as two

[137] The first reads: "It can be studied but not emulated; it can be taught but not matched up to; it can be followed but never caught up with" (following Chen Jian's reading of 矣 as 擬); and the second reads: "[King] Jie never called upon his people to wreak havoc, but they wreaked havoc nonetheless. [King] Zhou failed to guide his people, and [in the end] they could not be controlled" (following Li Ling's rendering of 爰 as 受, read 紂; it is also still possible to read 爰 as originally interpreted; see the translation notes to "Zun deyi" for further details).

[138] For the details of my arguments for reconstituting both this pair of strips and two other "Zun deyi" pairs found in similar states of probable disconfiguration, see my (Gu Shikao), "Guodian Chujian 'Zun deyi' pian jianxu xin'an," esp. pp. 122–28. See also the introduction and notes to the "Zun deyi" translation later in this book.

separate words. The markers come in a number of different forms that each have vaguely distinct functions, but unfortunately any consistency or standardization in their usage is rather limited, even within a single text, let alone between texts made by distinct copyists.[139] Note that punctuation and divisional markers are frequently placed in between evenly spaced graphs and are *not always* given extra space on the strip; this leaves open the possibility that some of them may have been added later by the readers of these texts.[140] The different types of markers, most of which can also be found in other Chu manuscripts—are as follows:[141]

1. Punctuation and Divisional Markers

A. "Line markers" These—which I sometimes also refer to as "phrase markers"—usually take the form of a short horizontal stroke (to the lower right side of the line's final graph), but occasionally appear as a short slanted stroke or small dot. Given both the relative frequency with which such marks appear and the inconsistency in their application, they will not generally be indicated in the transcriptions that accompany my translations, except where their appearance is particularly noteworthy; where they do appear, they will be marked by the symbol "❙ ."[142]

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[139] For examples of such inconsistency even within the same sentence, see Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," p. 633. See also Jiang Li, "Xiaoyi Guodian Chujian zhong de biaodian fuhao," pp. 471–72. It is also important to note, as Jiang details, that the frequency of marker usage varies widely across the different manuscripts, with some utilizing hardly any at all.

[140] Nonetheless, a great number of these marks, especially the larger passage markers, are given at least a portion of extra space between graphs to accommodate them, strongly suggesting that they were included at the copying stage. In spite of this, Kim Byung-Joon, who believes that all such marks were likely reader-notated, argues that these cases could represent ones in which the copyist simply copied everything from a previously reader-notated manuscript with all the marks intact; see his "Ta du shenme? Ruhe jiedu Zhanguo Qin Han jiandu zhong judou fuhao," pp. 3–4.

[141] For a brief description of these various marks along the lines that follow, see Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," p. 457. For a more thorough enumeration and exhaustive description, along with some historical perspective on the derivation of such marks, see Jiang Li, "Xiaoyi Guodian Chujian zhong de biaodian fuhao." Zhou Fengwu analyzes in somewhat greater detail three main types of divisional markers and notes examples of similar uses among Chu manuscripts from Xinyang 信陽, Baoshan, Wangshan 望山, and Jiudian 九店; see his "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 55–56. For marks in the "Laozi" texts specifically, see Peng Hao, "Post-Excavation Work on the Guodian Bamboo-Slip *Laozi*," pp. 34–36. In a yet-to-be published article, in which he offers his own descriptive enumeration and terminology, Matthias Richter draws attention to the importance of clearly identifying the various uses of punctuation markers in order to properly read early Chinese manuscripts; see his "Punctuation in Early Chinese Manuscripts as an Indication of Extension and Structure of Texts."

[142] In this my practice will accord with that adopted by Li Ling; see his "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," p. 457. The *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors, by contrast, do not indicate any of the markers in their transcriptions. Note that

Short horizontal stroke These are usually used at the end of sentences and are often found consistently within a single section; they sometimes also occur at the ends of clauses or phrases, and in one text, "Yucong 4," mark off phrases that rhyme. They are on occasion also used as passage markers (especially in "Yucong" 1-3) or as markers indicating either repetition or combination graphs. In regard to the "Laozi" manuscripts, Qiu Xigui notes that, based on spacing, these particular marks appear to have been added during the reading rather than the copying process.[143]

Short slanted stroke Variation on the short horizontal stroke

Small black dot Variation on the short horizontal stroke

B. "Passage markers" These most often take the form of a black square, or sometimes appear as a relatively coarse horizontal stroke. Both of these forms will be indicated in the transcriptions by the symbol "■."

Black square (sometimes followed by extra space). This is usually used to indicate the end of a passage; it is seen consistently in some texts, like "Ziyi," but more often its appearance is somewhat irregular. It is sometimes used to divide sentences, as in the opening passages of both "Laozi A" and "Wu xing."

Coarse horizontal stroke Variation on the black square

C. "Section markers" or "Text-end markers"

These come in two distinct forms:

Full-width horizontal band Thick horizontal strokes that fill the entire width of the strip are found to mark either the ends of major sections, as in strips 26 and 33 of "Liu de" (some might view these as dividing separate texts altogether), or the end of an entire text, as in "Tang Yu zhi dao" or "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi." These will be indicated in the transcriptions by the symbol "▌."

Hook Also referred to as "tadpole" or "fish-hook" markers, these marks also note the ends of texts or major sections therein, and are consistently followed by blank space on the remainder of strip. Scholars have variously noted how the mark may bear resemblance to the graph for 以 (perhaps read 已, "stop"), or be seen as either a small version of 乙 or as the

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in my transcriptions to "Yucong 1-3," where such markers consistently indicate the end of each aphoristic statement, and "Yucong 4," where they serve to indicate the ends of lines in rhymed verse, I do indicate all such line markers.

[143] Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 30.

reversed 亅 noted as a form of notation in the *Shuowen*.[144] Hooks appear to mark the end of texts for "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi" (via "Liu de" strip 49), "Xing zi ming chu," and "Laozi A," as well as major sections for the last two. These markers will be indicated in the transcriptions by the symbol "∠."

2. Other Markers

A. "Repetition markers" (*chongwen fu* 重文符) and "combined-graph markers" (*hewen fu* 合文符). These usually take the form of a doubled short-horizontal stroke, but sometimes appear as single horizontal strokes. Where marked in the transcriptions, these will be indicated by the symbol "＝."

Doubled short-horizontal stroke Depending on context, these indicate either the repetition of a graph (or series of graphs) or a graph that is to be split into two words (like 君子 or 小人, each written as a single graph). These marks are particularly prone to copyist's errors of omission or inclusion.[145] They are also not uncommonly written with just a single short horizontal stroke, and sometimes (perhaps accidentally) even with a coarse horizontal stroke; in strip 2 of "Laozi B" alone, all three different forms of repetition mark appear.

B. "Insertion marks"

Text accidentally omitted from a strip is on rare occasion supplied on the strip's back side, and in one or two cases a short, horizontal marker may be supplied on the front to indicate the point of insertion.[146] Strip 40 of "Ziyi" is a clear example of text omitted from the front of a strip being supplied at an equivalent position on the back, but in this case there is no insertion mark on the front. Strip 27 of "Yucong 4" does have something along the lines of an insertion mark, but whether the text on the back is to be inserted onto the front or

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[144] For 以/已, see Peng Hao, "Post-Excavation Work on the Guodian Bamboo-Slip *Laozi*," pp. 35–36; for 乙, see the comments of Donald Harper in "Account of the Discussion," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 137; and for the reversed 亅, see Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 62 n. 223. On the latter two, see also Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian de xingshi ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 56.

[145] For specific examples, see Yan Shixuan, "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 629–30; and Jiang Li, "Xiaoyi Guodian Chujian zhong de biaodian fuhao," p. 472. Note that for repetition markers, in some cases only a portion of the graph is repeated, as in the case, for example, of strip 15 in "Laozi A," where 清＝ is likely to be understood as the combination 清青 (read, however, 清靜).

[146] There are also a couple of cases, such as the 之 on strip 44 of "Wu xing" or the 也 on strip 18 of "Cheng zhi," where a single omitted graph is squeezed back in on the front of the strip. There are other cases in Chu manuscripts where mistakenly written graphs appear to have been erased or scraped off and then written over. See Feng Shengjun, *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu*, pp. 50–52.

instead takes the form a reading note is not entirely clear (see the textual notes to that chapter of translation). A clear example of back-supplied text with an insertion marker on the front is to be found in the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Guishen zhi ming” 鬼神之明, strip 2, though in that case the insertion mark is in the form of a thick band that runs across nearly the entire width of the strip.[147]

D. READING THE TEXTS: PROBLEMS AND PRINCIPLES

Once the manuscripts have been properly separated into individual texts, and the internal ordering of the strips within each of those texts has been tentatively determined, there remain the interrelated tasks of transcribing the graphs into quasi-modern equivalents with recognizable elements and interpreting the graphs thus transcribed to determine how to read them as particular words. None of these tasks, of course, can be wholly separated from the others, insofar as, for instance, transcriptions of questionable graphs can be influenced by readings assumed from context, strip order is as much determined by transcriptions and readings as the latter are influenced by the former, and so on, so that, as one scholar puts it, “an adjustment to one link in the chain will often lead to movement in the others.”[148] The *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors established the initial determinations for all of these variables, but as many values remained less than certain, new ones have been proposed time and again, ever shifting the subtle balance of textual equations.

The various tasks of interpretation are made at once much easier and yet in some ways more complicated in those cases where the text has a received (or excavated) counterpart—easier because many of the answers are already given, and complicated because not all of those answers are necessarily correct. Whether we have a textual counterpart or not, though, the basic premises involved do not inherently change. To some extent, moreover, *all* of the manuscripts have received textual counterparts, in the hermeneutic sense that the language in which they are written constitutes a kind of interpretive reflection on its own textual heritage, of which those received texts are the remnants. We cannot but read these manuscripts against that tradition, and many of their lines thus invariably find inexact counterparts in the received

[147] See *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, v. 5, pp. 152–53. There are also a couple of places in the Guodian “Laozi” manuscripts where Qiu Xigui has suggested, somewhat debatably, that a horizontal stroke may serve to indicate the accidental omission of a graph, even though no text is supplied on the back. For details, see the notes to the translations of “Laozi A,” strip 8, and “Laozi B,” strip 6.

[148] Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, p. 8.

corpus, with varying degrees of similitude. To borrow Chen Wei's terminology, we may term this latter reading process one of "implicit comparison" (*yinxing duibi* 隱性對比), as opposed to the "explicit comparison" (*xianxing duibi* 顯性對比) we engage in with the more exact counterparts.[149] In either case, the question will arise as to how we are to deal with the disparities we find between the corresponding lines. As Chen puts it: "Generally speaking, the basic trend in the circulation of ancient texts should be one of continuity, so that disparities between different excavated texts or between excavated and received texts should mostly be the result of their having employed variants that are the same or similar in meaning," and "only when it . . . becomes difficult or impossible to establish such connections" should we then "consider alienation or opposition in textual meaning."[150] While some might debate the priorities of these two interpretive strategies, this description serves well enough to illustrate the central dilemma we face in reading these manuscripts against their surrounding textual tradition. We shall delve more deeply into the complications of this dialectical process shortly.

Let us now begin describing, in turn, the various tasks of transcription, interpretation, and reading that are involved in the attempt to make sense out of these texts.

Transcribing and Interpreting the Graphs

Given that the Chu script has its own particular forms, shapes, ornaments, simplifications, and other conventions that often differ markedly from those of Chinese characters as later standardized, the first step in interpreting them is to transcribe them into modern or quasi-modern equivalents (*liding* 隸定), either by rendering each of their component elements into individual equivalents and then assembling them back together, or by equating them directly with modern characters where that equivalency is well understood. The graph , for instance, is readily recognizable as a combination of 身 over 心, and is thus rendered ⿱身心, a graph that the editors of *Guodian Chumu zhujian* came to recognize through context and textual comparison as standing in these texts for the word *ren*, "humanity," more conventionally rendered as 仁.[151] The graph , on the other hand, which

[149] Ibid., pp. 8–9.

[150] Ibid., p. 13.

[151] Imre Galambos makes the point that the component seen here as 身 could just as easily be rendered as a combination of 亻 plus 厶, given that its individual subcomponents are, in Chu script, identical in form with

would seem to represent a pair of hands uprooting a tree, could have been rendered directly as 臬, but since its equivalency to *ba* 拔 is already understood through evidence from the *Guwen sisheng yun*, the editors chose to render it directly into its more customary form. The editors' decisions as to what level of detail to employ in each transcription may occasionally appear arbitrary, and some have called for a greater degree of fidelity in this process, but in the end the transcription must serve as a kind of medium between the graphs as seen on the strips themselves and the interpretation of these graphs as words represented by the more "standard" characters of modern orthography; given especially the clarity of the Guodian photographs, a limited degree of abbreviation in the transcription, where not controversial, seems appropriate, lest the transcription become unduly cluttered with extra embedded parentheses and brackets.[152] My own versions of the transcriptions will thus largely follow the conventions employed by the editors of the initial volume. In any event, the act of

those graphs (and 亻 is etymologically part of 身 anyway), and that when we transcribe the graph into its quasi-modern equivalent we lose sight of both the semantic and phonetic connections inherent in the relationships of its various components; see his *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing*, pp. 73–76. This is certainly a valid point, but I doubt that any reader of the time would not first and foremost recognize the upper component holistically as 身, just as when we see the modern Chinese graph *shu* 恕, for instance, we certainly think of it first as a combination of the phonetic *ru* 如 over 心 rather than a semantic-phonetic combination of 女, 口, and 心.

[152] William Boltz has emphasized the need for greater clarity in published transcriptions, especially where such high-quality photographs might not be available, asking that they "reveal the exact form of what is written as precisely and unambiguously as possible without introducing any interpolations, alterations or other extraneous material based on assumptions, biases or subjective decisions . . . the transcription should reflect exactly what is written and nothing more"—though he does go on to make the important distinction between the replication of "structural constituency" versus "adventitious calligraphic" features. See his "The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries," pp. 39–41. Matthias Richter offers a similar plea for exactitude in direct transcription in his "Suggestions Concerning the Transcription of Chinese Manuscript Texts—A Research Note." Martin Kern also emphasizes the need for greater fidelity in transcription, though he does make note of the limits and even dangers of strict *kaishu* representation; see his "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants and the Modes of Manuscript Production in Early China," pp. 152–53. For a defense of traditional transcription practices against Boltz's criticisms, see Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti," pp. 49–50. While I would agree with Boltz and others that there certainly are some dangers in the arbitrary abbreviation of characters, I would also argue that there is room for some middle ground between the two extremes of straight equivalency and exact replication. For the most part, the transcription of the texts accompanying my translation of them below will accord with the decisions (where accurate) of the *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors, though in certain instances I do alter the renderings in favor of greater fidelity. For what transcriptions somewhat more in line with Boltz's principles might look like, see those given in Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 35–45. See also the discussion by Crispin Williams, in "A Methodological Procedure for the Analysis of the Wenxian Covenant Texts," pp. 73–80, regarding the distinction between what he terms "direct transcription" and "formal transcription"—the former matching all base components to equivalent base components, the latter including the matching of composite components to composite ones.

transcribing the graphs into quasi-modern equivalents, for all its inherent dangers and inexactitudes, is an act of orthographic translation with which we are unable to dispense. As with any act of translation, it runs the inevitable risk of obscuring potentially consequential aspects of the original graphs at the same time that it may introduce unintended and invalid forms of association.[153] But as we are not all completely fluent in Chu script, the act remains an indispensible one nonetheless.

Determining standard equivalencies for graphs is, however, not always an easy process, especially where the components themselves are not legibly written or clearly understood. Occasionally, we have the aid of parallel passages in received (or other excavated) texts or the interpretation of ancient forms in early character dictionaries to help us in the process; in other instances, we must resort to the best educated guesses of paleographic experts familiar with not only the Chu script itself, but also with the entire line of development leading up to both it and its contemporary scripts. The value here of having received texts for comparison is highlighted by Qiu Xigui, who notes five different types of situations for determining the proper transcription or reading of graphs in comparison with their received counterparts: those where both the forms and textual usages of the graphs can be clearly attested through received sources, such as with the uses of 亙 (*heng* 恆) and 衍 (*dao* 道) in the "Laozi" manuscripts and the citations of these forms in early character books; those with attested parallels but where the form requires some further explanation, as is the case with the graph 㡭 (*jue* 絕); those that must be attained primarily through an analysis of the graphs themselves, as with 視 (*shi*); those whose readings can be clearly known through textual parallels but where the form is not readily understood, such as the graph 遊 (*shi* 失); and those where the circumstances suggest that the graph may be a phonetic or lexical variation for a different corresponding character in the received text—an issue we shall deal with in the next section.[154]

Regardless of whether we have textual parallels at our disposal, the interpretation of any graph will almost always involve some consideration of how it can make sense of the given context, even where the analysis is otherwise based primarily on graphic evidence—as the

[153] For more on the nature of these dangers, see again Imre Galambos, *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing*, pp. 69–77 (Galambos refers to the process as "clericization"); and Martin Kern, "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants," pp. 152–53.

[154] Qiu Xigui, "Yi Guodian 'Laozi' jian wei li tantan guwenzi de kaoshi"; for details on each of the above examples, refer to Qiu's work. See also Boltz, "Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts," p. 42, who notes two more general types of orthographic variation from later conventions: familiar characters representing words they later typically do not, and unfamiliar or anomalous characters, whose meanings we must determine as best we can through an analysis of their word families.

examples analyzed in the previous section clearly attest to. Analyzing the meaning of graphic forms and reading them as words in a textual context are mutually elucidating processes that, while conceptually separate, are ultimately inseparably bound to one another.

In the translation sections if this book, I use the term "render" to describe how a graph (such as) is transcribed into a modern or quasi-modern equivalent (遊), and the term "read" to indicate, in terms of modern standard orthography (失), the word it is taken to represent.

Determining the Reading of Characters

Transcribing and interpreting the graphs into standard equivalents is thus far from the end of the matter. The orthography that would gradually become the standard from the Han dynasty onward was by no means fully in place in the mid–Warring States, and, as discussed earlier, the percentage of characters borrowed purely for their sound was by later standards remarkably high. The Guodian manuscripts attest to the fact that, while not totally without its logic, there was at least much inconsistency or even arbitrariness in the selection of characters to represent words. This necessitates that in reading these texts we resort to the evaluation of a number of considerations beyond the orthography of the character itself to determine to what word it might actually correspond. Possible reasons for the prevalence of phonetically based variants in these texts will be discussed shortly, and the phonological guidelines involved in judging plausible loans will be dealt with in due course. For now, let us first discuss some of the more general principles involved in determining intended readings, beginning with the case of received texts having excavated counterparts.[155]

Whenever we are reading a received text and come to a point where the text seems incoherent or at least highly forced if read at face value, we face the dilemma of whether to either accept the questionable graph(s) as is, or to construct an alternate reading on the basis of plausible phonetic loans, graphic or lexical variation, a theory about likely scribal error arising from either phonetic or graphic confusion, or other such rationale. More often than not, other editions of the same text or the occurrence of similar loans or mistakes in other contemporaneous texts can be brought in as evidence weighing in favor of the proposed reading; such evidence can indeed often become voluminous. The proposed reading is

[155] For a more extended argument of what follows, see my Review of Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams, *The Guodian* Laozi.

deemed preferable because it makes more sense in its immediate context, or within the broader context of the chapter or even the text as a whole; because the rhyme scheme would appear to demand it; or out of any number of other such perfectly good reasons for considering that the text as we have received it might well be in error. Our task as philologists then becomes to trace the source of such error or at the very least determine the reading that was originally intended (in that version of the text, anyway) before the mistakes or other forms of obscurity crept in.

There is of course a danger in such emendation: one can easily turn what was originally intended as a unique statement into an utterly commonplace one, or even unwittingly alter the original meaning of the passage altogether.[156] Which is why, unless other considerations conspire to make it essential, one should not normally change a reading that works well enough as is simply because it *could* easily be read into a more common locution. Even the most brilliant of Qing dynasty philologists have more than a few times been guilty of over-zealousness in creative rereading when faced with the opportunity to put their acumen on display. Carried out with sensitivity and caution, however, the traditional Chinese practices of textual criticism are tried and true ones, and the task of making sense out of the incomprehensible or problematic by recourse to phonological and orthographic reconstructions as supplied by alternate textual evidence remains today as venerable an occupation as ever.

It is in this sense that archaeologically excavated manuscripts can help us: as there are clearly innumerable instances where errors have found their way into the received texts, we quite naturally turn to excavated texts for help in properly determining what the originally intended readings might have been in such instances. As "pristine" texts interred at a point in time relatively close to their authorial context, they represent records of the text with a much smaller window of opportunity for scribal error (or more purposeful alterations) to have crept in than is the case with the continuously-transmitted received editions.[157] Yet the reverse is certainly also true: archaeologically excavated texts are, by their very nature, ordinarily more

[156] Editors and redactors over the past two millennia have by nature been prone to attempts to recapture the original meaning of texts by introducing "restorations" to make them both logically and stylistically consistent or rhythmically even. As comparisons of textual changes over time through the examination of different editions shows, however, texts often become altered in ways that more often than not actually obscure their original meaning. For a detailed demonstration of such tendencies in regard to the *Laozi*, see Liu Xiaogan, "From Bamboo Slips to Received Versions: Common Features in the Transformation of the *Laozi*."

[157] For a more sustained general discussion on ways in which later editors may have introduced errors of various sorts into texts, see Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, chap. 1, pp. 9–61. See also my (Gu Shikao) "Gujin wenxian yu shijia zhi xixin shoujiu," pp. 61–66 (or pp. 10–18 in the 2007 version of this article).

difficult to make sense of; due to their long separation from us in time, coupled with the fact that—at least with pre-Qin texts—they might be written in pre-standardized local scripts with orthographic conventions with which we are not entirely familiar, it is no mean task for us to make sense of such texts today without reference to received counterparts, where available, or rough textual parallels with other received texts, so that we may better gain access to them through the process of comparison. As Qiu Xigui argues in the case of the Guodian strips with received counterparts, their contents "provide a more familiar context than many other types of paleographic material, and this greatly facilitates our analysis."[158] Yet whether it is to the received or excavated text that we turn to assist in judging the other, in either case the goal is to determine the most likely "original" reading on the basis of all available evidence, and in this our aim is generally to turn the incomprehensible back into the comprehensible, under the defensible assumption that the text, at the time it was first written down, must have made at least some sense.

In this context, however, two related questions arise: should we give the excavated edition greater priority than the received simply because it constitutes an older witness to the text? And are there ever cases where we should abandon a clear and comprehensible reading for an obscure and difficult one?

The way one reads excavated texts against their received counterparts is often as much a matter of psychological predisposition as anything else. Qiu Xigui has identified two opposite reading tendencies as *li yi* 立異, "establishing uniqueness," and *qu tong* 趨同, "driving toward sameness," dispositions I have elsewhere described as *xixin yanjiu* 喜新厭舊 ("loving the new while loathing the old") and *zhongzhen bu yu* 忠貞不渝 ("faithful to the end")—i.e., using the excavated texts to establish new readings at every opportunity versus consistently interpreting those texts in ways that make them unwaveringly conform with the received tradition.[159] Some would see the latter as the more common bias: our privileging of the received version at the expense of evidence afforded us by the new finds, and explaining

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[158] Qiu Xigui, "Yi Guodian 'Laozi' jian wei li tantan guwenzi de kaoshi," p. 180 (also in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 53). Qiu elsewhere points to the passage of strips 3-35 of "Xing zi ming chu" that, as many scholars have noted, overlaps with a passage from the "Tan Gong, xia" 檀弓下 chapter of the *Li ji*, as a prime example of a received parallel that, if properly noted at the outset, could have both obviated a number of misreadings in the initial transcription of the excavated text *and* at the same time given us clues to correct errors in the received text. See his "Zhongguo gudianxue chongjian zhong yinggai zhuyi de wenti," pp. 119–20.

[159] See Qiu Xigui, "Zhongguo gudianxue chongjian zhong yinggai zhuyi de wenti," pp. 121–24; Gu Shikao, "Gujin wenxian yu shijia zhi xixin shoujiu." Martin Kern also discusses how there is methodologically "no reason to privilege *prima facie* any particular version, received or not, of a text"; see his "Methodological Reflections," pp. 150–52.

the latter away as mere variants.[160] Yet the opposite tendency of assuming by default that the reading of the archaeologically excavated text is more often than not the better, and that the standard, received reading is either wrong or an oversimplification, would appear to be no less prevalent. Without doubt, we need to be on guard against both predispositions and to take the full weight of all evidence into account when making our determinations.

Precisely what kind of weight should we give to the readings found in the received versions of a text? It is in some respects true, as William Boltz contends, that each such reading is "no more than one opinion, one interpretation, that has become sanctified by default."[161] What should not be overlooked, however, is that the early authority who determined the reading may well have had much more information at hand on which to base his decision in choosing the standard graph, and that we, as careful textual scholars, might well have been forced to the same conclusion had we too had all those textual materials and information at hand. After all, Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC), the "father" of early Chinese redactors, reports having 322 scrolls/chapters (*pian* 篇) of the *Xunzi* to collate, of which no less than 290 were duplicates, and some 838 individual passages (*zhang* 章) of the *Yanzi chunqiu* to compare, of which 638 were duplicates—giving him roughly four versions of every passage for the latter, and no less than ten versions of every chapter for the former.[162] Granted, the Qin dynasty "burning of the books," the chaos of the Chu-Han contention, etc., all served to take their toll on such transmission, but so too have the two millennia since that time; so while we must certainly recognize and be prepared to correct the countless errors and misreadings that such early editors as Liu have left to us, we should not go so far as to strip those editors altogether of that intrinsic authority they would otherwise seem to carry due only to their venerable age. Indeed, in some respects the source of their authoritativeness—limited as it is—is akin to that of the archaeologically excavated texts

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[160] See Boltz, "Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts," p. 44. As Boltz puts it, "The goal proper to analyzing instances of textual variation is *not* to explain the unfamiliar or anomalous variant 'away,' leaving the traditional reading of the received text standing alone, unchallenged, but to determine whether the variation is one between different graphs for the same word or one between different words."

[161] Boltz, "Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts," p. 45. Or as he puts it more strongly on p. 48, it is "no more than one early anonymous editor's decision that has become ratified, if not sanctified, by tradition," which "does not intrinsically carry any more authority than any other opinion, and it certainly is not in and of itself decisive."

[162] See his "*Sun Qing* shulu" 孫卿書錄 and "*Yanzi* xulu" 晏子敘錄, as assembled in (Qing) Yan Kejun 嚴可均, ed., *Quan Han wen*, pp. 382–83. Aside from having access to a greater variety of early editions, it is also quite possible that the early authority possessed knowledge of at least the orthodox (if not "original") reading on the basis of some teaching continuously transmitted down to him through generations of a master-disciple lineage, etc.

themselves: they each represent determinations of the text made at a time much closer to the source than any we are able to make today (to the extent, of course, that these early editions themselves have not been subject to later corruption). The value of the early received editions vis-à-vis the excavated texts is simply that they were written down in standardized graphs in which lexical ambiguity is no longer as much of an issue—we can at least be reasonably sure of what those early editors thought the text meant, which is more than we can say in the case of the excavated texts.

Given that the excavated and received texts both have certain claims to authority, how do we go about deciding which, if any, gives greater evidence in determining the "correct" reading, the meaning of the word that was originally intended by the various graphs in question? There are competing principles involved in making such decisions. On the one hand, there is the "rule" of *lectio difficilior* that, as Boltz explains it, "when you have two (or more) possible variants, the more (or most) obscure or difficult to understand is the probable original," the rationale being that "difficult readings are likelier to be changed by editors . . . into something easier to understand than the reverse."[163] This is, indeed, a sound logical principle, well worth bearing in mind as one criterion by which to decide among variant readings, but there are certain limitations to be considered when applying it to Chinese texts. Essentially, it primarily addresses only one of the two major forms of textual corruption that occur in Chinese texts: which may be termed, as Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832) put it long ago, simple "copyist errors" (*chuanxie etuo* 傳寫譌脫), on the one hand, and more "willful alterations" (*pingyi wanggai* 憑意妄改), on the other.[164] Given the rather unique features of the Chinese script, with its large quantity of easily confused graphic forms and the prevalence of interloaning, it is often just as common that a scribe unintentionally changes a graph that could easily be understood in context into one that in fact becomes more difficult or obscure.[165] Such is frequently the case in the Guodian manuscripts, where, to cite a couple

[163] Boltz, "Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts," p. 46. As Boltz notes, this is conceived more as a "statement of probabilities" than a rule per se. Boltz first argued for the application of this rule to the study of early Chinese texts in his review article of D. C. Lau's Mawangdui *Laozi* translation, "Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang tui *Lao tzu*."

[164] This comes from Wang's discussion of "sources of error" 致誤之由 in the back of his reading notes to the *Huainanzi*; see (Qing) Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, pp. 959–76 (*zhi* 9.22, pp. 1–29). For a succinct summary of all these different "sources of error," see Gu Shikao, "Gujin wenxian yu shijia zhi xixin shoujiu," pp. 61–63. For further discussion of the various sources of errors and variants more generally, with reference to the analysis of Zhu Chengping 朱承平, see Xu Fuchang, *Jianbo dianji yiwen cetan*, pp. 16–20.

[165] In a different context, Martin Kern also makes note of these same unique features of the Chinese writing system vis-à-vis alphabetic scripts: that as a single character represents a single syllable and also a single word, the slightest graphic error could easily change one character into an entirely different one; and, conversely, that

of the simplest and most obvious examples, 天 is often carelessly written into 而, or the complex graph *shou* 獸 substitutes arbitrarily with its simpler phonetic counterpart 守 ("to guard").[166] Indeed, the most striking thing about the *lectio difficilior* rule is that traditional philological work has tended to proceed on the *opposite* assumption, that the more sensible reading will in most cases prove to be the correct one. There will certainly be cases where, given all the evidence, *lectio difficilior* should be held to apply. But it is also a principle that must be weighed against its converse: the idea that difficult readings are also—by a similar but opposite logic—more *un*likely to have been in the "original text," that the wording of the text, as it was first written, must have made good sense. Thus, where the adoption of a rule such as *lectio difficilior* leads us to put forth an "original" reading that appears absurdly forced or imaginative, we should in such cases have equally solid grounds for suspicion of that reading. And while it may well be true that later editors would not ordinarily *consciously* alter a clearly sensible passage to a more obscure or difficult one, the fact remains that obscurity can easily creep in in other, more inadvertent ways.[167]

In short, we must take into account a great variety of factors in determining which of any two given readings is preferable; we must begin by taking *both* the excavated and received

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"phonetic proximity does not need to manifest itself in graphic similarity." See Kern, "Methodological Reflections," p. 163.

[166] One could of course argue on the basis of the graphs' frequency of occurrence in Chu manuscripts that the simpler graph 守 was actually the loan for the more commonly written 獸; on this point, see Imre Galambos, *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing*, pp. 81–83. Nonetheless, the graph 守 had already had a long history of utilization in inscriptional materials to represent the word "guard," and in any case the point remains that we cannot simply read the more "difficult" of the two graphs completely at face value (or at least what we understand to be its face value) without consideration of what the most sensible reading in context might have been. And while 獸 often stands for both "guard" and "beast" in Chu manuscripts, 守 stands *only* for the former of these two meanings, so there is still a certain rationale for considering 獸 to be a loangraph after all; in any case, we would certainly make quick nonsense of the text should we opt for the reading of 獸 in its sense of "beast" simply because we consider it the more difficult of the two possibilities.

[167] See my Review of Allan and Williams, *The Guodian* Laozi, or "Gujin wenxian." The issue of how and when the principle of *lectio difficilior* may or may not be best applied in the reading of early Chinese manuscripts has since been more thoroughly examined by Attilio Andreini, "Cases of 'Diffraction' and *Lectio Difficilior* in Early Chinese Manuscripts." Specifically, Andreini examines how a *lectio difficilior*, where one may be implied, is often absent from surviving witnesses, and any attempts to identify it usually produce multiple solutions; how there are difficulties in determining the priorities to be given between graphic and semantic complexities therein, as "apparent" lexical *variora* can often be explained through orthographic variants or phonetic loans (whereas with our much more obvious example of *shou*, no one would ever consider actually taking it as a lexical variant in the first place); and how, as we just discussed, the proliferation of readings might in some instances also be the result of *intentional* alterations; see esp. pp. 268, 278, and 283–84.

texts seriously, and then look for evidence that might corroborate either one or both of the two readings, and not start with the assumption that one of the two is necessarily the better.

The dangers of reading graphs at face value may be illustrated by means of an example. "Laozi B" strip 15 contains the following passage: 喿勳蒼，青勳然，清＝爲天下定, which the editors read: 燥勝滄，清勝熱，清靜爲天下正 ("Dryness overcomes cold; freshness overcomes heat—clarity and stillness serve as standard for the world"), in partial accordance with the received versions, where the first two phrases are given as 躁勝寒，靜勝熱 (i.e., "Activity overcomes cold; stillness overcomes heat"). One interpreter, however, extols the superiority of the Guodian version and, taking each of the graphs at more or less "face value," reads roughly as follows: "The noise of chirping birds and insects beats a scene of desolation; verdant foliage beats burned-up fields; purity and tranquility is for the sake of the world's stability."[168] While this interpretation might look remotely feasible in the context of the anti-military passage that follows it in the received texts (R 46), that context does not appear in the Guodian version; more importantly, the reading ignores several important keys to interpretation beyond those found in the orthographic determinations of the received parallels. First, the first two phrases appear to exhibit a clear parallelism of opposition, and the phonetic series of the graphs in question plainly lend themselves to such. Thus, for 喿 and 青, we have the 躁 ("activity") versus 靜 ("tranquility") of the received versions, or, somewhat less convincingly, the 燥 ("parched," "dry") versus 清 ("fresh," "clear," "pure") adopted by the editors; if the interpreter reads 喿 (= 噪, "noise") as is, parallelism suggests 靜 ("tranquility"), and not 青 ("verdant"), for the corresponding word. Similarly, with 蒼 and 然, whether we read 熱 ("heat") or 然 (= 燃, "burning") for the latter, both suggest 滄 (or 寒) ("cold") as its parallel opposite (though this interpreter manages to come up with an explanation that circuitously *makes* his choices into opposites). The interpretation also ignores the evidence of the "Taiyi sheng shui," where essentially the same graphs 倉(滄) and 然(熱) (along with 溼 and 澡[燥], "wet" and "dry/parched") are matched together in a context in which they must certainly refer to "cold" and "heat," strongly suggesting that they do so here as well.[169] And of no less importance is the fact that the traditional interpretation made perfect sense to begin with, and is also wholly concordant with the graphs of the

[168] Yin Zhenhuan, "Jingren zhi bi, jingren zhi wu, jingren zhi e: Chujian 'Laozi' yi yu bo, jin ben 'Laozi' wenju," pp. 64–65.

[169] We might also note that the pattern "爲天下某" appears many times in received *Daode jing*, where 爲 is always a verb, to "act as" or "serve as," and 某 is more often than not a noun, as in such phrases as "爲天下母," "爲天下谷," or other occurrences of the phrase "爲天下正." Yin's interpretation assumes a different syntactic structure altogether.

excavated text, save for their simple lack, as is common in these texts, of radical signifiers. Forcing the graphs to conform to their root meanings as written, it is always possible to invent a vaguely plausible reading by overlaying a commentary to elucidate otherwise obscure connections, but often only at the cost of forsaking the intuitively direct and simple reading afforded by the common-sense act of seeing the written language as primarily a medium of representing the sounds of words in symbol, at a time in history when the orthographic representation of semantic category was by no means always in play.

The same basic principles apply to instances of "implicit comparison" just as they do to the "explicit comparison" of passages with received counterparts. In the text "Tang Yu zhi dao," for instance, in the lines:

> 古者堯之與（舉）舜也……昏（聞）舜弟（悌），智（知）其能幻（事）天下之長也（22-23）

the fact that we have innumerable examples in received texts of the phrase "serving elders" 事長 strongly suggests, along with the corroborating phonological evidence, that the graph 幻 be read 事 here as well—even though the same graph 幻 may be confidently read 治 just a few lines later in the same text.[170] Other cases are more ambiguous. In the "Liu de" text, we have the lines:

> 門內之絧（治）紉弇宜（義），門外之絧（治）宜（義）斬紉。（30-31）

—wherein Qiu Xigui suggests that 紉 (*nĭən) be read 仁 (*n̡ĭen), "humanity," which shares with it the same initial and forms a natural parallel to 義, "propriety." Other scholars, however, would read 恩 (*en), "kindness," "goodwill," instead—a slightly more distant but still highly plausible phonetic loan—pointing to the parallel lines in the "Sangfu sizhi" 喪服四制 chapter of the *Li ji* and the "Ben ming" 本命 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*: "門內之治恩揜義，門外之治義斷恩" ("In the order within the [family] gates, goodwill holds check over propriety; in the order beyond the [family] gates, propriety cuts short goodwill"). And one

[170] This is one of a number of examples cited by Yan Shixuan to demonstrate how similar phrases from other early texts can be used to either give clues in deciphering difficult graphs, or to otherwise help determine the proper reading of understood graphs; for further details, see his "Guodian zhushu jiaokan yu kaoshi wenti juyu," pp. 649–51 and 656–58, respectively.

scholar even reads 紉, "thread," as is, in the metaphorical sense of "blood ties," though he adduces no evidence to suggest that his character has ever carried that extended sense elsewhere.[171] Given the fact that 仁 is always written "㤻" elsewhere in the Guodian manuscripts, the overall weight of the evidence would appear to lean in favor of a reading of 恩 in line with the textual parallel, though alternative possibilities obviously remain open.

All this goes to show, once again, how we cannot rely too much on the specifics of semantic classifiers or the standards of later orthographic tradition, and in the end must determine our readings no less on the basis of context and, where applicable, the authority of parallels in received texts or other excavated counterparts—keeping in mind how that authority is far from absolute. This is not to say that the orthography is entirely random in these texts, as orthographic forms will often as not still give us important clues by which to read the graphs—just not as often as to what we are accustomed.

A Note on Modes of Textual Transmission

Given the preponderance of phonetic variants in these manuscripts, the question naturally arises as to the manner of the texts' transmission. The general lack of adequate orthographic clues for independent interpretation strongly suggests that such texts were not meant simply to be "read" by the uninitiated, but must instead have been transmitted within the context of teacher-disciple instruction—precisely what we would expect anyway. Presumably later commentaries, such as the "shuo" 說 section of the Mawangdui "Wu xing," could be seen as the eventual written reflection of such instructional explanatory practice. But does this mean that the texts themselves were simply written records of an essentially verbal teaching?

Martin Kern has undertaken an analysis of textual variants among *Shi* (*Ode*) citations from a handful of excavated texts in comparison with their received versions (Mao 毛 recension) and other received and/or excavated counterparts—including citations from the Guodian and Mawangdui "Wu xing" and the Guodian/Shanghai-Museum and *Li ji* versions of "Ziyi"—so as to provide statistical backing for what is obvious already to those who work with these texts: that there is a substantially high number of graphic variants between the citations in each text and those of its counterpart(s), the vast majority of these being phonetic

[171] See Liu Xinfang, "Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' jiegu yi ze," pp. 214–18. The received parallels with 恩 were first noted by Chen Wei, "Guodian Chujian bieshi," p. 71. It seems to me the use of the silk radical here may actually signal the sense of gift-giving, which is to some extent implicated in the notion of 恩 as "kindness" or "favors."

variants.[172] What may be somewhat less obvious is just how few demonstrably lexical variants there proves to be, that is, characters that diverge not only in meaning but also differ clearly in sound (thereby representing different words altogether). Kern concludes that the "most elementary function" of a written text was to represent the sounds of the language, and he takes the ubiquity of phonetic variants that we find and the relative paucity of purely graphic errors as evidence for the nature of manuscript production in early China. That is to say, that it is unlikely, in many instances, that scribes would have copied a text directly from another written version, and that they more probably either wrote a text down from memory or oral recitation, or else (more likely, to my mind) copied it indirectly from another written version by having someone else read the text aloud to them.[173]

Such conclusions are incisive and thought-provoking, and there is little doubt that oral instruction played a major role in the production and transmission of philosophical texts in early China. Nonetheless, there is also evidence to suggest that at least some of the texts must have been copied directly from one another after all. In comparing the Shanghai Museum versions of "Ziyi" and "Xingqing lun" to their Guodian counterparts, Qiu Xigui identifies more than a few anomalous graphs that may each be most plausibly explainable as a corruption resulting from the miscopying of the graph directly from another manuscript. For example, strip 6 of Guodian "Ziyi" contains the line 慬亞以[illegible]民[illegible], which corresponds to the *Li ji* version's "愼惡以御(禦)民之淫" ("[The ruler] is cautious over his dislikes so as to

[172] Martin Kern, "The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts." Kern contrasts this with the limited textual differences found within and among the vestiges of the three scholarly *Shi* lineages (*san jia* 三家) of Qi 齊, Han 韓, and Lu 魯—citations of which very likely underwent modification over the course of their transmission and thus are unreliable as indicators of their original discrepancies. Kern also notes how (pp. 175–76), in the excavated texts, particles and rhyming or reduplicative binomes are especially susceptible to variation. For a critique of Kern's method of categorical assignment in his statistical analysis, however, see Daniel Morgan, "A Positive Case for the Visuality of Texts in Warring States Manuscript Culture."

[173] See Kern, "*Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," pp. 178–80, and "Methodological Reflections," esp. pp. 167–73. Dirk Meyer suggests yet another scenario, in which a scribe "dictated to himself even when he had a written *Vorlage* at hand," so that "the scribe would not write the *graph he saw* but would write the *sound he heard*" (emphasis in original); see his *Philosophy on Bamboo*, pp. 150 and 171–72. The traditional term for collation itself, *jiaochou* 校讎, was explained by Liu Xiang as a combination of *jiao*, in which one person reads and compares texts to find errors himself, and *chou*, in which two people face off "like enemies," one holding one version of the text while the other reads another ("讎校者，一人讀書，校其上下，得謬誤爲校；一人持本，一人讀書，若怨家相對爲讎"; from Liu's *Bie lu* 別錄, as cited in [Tang] Li Shan's 李善 annotations to the "Wei du fu" 魏都賦 in the *Wenxuan* 文選). It is certainly possible that this Han collation technique may have derived from earlier practices of textual copying. And if—in the extreme case—written texts had rarely served as the basis, either direct or indirect, for later written versions of the text, one wonders why there would have ever been any need for the written text at all, save for its possible function, as Kern notes, as a display item.

prevent the people from excess”). The editors transcribe the last graph as 涇 but identify it as a corruption of 淫, whereas for the fourth graph Qiu Xigui initially suggests the transcription of 渫, which has the sense of “to purge”; this would be just one of a number of theories regarding the composition of this latter, problematic graph.[174] The problem was potentially solved with the publication of the Shanghai Museum version of the text, strip 4 of which reads “歎惡以民.” There, the last graph is more clearly written as 淫, while the fourth graph can be confidently rendered as 鬳, most likely serving here as a phonetic loan for 御 (/禦), “prevent.” Comparing these to the Guodian graphs, Qiu suggests that those latter can now plausibly be identified as corruptions of the same graphs.[175] Assuming Qiu’s conclusions are correct—and they may not be—it is easy to see, especially in the case of , how the scribe could have written such an unusual character by miscopying a written form, but much more difficult to imagine it as simply the hasty writing of a word conveyed verbally through his mind.

The evidence, however, is not limited to such possible corruptions in graphic forms. Most notably, there are the apparent omissions of series of graphs that can only be readily explained by copyists’ “eye-skips” from one graph (or pair of graphs) to the same graph(s) either later on the strip or the next strip over, cases of which we see in both “Taiyi sheng shui,” strips 4-5, and “Laozi A,” strip 14, not to mention strips 31-32 of the Shanghai Museum manuscript of “Xingqing lun.”[176] Similarly, there are the mistakenly repeated

[174] For details on other suggested interpretations, see the note to this graph in strip 6 of the “Ziyi” translation.

[175] See Qiu Xigui, “Tantan Shangbo jian he Guodian jian zhong de cuobie zi,” pp. 14–15. Qiu builds on a similar, if brief, observation by Liu Lexian that the Guodian graph of 渫 was the result of miscopying; see Liu Lexian, “Du Shangbo jian zhaji,” p. 385. Note that some scholars, however, still analyze the Guodian graph in terms of its own elements; see, for example, Huang Xiquan, “Tan Shangbo Chujian zhaji,” pp. 28–29. I in fact do not follow Qiu here, but rather accept his original rendering of 渫 and follow Bai Yulan in reading this as 遏, “prevent”—a lexical substitute. For more on Bai’s reading and additional reasons for supporting it, see Bai Yulan, “Guodian Chumu zhujian shidu zhaji,” and Yan Shixuan, “Shuo ‘xie.’”

[176] On the “Laozi A” eye-skip, see the comments of Paul Thompson in “Account of Discussion,” Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 132–33. See also the notes to my translations of these texts for more details; for the “Xingqing lun” skip, see “Xing zi ming chu,” strip 36. See also Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, p. 92 n. 37, where he gives some different examples of what he sees as evidence that the Guodian “Ziyi” was copied from another written text. We may also note the related phenomenon of *cuojian* 錯簡, where one text is copied from another in which a strip has been misplaced. There are no evident examples of this in these bamboo texts themselves, but the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Min zhi fu mu” 民之父母 shows clearly how the *Li ji* version of this text (“Kong Zi xianju” 孔子閒居) must have been copied from just such a misordered manuscript, demonstrating how by at least Han times copying from one written text to another must have been a

graphs that we find, for example, in strip 1 of "Laozi B," wherein scribal miscopying again seems the most likely explanation.[177] Other such phenomena, like the mistaken copying in "Laozi A" (strip 12) of a combined-graph mark after the characters 之所 were apparently copied, in full, from the model of a combined form, would appear to point toward similar conclusions.[178] Finally, if we move beyond the Guodian manuscripts, there is absolutely incontrovertible evidence that with certain Shanghai Museum manuscripts found in duplicate—such as the v. 7 manuscripts "Fan wu liu xing" A and B 凡物流形（甲）、（乙） and the v. 6 manuscripts "Tianzi jian zhou" A and B 天子建州（甲）、（乙）—one of the two manuscripts in each case was copied directly from the other, preserving almost every idiosyncrasy from its model, down to the last random punctuation mark.[179]

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common practice. The observation of this *cuojian* was first made by Chen Jian; for details on this case, see my "Gujin wenxian yu shijia zhi xixin shoujiu," pp. 59–60 (or pp. 6–8 of the 2007 version of that article).

[177] Robert Henricks has already cited this example ("是以早服") as clear evidence of scribal copying from a written source; see his *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, p. 204 n. 91. Of course in this case it is not impossible, though less likely, that a scribe copying from oral memory could have made the same error, if his train of thought became interrupted. Kern himself concedes the existence of genuine scribal errors, omissions, and eye-slips in these manuscripts, and the fact that even a single such error not explainable by other means would be sufficient to prove that direct copying had occurred. To this, however, he argues that such mistakes are not, in fact, unique to the process of copying and, moreover, are "rare enough to defy meaningful statistical representation," whereas the overwhelming preponderance of phonetic loans in the manuscripts is more difficult to account for, given that it is hard to see why scribes would bother to expend the thought and energy required to substitute homophonous graphs rather than just copying the text graph-per-graph as is; see his "Methodological Reflections," pp. 168–71. It may be, however, that the graphic substitutions are not as thoughtful as all that—comparable, perhaps, to how in the bibliography to this book I automatically translate the simplified characters of certain secondary source materials into the idiom of traditional characters, with which I am more comfortable both inputting and reading—and, to my mind, such errors as "eye-skips," however few they may be, are ultimately more difficult to account for with oral transmission. In the end, probably the best way to account for both types of phenomena is the coexistence of *both* forms of transmission, a point with which Kern himself would appear to concur.

[178] See Liu Xinfang, *Jingmen Guodian zhujian Laozi jiegu*, pp. 17–18, and the comments of Xing Wen in "Additional Textual Notes," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 235. See also the notes to this line in my translation.

[179] For the "Fan wu liu xing" case, see my (Gu Shikao), "Shangbo qi 'Fan wu liu xing' xiabanpian shijie," p. 334, where I note how particular graphic forms and the usage and position of punctuation marks are virtually identical between the two manuscripts, save for a few small copyist mistakes found in the A manuscript, which I conclude was most likely a direct copy of B. Of course, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that *both* manuscripts were copied slavishly from a separate model, but this would not affect the nature of the conclusion. Similar circumstances pertain to "Tianzi jian zhou," which had previously been analyzed by Daniel Morgan, who notes a stark "coincidence of form" in graphs between the two manuscripts "in ways that can only be explained by visual copying," along with, once again, a situation in which "even the size, shape, and distribution of punctuation and reader's marks is identical"; see his "A Positive Case for the Visuality of Texts in Warring States Manuscript Culture." Similar features of the "Tianzi jian zhou" manuscripts are discussed by

All this does not discount the impact of Kern's conclusions, but only suggests a picture wherein the transmission of knowledge involved a combination of both oral instruction and written materials, each of which depended on the other for full expression.[180] It may well be the case that the Odes and other rhymed texts had long been recited primarily from memory, and so too, perhaps, a text like "Ziyi" where the primary textual unit is the individual passage (*zhang* 章).[181] In the case of some of the longer, more discursive texts, however, it is difficult

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Matthias Richter in his "Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence," pp. 895–905; Richter suggests that the copyist of the second manuscript may simply not have trusted his own orthographic competency enough to alter anything in the source manuscript that he could not be certain did not pose some meaningful distinction.

[180] Kern does not in fact argue against this, stating that: "The evidence from the manuscripts may thus illustrate both: the existence of written texts and their integration into practices of oral instruction"; see his "*Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," p. 181. Or, as Kern earlier notes in "Methodological Reflections" pp. 171–73, the written appearance of a manuscript may well "embody earlier stages in the process of textual transmission and thus constitute an artifact of several chronological layers," wherein a "steady succession of copied versions may also have been interrupted by an instance of writing based on memory and oral transmission." For a largely compatible view on the integration of the written and the oral, see Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, p. 58.

[181] Rudolph Wagner has made much of the fact that, given the demonstrable variability in the order of passages from the excavated to received versions in such texts as the *Laozi* and "Ziyi," the *zhang* (which I render "passage"; Boltz calls them "units," and Shaughnessy calls them "pericopes"), and not the larger *pian* 篇, appears to be the "fundamental textual unit" in early China. See his "The Guodian MSS and the 'Units of Thought' in Early Chinese Philosophy." William Boltz makes much the same argument in "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," averring that the act of composition in early China may have consisted in the "(re)assembling and (re)ordering" of such preexisting, moveable, building-block units (p. 61). While this notion becomes more problematic when applied to some of the other texts in the Guodian corpus, the *zhang* as fundamental unit may certainly be the case for "Ziyi" and others like it, and this may hold implications for the role of orality in their transmission. At the same time, it is also significant that, despite differences in order, the Guodian/Shanghai-Museum "Ziyi" contains almost exactly the same group of passages as does the *Li ji* version (with just a couple of exceptions), and I cannot subscribe to Boltz's rigid definition of a text that would dissuade us from identifying these two as different versions of the same text. And if Shaughnessy's speculations about source texts with *physically* self-contained *zhang* were to prove correct, the reordering of passages may have (for the "Ziyi" anyway) stemmed from causes that had little to do with orality (see my introduction to the "Ziyi" translation later in this book).

Most recently, Dirk Meyer, drawing a proposed distinction between "argument-based" and "authority-based" texts, suggests that in the latter (texts like "Ziyi") "ideas are not developed beyond the level of the individual building block," the unit that forms the "only and ultimate level of communication" in writing and which, in effect, "*is* the entire—written—text"—though as he later makes clear, he is talking primarily about such units' lack of logical integration and formal cohesion, the way in which they present isolated, "situational" responses to a related set of concerns. "Argument-based" texts, on the other hand, "develop closed intellectual systems" through a formal structure that "facilitates highly-systematic" and "cross-referential" definitions and, unlike "authority-based" texts, "can stand on their own" as written texts without the oral contextualization of a textual community. See his "Texts, Textual Communities, and Meaning," pp. 835–50; cf. his "Writing Meaning:

to imagine oral transmission independent of the written text, even if students were expected to commit such texts to memory.[182] And while one of the primary functions of the written text may have been, as Kern notes, to simply represent the sounds of its words, this does not mean that orthography did not matter at all, but only not as much as we would expect it to have. The fundamental nature of the Chinese written language itself speaks amply to the importance of semantic classification, and despite demonstrable arbitrariness in the graphic representation of certain words throughout these manuscripts, the fact still remains that 或阝 always stands for *guo* 國, "state," while 惑 or 賊 always stand for *huo* 惑, "delusion," and so on. Indeed, as noted earlier, the orthography can sometimes even indicate subtle distinctions in the nuances of words that we might otherwise tend to overlook.[183] Nonetheless, the main

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Strategies of Meaning-Construction in Early Chinese Philosophical Discourse," pp. 87–79. This may be a helpful way of looking at the issue, but it is difficult to draw any rigid lines between the two extremes. This is to my mind especially true with the text Meyer chooses as his prime example of an "argument-based" text, "Wu xing": while it surely does, as Meyer suggests, establish and develop certain conceptual definitions in a manner we do not see in a text like "Ziyi," it remains difficult to imagine that "Wu xing" could every be fully understood outside the context of oral instruction, and indeed the very existence of the Mawangdui commentary would only suggest that the text of "Wu xing" could hardly be adequately comprehended on its own. See also pp. 177–207 of Meyer's recently published book, *Philosophy on Bamboo*, where in lieu of the term "authority-based texts" he opts for the more widely applicable terms "non-argument-based texts" or "context-dependent texts."

[182] The importance of the written record in the long-term transmission of vital teachings is reiterated many times in the *Mozi*, with the notion of how sages "wrote them down on bamboo and silk, engraved them in metal and stone, and carved them into plates and basins, [so as to] pass them down to their descendants in later ages" 書於竹帛，鏤之金石，琢之槃盂，傳遺後世子孫 ("Tianzhi, zhong" 天志中). It also seems a reasonable assumption that the authority of the recited classics is largely dependent upon the existence of something approaching a stable written canon to which appeal could be made. Kern himself addresses the need for stability by noting "the double phenomenon of a canonical text that is as stable in its wording as it is unstable in its writing"; "*Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," p. 182. Most fundamentally, though, writing itself is a necessary precondition for, and in some ways dictates, the more discursive style of argumentation we see in some of the texts. For a cogent discussion of this aspect of the written text, see Dirk Meyer, "Writing Meaning," pp. 58–72. As Meyer puts it, writing "furthers the development of long and intricate lines of argument," wherein authoritative quotations or other "building-blocks" could be integrated into a text that constituted a "self-contained piece of thought" (pp. 58–59). This point is a valid and important one; as I indicated in the previous note, however, we must be cautious in drawing too sharp a distinction between the oral and the written when looking at these texts.

[183] Refer to the findings of Pang Pu and Edward Shaughnessy as discussed in the subsection on "Chu scribal peculiarities" in section C above. Shaughnessy discusses at some length the "devolutionary" development of the script, whereby such subtle distinctions were lost as the script was later standardized, forcing later editors to make choices as to which characters to convert certain graphs into. See Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 26–31. Such devolution, of course, went hand in hand with evolutionary changes in the script. For more on the evolution and devolution in the Chinese script more generally, cf. Qiu Xigui, *Wenzixue gaiyao*, pp. 28–30.

point here is entirely valid: the nature of these written texts demonstrates how they must have been employed within the context of oral instruction.[184] But so, too, did oral instruction take place within the context of written texts. As for the assignments of primary and secondary status to the roles played by the two sides of this integrated practice, I will leave the matter for others to debate.

To the extent that loan-graphs make up a relatively high percentage of those found in the Guodian manuscripts, we must now entertain the question of just what makes for a plausible loan, and assess how considerations centering on this question will impact our interpretation of these texts.

Loan Words: Phonological Considerations

As Chen Di 陳第 (1541–1617) stated long ago, "pronunciation varies within a single commandery—this reflects how it is linked to place; language transforms within a hundred years—this reflects how it is linked to time" 一郡之人，聲有不同，繫乎地者也；百年之中，語有遞轉，繫乎時者也.[185] The language of Guodian strips could hardly be more distant from us in both time and place, separated as it is by some 2,300 years of "transformation" and, to the extent that it may reflect the local Chu dialect, well over a thousand *li* of geographical "variation" from the mainstream textual traditions of the central-plains states. Despite some recent efforts, not enough is known about the specifics of the Chu dialect(s) to make it much more than an unknown variable to be kept in the back of our minds as we proceed to decode the graphs of these strips into words and meanings.[186] But temporally, for the phonetic systems of "old Chinese" more generally, we have a long tradition of phonological research on which to draw.

Old (or "Archaic") Chinese (*shanggu yin* 上古音)—in the broader usage of the word "old"—is the unavoidably over-general term for the (phonetic) language as a whole as

[184] Kern also notes that there was a definite "level of standardization" governing the writing system, without which it "could not have been functional," but stresses again how individual scribes took great license in their choices of characters to represent given words, thus leaving a "considerable degree of ambiguity that would have made the transmission of texts as purely written artifacts, independent from a competent instruction on how to read them, unreasonably problematic." See his "Methodological Reflections," p. 164.

[185] From his *Du Shi zhuoyan* 讀詩拙言, quoted here from Chen Xinxiong, *Guyin yanjiu,* p. 3; cf. Chen Fuhua and He Jiuying, *Guyun tongxiao*, p. 7.

[186] For more on recent attempts to begin analyzing the main features of a "Chu dialect," see the notes to the following subsection on "Rhyme in the Guodian texts."

evidenced from written sources spanning the roughly thousand years and vast regional distances covered by the Zhou, Qin, and Western Han periods.[187] Our evidence for reconstructing the sound systems of this "language" derives from a number of sources, the primary types being characters that interrhyme in the *Shi jing* 詩經, the *Chuci* 楚辭, and various rhymed passages found in other early classical, philosophical, or poetic texts; characters that are formed as part of a common phonetic series (*xieshengzi* 諧聲字, e.g., 台, 始, 治, 怡, etc.); and loan characters (*jiajiezi* 假借字) evidenced in different citations of a line or divergent editions of a text.[188]

On the whole, we have a much clearer picture of old Chinese finals (*yunmu* 韻母) than we do of its initials (*shengmu* 聲母). The systematic study of early Chinese rhyme groups (*yunbu* 韻部) has been ongoing since at least the time of Chen Di in the Ming dynasty,[189] and save for some specific disagreements here and there, has long since been refined to the point of general consensus as to the overall structure of the groupings, the relative proximities between them, and the assignment of individual characters to specific groups. But aside from what may be gleaned from some scattered instances of presumed alliteration, poetic verse tells us almost nothing about the initials of old Chinese. Phonetic series and graphic variants/loan characters are certainly much more useful in this regard, but still only to a limited degree. Duan Yucai's 段玉裁 (1735–1815) general principle that "[all characters of] the same phonetic must be of the same rhyme" (*tong sheng bi tong bu* 同聲必同部) has long been understood, but there appears to be a much greater degree of variability when it comes

[187] For this usage of *shanggu yin*, see Chen Xinxiong, *Guyin yanjiu*, pp. 8–9; Chen states that this definition roughly corresponds to Karlgren's definition of "archaic Chinese" as the language of the "late Zhou, Qin, and early Han"—though this in fact differs from the definition Karlgren gives in his "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese" (1954), which defines it rather as the language of the Henan region during the first centuries of the Zhou dynasty (p. 212). William Baxter, similarly taking the *Shi jing* rhymes and *xiesheng* series as his main forms of early evidence, likewise defines "Old Chinese" in the stricter sense of the "language of the early to mid Zhou," i.e., roughly the eleventh to seventh centuries BC. See William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, p. 1. See also Laurent Sagart, *The Roots of Old Chinese*, pp. 4–7, on the distinction between "Early Old Chinese" and "Late Old Chinese." Given the time period of the materials covered in this study, I will employ Chen's broader definition of "old Chinese" (leaving the "old" uncapitalized), but the narrower time (and geographic) period targeted by the studies of Karlgren, Baxter, and others should be kept in mind whenever we employ the term.

[188] Further sources of evidence include variant characters given in the *Shuowen*, phonetic glosses of Han commentators, the rhyme books and rhyme tables of middle Chinese, and various other forms of more indirect evidence. For a clear summary, see Chen Xinxiong, *Guyin yanjiu*, pp. 23–49.

[189] The beginnings of rhyme-group analysis are often traced back to Six Dynasties, Tang, and Song *xieyun* 協韻 practices of imputing alternate pronunciations to rhyme words that no longer rhymed at the time (*gaidu* 改讀). See Chen Fuhua and He Jiuying, *Guyun tongxiao*, pp. 2–7; Chen Xinxiong, *Guyin yanjiu*, pp. 9–11.

to the initials, where even the tenet of shared articulation position (i.e., all labials, all dentals, etc.) for characters of a common series occasionally permits exceptions.[190]

Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978) noted how *xieshengzi* are in essence loangraphs that have become accepted and codified by means of the addition of a radical, and given their plentitude, may be our most reliable barometers for inducing rules about the types and degrees of acceptability of variation in sound that are allowed in loan situations.[191] He goes so far as to argue that as long as one graph is in the same phonetic series as another, we may accept it as a plausible loan without further consideration. This, however, he goes on to qualify or even contradict with the observation of two difficulties: that of determining which characters are true *xieshengzi* (and not syssemantographs [*huiyizi* 會意字] that just happen to look like them), and that of determining the archaic pronunciation of these characters in order to induce the sound rules based on them. Neither of these, however, is always a clear-cut proposition, and exceptions to the general principle always run the risk of being circularly excluded on the basis of rules formed without regard to them, so that it is ultimately a matter of percentages that decides what is accepted as a true *xieshengzi*.[192] Karlgren himself noticed how all those cases of apparent, yet (ostensibly) not genuine, phonetic loans still tended to share something in common: that their finals are all more or less the same, with most of the variations that violate his induced rules occurring in the initials.[193] Yet Karlgren never accounts for the reason behind this phenomenon. Could it be that there is something in the nature of finals that makes them ultimately more suggestive of association with other characters than initials, that rhyme in Chinese is a more powerful associative force than alliteration (which still factors in, but less strictly)? Are initials somehow more malleable and

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[190] Chen Xinxiong notes how Karlgren was the first to establish the general principle that initial consonants need not be identical but must be in close proximity to each other, and credits Li Fanggui 李方桂 with the principle that they must share the same position of articulation (*tong yi buwei* 同一部位). See Chen Xinxiong, *Guyin yanjiu*, pp. 32–34; for the Duan Yucai quote (from his *Liushu yinyunbiao* 六書音韻表), see p. 27. Baxter's "principle of *xiesheng* similarity" is as follows: "In order to be written with the same phonetic element, words must normally have identical main vowels and codas, and their initial consonants must have the same position of articulation. . . . Otherwise, pre-initial, medial, and post-coda elements, and the manner of articulation of the initial, may differ"; see his *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, p. 348.

[191] See Gao Benhan (Bernhard Karlgren), *Xian-Qin wenxian jiajiezi li*, pp. 1–56.

[192] Thus, when faced with such an apparent *xiesheng* pair as *shun* 瞚 (*siw~n) and *yin* 寅 (*di~n), we are forced to disregard it; or for pairs like *hao* 號 (*ɣau) and *tao* 饕 (*t'au), or *chao* 朝 (*ďiau) and *miao* 廟 (*mĭau), we must regard the latter of each as purely *huiyizi* (the reconstructions given here for the latter two pairs are from Guo Xiliang, *Hanzi guyin shouce*). Karlgren also appears to pay little attention to the phenomenon of abbreviated phonetic elements (*sheng sheng* 省聲), which is another complicating factor in all this.

[193] Gao Benhan, *Xian-Qin wenxian jiajiezi li*, p. 15.

easily subject to both regional and temporal variations (to the extent that changes in initials are not co-implicated with changes in finals)? Or is it simply the case that old Chinese initials are less accurately determined than the finals to begin with, given the greater reliance therein on working backward from middle Chinese and all the uncertainties and conjectures involved in this process? And once we begin to factor in phonetic loan characters that fall outside of the phonetic series, it becomes clear that a somewhat greater range of phonetic variation is allowed for interloaning characters than is generally exhibited within a common phonetic series.[194]

Others have long since gone on to refine Karlgren's methods, hypotheses, and conclusions, developing more natural phonological systems that account for evidence of sound changes in simpler and yet more comprehensive ways.[195] The fact remains, however, that initials are much less well understood than finals,[196] and even in regard to the latter, determining the exact limits of interloan plausibility is far from an exact science, especially given the temporal and regional ranges within old Chinese noted above. As William H. Baxter has observed, moreover, researchers have begun to come to something of a consensus regarding a "hypothesis that Old Chinese had a system of six main vowels," suggesting "that a number of the traditional rhyme groups need to be divided into smaller groups," and he cogently describes how evidence from such recently excavated manuscripts as those of

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[194] Though in theory these should operate under the same principles, the fact is that many common loans would violate Karlgren's rules. One explanation for this is certainly that attested textual loans generally represent a later period of the language than do *xiesheng* series (and are thus often of more use for examining Warring States–period manuscripts), the formation of much of which took place at an earlier time. Additionally, it seems to me that there are a couple of possible explanations to account for this greater range of variation which, as far as I know, have not been much discussed. Could it be that because *xingshengzi* became codified in a way that other loans did not, the written forms of these characters actually *influenced* the later development of pronunciations so that characters with shared phonetics tended toward a greater degree of uniformity? And could there not perhaps be something of a circularity insofar as scholars have, in part, *based* much of their reconstructions of the phonetics upon the *xiesheng* phenomenon in the first place? In either case, the *xiesheng* series would prove something of a false barometer of the true phonetic range of loan possibilities. Karlgren's rules, for instance, forbid interloaning between the *zhen* 真 and *wen* 文 rhyme groups, but there any number of pairs of phonetic series that in actual practice exhibit frequent interloaning between these two groups (though this might also indicate, as noted below, that such groups need to be further divided into subgroups and have certain phonetic series within them reallocated to reflect more fine-grained distinctions).

[195] On the importance of "naturalness" in phonological reconstruction and looking for simpler explanations that account for a greater number of phenomena at once, see Baxter, *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, pp. 20–23.

[196] This, again, is largely because the *Shi jing* tells us almost nothing about initials. Thus, as Laurent Sagart puts it, "it is generally agreed that our understanding of Old Chinese initials is less satisfactory than our understanding of Old Chinese finals." See his *Roots of Old Chinese*, p. 5.

Guodian has tended to substantiate predictions pertaining to the temporal provenance of graphic and textual evidence that would be made on the basis of that hypothesis.[197] While bearing the potential for such improvements to and refinements of the system in mind, however, the larger boundaries between rhyme groups, and to a lesser extent categories of initials, are, on the whole, relatively well understood, and to where within these groups the initials and finals of any two characters are assigned must, along with other evidence, be taken into account when determining whether or not one would make for a plausible loan for the other. Reconstructions of precise phonetic values for characters are something of another matter, based as they are upon a wide range of indirect evidence ranging from the rhyme books and tables of middle Chinese to comparison with modern Chinese dialects and evidence (in the form of transcriptions or loan words) gleaned from other relevant languages such as Sanskrit or Japanese—so that even where the assignment to phonological categories is agreed upon, precise phonetic reconstructions may still differ markedly.[198]

The reconstruction of precise phonetic values for old Chinese characters is certainly invaluable for the comparative linguist, for developing phonological hypotheses that account for sound changes over time, and for noting some of the more subtle phonetic distinctions between otherwise identically sounding words that traditional categories of initials and finals might otherwise tend to obscure. However, for our purpose here of determining in each instance what may constitute a plausible loan, the assignment to phonological categories is generally (if not always) sufficient, and any additional information that might be provided by

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[197] See William H. Baxter, "Old Chinese Reconstruction and Recently Excavated Texts." Among other examples, Baxter points to the case where a subdivision of the traditional *wen* 文 rhyme group would point to a situation wherein the graphs 聞 and 問 (which he reconstructs as *mun and *mun-s, respectively) would actually be split off into a different group from their phonetic 門 (*mmən), but the fact that the former two words are invariably written with the 昏 rather than 門 phonetic in our Chu manuscripts (i.e., 䎽 and its variants) suggests in fact that 問 and 聞 reflect a later stage of orthography from a point in time after the two distinct finals of the *wen* group had already merged. Indeed, there is much that the study of historical phonology may yet bring to the dating of both texts and graphic forms; on this point, see also Huang Huikun, "Yinyunxue yu jianbo wenxian yanjiu," pp. 33–35. In a paper published just prior the publication of the Guodian manuscripts, Baxter had previously utilized refinements in rhyme category distinction to show how the dating of the *Laozi* (or at least much of it) is consistent with a work written after the time of the *Shi jing* but before that of the *Zhuangzi* or *Chuci*; see his "Situating the Language of the *Lao-tzu*: the Probable Date of the *Tao-te-ching*," esp. pp. 243–48.

[198] Beyond all this, there is still the issue of tones in old Chinese, of which their existence itself remains the subject of much debate. This issue, along with that of codas, post-codas, affixes, and the like, I will not presume sufficient competence to enter into here.

such reconstructions is not necessarily essential to the task,[199] and to some degree may imply a greater sense of certainty about the phonetics than we actually possess. For these reasons, I will ordinarily invoke phonetic reconstructions in this work only where I discuss a loan situation at length or where the reconstruction has the potential to provide crucial additional detail. As for the phonological categories, while there is much general agreement about their structure and, with exceptions, the assignment of characters to them, precise details of these groupings are by no means always uniform. In either case, one has to choose among a number of common, yet divergent phonological systems. Where I may have occasion to discuss phonological arguments in this work, I will often make reference to the system of Wang Li 王力 (with certain modifications by his followers), whose relatively clear set of guidelines for discussing types of phonological relationships and determining what may make for a plausible loan (or at least for "common-origin graphs" [*tongyuanzi* 同源字]) has gained widespread currency among Chinese scholars.[200] It is a system that must be used with caution, no doubt, as the latitude afforded by such loose relationships as *pangduizhuan* 旁對轉 and even many of the *pangzhuan* 旁轉 and *tongzhuan* 通轉 types (to speak only of the finals) often falls well beyond the range of genuinely plausible loans.[201] Nonetheless, it provides a meaningful vocabulary for discussing the type of relationships involved and is thus at least a useful starting point for the determination of plausibility. More recently developed (/refined) systems such as Baxter's may well account better for all the evidence in many ways, but until a detailed etymological lexicon for Old Chinese based on one of these systems becomes available, Wang Li's system will continue to have its usefulness.

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[199] For instance, it may make little difference whether I reconstruct *zhi* 脂-group phonetics as *–ei (like Wang Li) or *–ij (like Baxter), so long as the categories involved remain constant (which in some cases they do not), though it is certainly of some import when we assume a *tongzhuan* relationship with some member of the *zhi* 支 group (*-e). In either case, however, mention of the rhyme group alone is usually (though again not always) enough information to predict how any given phonologist would reconstruct at least the main vowel and coda, the essential information needed to determine interloan plausibility for the finals (the same may be said to apply to initials).

[200] I will not attempt to duplicate the explanations of Wang Li's system here; for details, see his *Tongyuan zidian*, pp. 12–20. For later refinements on his system, see Tang Zuofan, ed., *Shangguyin shouce*, and Guo Xiliang, *Hanzi guyin shouce* (or *Hanzi guyin shouce [zengdingben]*); throughout this study, assignments of old Chinese phonological categories will be based on these two works, and phonetic reconstructions will come from the latter of these. It should be noted that Wang Li's system is generally less favored in Taiwan, where the work of Chen Xinxiong is more commonly invoked.

[201] For a discussion of the terms *duizhuan* 對轉, *pangzhuan*, *tongzhuan*, *linniu* 鄰紐, etc., see Wang Li, *Tongyuan zidian*, pp. 12–20.

Ultimately, however, the argument for any loan that falls outside of a phonetic series is rarely convincing unless it is backed up by actual textual examples of such loans as evidenced in other works (especially when found in other contemporary excavated materials), either between the characters themselves or between other members of their respective phonetic series.[202] This, and not reconstructed phonetic relationships, should always be our first source of evidence in searching for possible loan explanations, given that it is the most direct and unassailable. Within the limits imposed by this more general consideration, we also need to take note of other factors involved in determining credible readings. As Li Ling emphasizes, for instance, we need to pay particular attention to regional scribal practices—to the extent we can ascertain them—as certain words appear to have been customarily represented by different graphs in the Chu region than they were elsewhere.[203] Furthermore, in looking at otherwise plausible loans, orthography should still be taken into account, as certain types of switches in semantic classifiers are clearly more prevalent than others: e.g., a graph with the speech radical 言 might reasonably substitute for one with mouth 口 or heart-mind 心, but is much less likely to stand for one commonly written with, for instance, the cowry-shell 貝 or illness 疒 radical. And the *lectio difficilior* guideline is also one that may come into play here, as common graphs are more likely to have been substituted for obscure ones than the reverse. Any educated guesses as to the reading of Guodian graphs must take all such factors, along with those provided by textual context, into consideration.

Nonetheless, where the evidence of loan possibilities as demonstrated through prior textual examples fails to shed any light, phonetic proximity may remain the only recourse, lest one give up entirely, and may still be worth considering in the absence of other evidence, especially given the possibility that the regional practices of Chu during that time might not be well reflected in the received literature. Needless to say, we must be careful not to use the possibility of either Chu scribal anomalies or Chu dialectical peculiarities as an excuse for "anything goes," and should allow for readings based on loans lacking in more direct evidence only when backed up by other sorts of support combined with forceful considerations of context. Let me describe up front two such instances in which I make for

[202] A number of loan dictionaries exist to aid us in finding such evidence in received texts, the most commonly utilized one being Gao Heng's *Guzi tongjia huidian*. For excavated materials (most specifically Chu bamboo manuscripts), Bai Yulan's recently published *Jiandu boshu tongjiazi zidian* is especially valuable.

[203] See Li's "Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti," pp. 50–51. Ren Jiyu has likewise suggested that further research needs to be done into idiomatic terminology and abbreviations commonly employed in the Chu language as reflected in these texts; see his "Guodian zhujian yu Chu wenhua," p. 2.

such allowances, bearing in mind that I single these out here as relatively speculative exceptions within my translation as a whole.

First, we have the opening lines of “Zun deyi”:

> 夁（尊）德義，明虖（乎）民侖（倫），可以為君。䑏（濟）忿（紛）
> 䜌（亂），改惎（忌）勳（勝），為人上者之柔（務）也。（1）

At issue here is my reading of “䑏忿䜌” as “濟紛亂,” “settle disputes and disorder.” My readings for the latter two graphs are relatively unproblematic, as the graphs can be taken as exact phonetic counterparts to the characters thus read in terms of the assignments of both their initials and finals (with 忿 and 紛, moreover, belonging to the same phonetic series), and their semantic classifiers both make sense in terms of the words they would thus represent (“disputes” involving the heart-mind just as much as “entanglements” involve silk). The latter point certainly holds true for reading 䑏 as 濟 (*tsiei 精紐脂部) as well, but here the phonology is somewhat more problematic. Following the lead of He Linyi and Yan Shixuan, I would identify the middle element of the graph initially transcribed 潍 ( ) as 舟 rather than 肉 (月), but the basic phonetic element 隹 (*ȶiwəi 章紐微部) in any case remains the same.[204] Though the close connection between the *zhi* 脂 and *wei* 微 rhyme-groups is well established, and the relationship between the two initials is plausible even if not ideal, there is no direct prior evidence of interloaning between the two phonetic series in question, and the presumption of a medial “w” in one and not the other might give some phonologists pause. Nonetheless, evidence for a close connection between the two phonetic series can be adduced in the form of both sound glosses and rhyming and/or alliterative binomes in *Chuci* poetry, and other characters in the 隹 series do carry initials that are much closer to that of 濟. Equally important, though, is that such phrases as 濟亂 and 解紛亂 are attested ones in pre-Qin literature, and 濟紛亂 works better in context than any alternative readings that have been proposed thus far, some of which rest upon shakier phonological grounds.[205]

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[204] He and Yan both note the similarity of this graph in form to that of the *Shuowen*’s “ancient script” form of 津 (䑏), which they both read here as 盡; see He Linyi, “Guodian zhujian xuanshi,” p. 202, and Yan Shixuan, “Guodian Chujian sanlun (san),” p. 30 (/78). I concur with this analysis, but actually see the graph as instead standing for the word 濟, which is closely related to 津 in both sound and meaning.

[205] For details of my argument, see Gu Shikao, “Du ‘Zun deyi’ zhaji,” pp. 321–23.

The second example concerns a phrase from strip 28 of “Cheng zhi”:

> 聖人不可由與墠（墠）之

which I read as:

> 聖人不可由（須）與（臾）墠（休/捨）之
>
> The sage can never let it rest (/abandon it) for an instant.

The upper element of the graph “墠” ( ) is one of those ambiguous forms in the Chu script that stands for two distinct characters, 單 and 畱, making the interpretation of this line—and the passage as a whole—especially problematic.[206] I here follow Li Xueqin in taking that element here as the abbreviated form of 畱, serving as the phonetic component of the graph (which Li, however, reads 效, “emulate”).[207] The graph 畱 is understood as equivalent to 畜, which has readings of both *tʻĭə̆uk (透紐覺部) and *xĭə̆uk (曉紐覺部), though its interloaning with 守 elsewhere suggests that it may be read like 獸, both *ɕĭəu (書紐幽部). Here, I read either 休 (*xĭəu; 曉紐幽部), “relax,” “lay to rest,” or, possibly, 捨 (*ɕɪɑ;書紐魚部), “abandon,” either of which fits the criteria for plausible loans, but both of which lack any attested examples of interloaning with 畜 or 獸.[208] As for the construction 由與, no scholar has been able to make any real sense of the construction as it stands, though Liu Zhao offered the intriguing possibility of reading it as 猶豫, “hesitate.”[209] The lack of any particle 而 before the following verb, however, suggests the construction instead be read adverbially, and thus I propose to read it as, or like, the closely related term 須臾, “for an instant.” The binome 須臾 *sĭwo－*ʎĭwo (心侯－余侯) could plausibly interloan with 由與 (/猶豫) *ʎĭəu－*ʎĭɑ (余幽－余魚), though the phonetic relationships are relatively loose,

[206] On this point, see Liu Zhao, “Du Guodian Chujian zici zhaji (1-3),” p. 92; note that Liu himself reads 憚 here, in the sense of “fear.”

[207] Li Xueqin, “Shi shuo Guodian jian ‘Cheng zhi wen zhi’ liang zhang,” p. 23. Chen Wei follows Li’s interpretation of the graph, but reads 守, “uphold,” as the same phonetic element is read in the “Laozi” texts; see his *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 241–24.

[208] Of the two, *xiu* 休 is probably the better bet, and there is definitely some precedent for interloaning between the *shu* 書 and *xiao* 曉 initial groups, even within the same phonetic series—as with 燒 and 曉 itself, for instance.

[209] Liu Zhao, “Du Guodian Chujian zici zhaji (1-3),” p. 92.

and the former is in fact a rhyming binome, whereas the latter is an alliterative one. The term 須臾, however, is just one of a number of closely related rhyming binomes found in texts of Chu origin, such as 斯須 or 逍遙, that overlap in usage with such alliterative Chu binomes as 容與 (in the sense of "untrammeled"), which in turn substitutes with such related rhyming binomes as 猶豫 and 躊躇 (in the sense of "hesitant"). The close and multivalent relationship of all these binomes suggests that 猶豫, "hesitant," might well be used here in the extended adverbial sense of "for a single moment of hesitation," i.e., "for an instant." While 猶豫 is surely the more proper reading from a phonological standpoint, I give the reading of 須臾 instead out of the force of conventional usage, though the two should be understood as on some level interchangeable.[210]

The reading is admittedly somewhat speculative, but it has the dual advantages of both making grammatical sense out of the phrase in question and fitting in perfectly with the overall theme of the passage, which concerns the idea of how the sage is able to cultivate himself far beyond the reach of the ordinary man, even though he begins with the very same human nature.[211] This is a theme we find again and again in other Confucian texts. In the *Xunzi*, for instance, "learning" is something that "can never be brought to an end" 學不可以已: while the specific sequential subjects (*shu* 數) of learning may one day be mastered, the "propriety" or "significance" (*yi* 義) of learning—the self-cultivation that leads the gentleman (*shi* 士) on the path to becoming a sage (*shengren* 聖人)—is something that must be gradually accumulated and "can never be abandoned for an instant" (不可須臾舍也). Similarly, the same work states that "as for the propriety of ruler and minister, the affinity of father and son, and the distinction of husband and wife, these [must be] polished daily and never abandoned" 若夫君臣之義，父子之親，夫婦之別，則日切瑳而不舍也, an idea which may be related directly to cultivation in terms of the "six positions" (*liu wei* 六位) seen also in "Cheng zhi."[212] And of course, from the "Zhong yong" we have the famous phrase that in our cultivation of the Way, we "cannot depart from it for a single instant" 不可須臾離也.[213] There is of course the danger here of allowing presumed philosophical affinities with such received texts to dictate the reading, but the alternative of forcing a

[210] For the details of my arguments for these readings, see Gu Shikao, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi' dengpian zazhi," pp. 83–86.

[211] The passage as a whole, however, is not without its other problems in interpretation. For details, see the notes to the translation.

[212] From the "Quan xue" 勸學 and "Tian lun" 天論 chapters, respectively. See (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 1, 11, and 316. See also strips 31-33 and 37-40 of "Cheng zhi."

[213] (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 17.

nonsensical or ungrammatical reading out of the excavated passage is certainly no solution, and thus here the persuasiveness of the reading in context coupled with the plausibility of the phonology, even in the absence of directly attested loan evidence for certain graphs, demands that the reading at least be offered as a possibility—though the reader, here as elsewhere, will be asked to keep all the relevant caveats of uncertainty in mind.

Throughout my translations, the majority of suggested readings will, unlike these examples, be chosen from among those already offered by other scholars, and more often than not will be based on more certain evidence for loan plausibility. Out of necessity, however, I will not ordinarily be able to replicate the arguments of each scholar or discuss my reasons for choosing one over the other, lest this already voluminous study grow beyond all reasonable proportions, and thus interested readers will need to turn to the cited studies themselves for details. I can only state here that my decisions will in all cases be made in accordance with the above-mentioned principles. That is, again, that the loans must be phonologically convincing and, where it exists, backed by the evidence of prior textual examples. At the same time, however, the readings must fit into their lines according to the dictates of classical Chinese syntax and, moreover, make reasonable sense of the contexts in which they appear, all without resorting to all-too-readily equating graphs with patently obscure words seen only in the pages of traditional lexicons. Where unattested yet plausible loans serve as the only recourse to meet those latter demands, we must permit ourselves some, albeit limited, latitude in resorting to them in our translation—always keeping in mind that they must remain tentative until the time that further evidence may be found to support them.

Rhyme in the Guodian Texts

One further factor of some importance in the reading of these texts is the use of rhyme within them. While most of the Guodian texts are written in more discursive prose, portions of both "Zun deyi" and, as is already well known, the "Laozi" texts exhibit the qualities of rhymed verse, and one text, "Yucong 4," appears to be rhymed throughout.[214]

In "Zun deyi," the rhyming is both relatively sporadic and particularly loose, but its use is unmistakable nonetheless. Interrhyming between different rhyme groups, of Wang Li's

[214] Huang Huikun has also suggested that "Ziyi" is another text dominated by rhyme, and not just in the *Shi* quotations (such as, for instance, the "Master said" quotation in GDCJ 19 [LJ 22]); see his "Yinyunxue yu jianbo wenxian yanjiu," p. 36. There are indeed some scattered instances of rhyme in the various "Ziyi" passages that may be worthy of further study, but the rhyme there is certainly not nearly as prominent or consistent as in the aforementioned texts.

"*pangzhuan*" variety (i.e., having main vowels that are similar but not equivalent), is particularly prominent, with rhymes among "-n" and "-ng" type finals especially prevalent.[215] The rhymes of the "Laozi" texts are generally tighter, but rhyme does not occur in every passage, and where it does, rhymed segments are often interspersed with prose lines. "Yucong 4," by contrast, appears rhymed throughout, and unlike in these other texts, rhyme words are generally indicated (with some inconsistency) by short horizontal markers placed below them—a phenomenon seen also in the Shanghai Museum v. 6 text "San de" 三德.[216] Close examination of these rhymes reveals interrhyming tendencies that show affinities with those found in the *Chuci*, but the samples are still too small in both size and number to establish any definitive conclusions.[217] More recently, however, a number of rhymed texts have appeared amongst the Shanghai Museum manuscripts,[218] and, to the extent that they may be reflective of the local Chu language, analysis of their rhyme patterns and patterns of interrhyming promises to go a long way toward refining our understanding of the particulars of the Chu dialect.[219]

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[215] For details, see my "Du 'Zun deyi' zhaji," pp. 325–29. See also the notes to the translation.

[216] For more on the rhyming of this text, see my (Gu Shikao) "Shangbo zhushu 'San de' pian zhuzhang qianshi."

[217] On this point, see my (Gu Shikao) "Cong *Chuci* yunli kan Guodian Chujian 'Yucong si,'" esp. pp. 205–6, 213–14.

[218] In addition to "San de," the following Shanghai Museum texts are particularly worthy of note: "Yong yue" 用曰, which, like "San de," is also more or less rhymed throughout (albeit loosely), but for which the strip order is all but uncertain; "Fan wu liu xing" 凡物流形 (A and B), which also has rhyme throughout, with particular regularity in the first half of the text; and "Li song" 李頌 and "Lan fu" 蘭賦, both of which are more in the nature of true odes and exhibit great regularity and precision in rhyme. The first two of these four texts may be found in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu, v. 6*, and *v. 7*, respectively, and the last two appear in *v. 8*; note that none of these texts utilize any sort of consistent rhyme markers. I have previously analyzed the rhyme patterns in "Yong yue" and "Fan wu liu xing" in some depth, for which see my "Shangbo Chujian 'Yong yue' zhangjie," "Shangbo jian 'Fan wu liu xing' chutan," and "Shangbo qi 'Fan wu liu xing' xiabanpian shijie."

[219] Well prior to the discovery of Chu manuscripts, scholars had already begun to investigate the characteristics of the Chu dialect based on rhyming in the *Laozi*, considered to be of Chu origin, and the *Chuci*. For the former, see Dong Tonghe, "Yu Gao Benhan xiansheng shangque 'ziyou yayun' shuo jianlun shanggu Chu fangyin tese." Dong's conclusions include a lack of distinction between the traditional *dong* 東 (*-ong) and *yang* 陽 (*-ang) rhyme groups, between the *zhi* 之 (*-ə) and *you* 幽 (*-əu) rhyme groups, between the *yu* 魚 (*-ɑ) and *hou* 侯 (*-o) rhyme groups, and occasionally between the *zhen* (*-en) and *geng* 耕 (*-eng) rhyme groups; cf. the brief summary in Baxter, "Situating the Language of the *Lao-tzu*, pp. 247–48. For the latter, see (Qing) Jiang Yougao, *Chuci yundu*; Wang Li, *Chuci yundu*; Fu Xiren, *Chuci guyun kaoshi*; and Lin Lianxian, *Chuci yindu*. Fu includes intrerrhyming between the *zhi* 之(*-ə) and *wei* 微 (*-əi) groups, the *yu* 魚(*-ɑ) and *xiao* 宵 (*-au) groups, and the *wei* 微(*-əi) and *ge* 歌 (*-a) groups among forms of interrhyming unique to the *Chuci*. Much more recently, Zhao Tong has sought to make the first attempt at a comprehensive study of the Chu dialect based on sources that include recently excavated manuscripts (along with received texts including the *Chuci* and

Despite its importance in the aforementioned Guodian texts, rhyme remains one of the most understudied and underutilized aspects of the manuscripts, often overlooked by scholars as a potential clue in the parsing of lines, the interpretation and reading of graphs, or even the ordering of strips. Take, for example, the following line from the end of strip 16 in "Zun deyi":

> ……先之以悳（德），則民進善安（焉）（16）
>
> . . . If [the ruler] presides before them with virtue, then the people will with goodness advance to him.

Chen Wei, however, offers a different ending for this line, reconnecting it directly to strip 28 and reading the first graph of that strip, *wei* 爲, as *hua* 化, thus reading 則民進善安化, ". . . then the people will advance in goodness and be content with instruction."[220] Chen's reading is compelling insofar as it provides a plausible reading while serving to eliminate the somewhat awkward "爲故" combination from the head of strip 28. Yet while Chen may still be right in following strip 16 with 28, rhyme suggests his reparsing is incorrect, as 安 (/焉) comes at the end of a series of lines interrhyming with *wen*- 文, *zhen*- 真, and *yuan*- 元 group

the *Zhuangzi*), but his study was undertaken at such a time that he was unable to include any manuscripts later than the Guodian "Laozi" and "Yucong 4." On the basis of these limited sources, Zhao finds, among other phenomena, confusion between the *zhen* 真 (*-en) and *wen* 文 (*-ən) rhyme groups, and between the *zhi* 脂 (*-ei) and *wei* 微 (*-əi) groups, while, on the other hand, he disputes Dong's claims of any lack of distinction between the *dong* 東 and *yang* 陽 groups; see Zhao Tong, *Zhanguo Chu fangyan yinxi*, esp. pp. 89–100. More recently, I have undertaken an inclusive study of rhyme patterns found in the "Yucong 4," "San de," "Yong yue," and "Fan wu liu xing" texts, in the attempt to identify both common formal patterns of rhyming and the types of interrhyming that may occur between different rhyme groups. Contrary to Zhao's findings, my study in fact found no evidence of interrhyming between either the *zhi* 脂 and *wei* 微 groups or the *zhen* 真 and *wen* 文 groups, but rather the suggestions of some limited interrhyming between the *zhen* 真 and *yuan* 元 groups (*-an); it also found at least two instances of interrhyming between the *dong* 東 and *yang* 陽 groups (not to mention between *zhi* 之 and *you* 幽 and limited instances between *zhen* 真 and *geng* 耕), perhaps lending some further credence to Dong's earlier conclusions. For these and related observations, see my "Chujian yunwen fenlei tanxi," esp. pp. 251–55. Needless to say, it remains an open question as to whether all four of these texts actually reflect the local Chu dialect; it is easy to imagine a text like "San de," for instance, having been imported from some other region altogether. In any event, the study of Chu rhyme and its impact upon our understanding of the Chu dialect is still in its early stages, given both the lack of a sufficient number of rhymed manuscripts upon which to base any claims and the numerous problems that remain in properly identifying all the rhymes therein.

[220] Chen Wei, "Guanyu Guodian Chujian 'Liu de' zhupian bianlian de tiaozheng," pp. 70–71.

finals, whereas 爲 (化) would only serve to disrupt this rhyme at the very conclusion of the passage.[221]

Another interesting, yet more problematic example comes from strips 10-11 of "Yucong 4":

> 佖（匹）婦禺（愚）夫，（10）不智（知）其向（鄉）之小人、君子。
>
> The common woman and ignorant man cannot tell the noble men from the petty men in their own village.

This pair of lines makes sense as is, but does not fit in particularly well with the rest of the passage. When, however, we take into account the dictates of rhyming and, especially, the balancing of line-lengths in the verse that makes up the passage, we find it makes better sense on all accounts to assume an extraneous character and move either "君子" or "人君" to the beginning of the next couplet, thus leaving this one as follows:

> 佖（匹）婦禺（愚）夫（10）
>
> 不智（知）其向（鄉）之小〔魚宵合韻〕[222]
>
> The common woman and ignorant man
> know not the smallness of their village.

And in the process, the "nobleman" (or "ruler of men") becomes the subject of the concluding lines:

> 君子飤（食）韭（薤）
>
> 亞（惡）智（知）終其菜（葉）？〔月葉合韻〕[223]

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[221] For more details, see my "Du 'Zun deyi' zhaji," pp. 326–28, and the notes to the "Zun deyi" translation.

[222] While interrhyming between the *yu* 魚 and *xiao* 宵 groups is certainly not common, it does occur in the *Chuci*, and is an example of what Fu Xiren describes as "an interrhyming phenomenon unique to the *Chuci*"; see Fu Xiren, *Chuci guyun kaoshi*, p. 193. On the other hand, interrhyming between the *yu* 魚 and *zhi* 之 groups—which is what we would have if the 子 of 君子 were the rhyme—does not occur in the *Chuci*.

[223] My reading of 韭 as 薤 here is admittedly somewhat unusual, essentially taking the former as a kind of graphic abbreviation of the latter, on the strength of a potentially related line from the "Shao yi" 少儀 chapter of

> The nobleman, when eating scallions—
> whence would he know to finish the leaves?

leading to an ironic conclusion lamenting the incognizance of the ruling class—their inability to understand the suffering of the common people—and thus forming a close counterpart to the adjacent passage on how "those who steal states become feudal lords," already known famously from the *Zhuangzi*. My reading here is ultimately a speculative one, as it forces us to break up a combination graph and thus rests on the assumption of scribal error.[224] Yet in doing so, it serves to restore a strong sense of poetic rhythm and rhyme to this demonstrably verse passage while bringing about an interpretation that not only makes sense of lines that are otherwise obscure, but which makes all the lines of the passage fit neatly together, both internally and in the context of surrounding passages. Whether one agrees with the reading or not, the undeniable presence of rhyme in this passage, as in others, forces us to account for each rhyme word in one way or another.[225]

We have of necessity spilled a good deal of ink on the finer details of interpretation and the guiding principles involved in arranging these texts, making coherent sense out of them, and coming to read and understand them on the most basic of levels. It is, after all, upon such details and principles that a translation of the Guodian manuscripts must rest. Yet the end goal of this study and translation is to produce a reliable framework by which to explore some of the wider issues surrounding these texts: their larger philosophical import and the implications they hold for the study of the intellectual history of Warring States China. To that end, let us now proceed to set forth some of the basic parameters for such exploration.

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the *Li ji* (see the translation notes for details). The reading of 菜 as 葉, however, is also fraught with uncertainty, and so it is difficult to determine the precise rhyme and exact meaning of this couplet in any case.

[224] For details, see my "Cong *Chuci* yunli kan Guodian Chujian 'Yucong si,'" pp. 203–6. See also the notes to these lines in the translation.

[225] In my translations to the relevant texts, I will indicate rhyme in the Chinese transcription both by the indentation of rhymed lines and by the supplying of Chinese rhyme-group categories in brackets at the end of such lines.

E. THE GUODIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CONTEXT OF WARRING STATES INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

The Guodian Texts as a Coherent Group

Before we may begin to explore the "philosophy of the Guodian texts," we must first pose the question of whether there is any justification for treating these texts as a coherent group in the first place. To which the answer, if I may anticipate it, is a resounding "yes and no." The reasons for not assuming coherence are obvious. The mere fact that the manuscripts were found in the same tomb only attests to the probability that they were all of great enough interest to the occupant to gain entry into his personal library of the afterlife. Like our own book collections, this may very well have been made up largely of works of different authorship and perhaps of even contradictory philosophical dispositions. The fact that the "Laozi" assemblages were found alongside texts of clearly Confucian orientation would only seem to demonstrate this supposition.

Nonetheless, if we look closely at those Confucian texts, there are a number of striking similarities in both wording and philosophical inclination that are too glaring to pass off as coincidental, forcing us to consider at least this core group of texts as an intimately related body of works. And if we were to accept this group as representing the central philosophical orientation of the tomb occupant, we *could*—and some have—see such texts as the "Laozi" manuscripts and "Taiyi sheng shui" as selections that were chosen and perhaps even edited in such a way as to support, or at least not contradict, this more central Confucian doctrine.[226] Be that as it may, the mutual relationship among the demonstrably Confucian texts is an issue well worth exploring in itself. In what follows, let us set aside for now the "Laozi" texts and others, such as "Qiongda yi shi," with a more specific focus, and examine the commonalities among the Confucian texts of more general import: in particular, the two sets of roughly 32.5-cm manuscripts constituted by the pair of "Ziyi" and "Wu xing," and the four texts "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," and "Liu de," respectively. Here, I will highlight mostly similarities in wording, reserving the discussion of more general intellectual affinities for the remainder of the section.[227]

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[226] See the individual introductions to these manuscripts below. The issue of whether or not the "Laozi" texts represent a selection from a pre-existing body of work is, of course, a complex one that must be decided on evidence more fundamental than the nature of these texts' relationship to others in the corpus.

[227] I first discuss these wording parallels, some of which a number of other scholars have also observed, in my "Guodian Chujian rujia yishu de pailie tiaozheng chuyi," pp. 211–12 and 215–16.

Among all the texts in the corpus, "Ziyi" is the one we can most readily identify as having some degree of authoritative status at the time. This is not only because of its frequency of occurrence in both the archaeological and received records, but also because of the nature of the text itself, which consists mainly of quotations from the master, Confucius, and from the *Shi* (*Odes*) and the *Shu* (*Documents*). Among those quotes is the following (passage 4 [LJ 8], strips 14-15), which nicely encapsulates the notion of leadership by example that can be said to constitute the main theme of the text as a whole:

> 子曰：「下之事上也，不從其所以命，而從其所行。上好此勿（物）也，下必又（有）甚安（焉）者矣。」
>
> The Master said, "In serving their superiors, subordinates do not follow that which they command, but rather follow the example of their conduct. If the superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so."

Parallels to the two halves of this quotation can be found elsewhere in the received literature, most notably in the *Mengzi*, where Confucius is similarly quoted as saying "When superiors are fond of something, among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so" 上有好者，下必有甚焉者矣.[228] The partial reoccurrence of this phrase in the received corpus should not be surprising. What is surprising is that among the very limited corpus of Guodian texts, the same lines appear—this time without attribution—twice again: in full and practically verbatim in "Zun deyi" (strips 36-37):[229]

[228] "Teng Wen Gong, shang" 滕文公上; this is immediately followed by the famous quote: "君子之德，風也；小人之德，草也。草尚之風必偃" ("The noble man's virtue is the wind, and the petty man's, the grass. When the grass is blown by the wind, it will invariably sway [in that direction]"); see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 253. Note that the portion of the quotation in question is traditionally taken as Meng Zi's comment to a preceding quotation of Confucius rather than part of the Confucius quotation itself, but comparison with "Ziyi" suggests otherwise. Rough parallels to the two halves of this statement may also be found in the "Da xue" 大學 chapter of the *Li ji*: "其所令反其所好，而民不從" ("[When the ruler]'s commands run counter to what he [shows] fondness in, the people will not follow"; commentarial section 9) and "未有上好仁而下不好義者" ("There has never been a case when superiors are fond of humanity that subordinates fail to be fond of propriety"; commentarial section 10). See Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju*, pp. 9, 12.

[229] Wang Bo, in "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," suggests on this basis that "Zun deyi" formed a kind of commentary to "Ziyi" (p. 261). Others would take a somewhat opposite approach, Liao Mingchun going so far as to suggest that "Zun deyi" was authored by Confucius himself, with "Ziyi" quoting him directly from that text; see his "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 57–58.

> 下之事上也，不從其所命，而從其所行。上好是勿（物）也，下必又（有）甚安（焉）者。
>
> In serving their superiors, subordinates do not follow that which they command, but rather follow the example of their conduct. If the superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so.

and the second half of the dictum, with minor variation, in "Cheng zhi" (strip 7):

> 𠅸（上）句（苟）身備（服）之，則民必有甚安（焉）者。
>
> If the superior submits to something himself, then among the people will invariably be those who do so even more.

That the quotation would find more close parallels within the Guodian texts alone than it does in the whole of the received corpus can hardly be attributed to coincidence. This certainly points to an intimate relationship between "Ziyi," "Zun deyi," and "Cheng zhi," a relationship that an examination of the general philosophical import of these texts does little to contradict.

Of no less striking significance is a parallel that occurs between "Wu xing" and "Liu de." "Wu xing" passage 25 begins as follows (strips 39-41):

> 柬（簡）之為言猶練（/鍊）也，大而晏（顯）者也。匿之為言也猶匿匿也，少（小）而訪（防）者也。柬（簡），義之方也。匿，仁之方也。[230]
>
> As a word, "jian: straightforward determination" is like "lian: refined/hardened"—that which is great and obvious. As a word, "ni: harboring

[230] Refer to the translations for details on the difficulties involved in deriving the somewhat simplified renderings and readings given both here and for the following "Liu de" passage.

> lenience" is like "nini: secretive"—that which is meticulous and protective. Straightforward determination is the orientation of propriety (yi); harboring lenience is the orientation of humanity (ren).

This is a most difficult passage to interpret, in part because it finds no parallels whatsoever in the received literature. Yet "Liu de" (strips 31-33) contains a similar discussion of *ren* and *yi* that includes a nearly identical pair of terms and some exact parallels in wording:

> 仁類柔而束，義類持而絕，仁柔而納（匿），義強而柬（簡）。納（匿）之為言也，猶納（匿）納（匿）也，少（小）而慎者也。逸其志，求養親之志，蓋亡不以也。是以納（匿）也。

> The manner of humanity is flexible and cohesive; the manner of propriety is steadfast and uncompromising. Humanity is flexible and harbors lenience; propriety is resolute and straightforward. As a word, "na(/ni): harboring lenience" is like "nana(/nini): secretive"—it is [a virtue] that is meticulous and cautious. [One] hides his own will, and seeks to nurture his parents' will—in short, there is no recourse he will not take [to satisfy his parents]. It is thus that one harbors lenience.

The variations between these two passages are noteworthy and interesting, but in any event it is clear that the two share a common origin. Here once again, shared wording between two Guodian texts that is not to be found elsewhere in the received tradition would appear to indicate a particularly close affiliation between them. A somewhat less striking, yet nonetheless notable phenomenon to be observed is a general complementary pairing of *ren* and *yi* that runs through quite a number of the Guodian texts. Such *ren/yi* dualism is prominent not only in the sections of "Wu xing" and "Liu de" in which the above passages appear, but is seen throughout other texts as well. Compare the following two phrases:

> 忠，[身/心]（仁）之實也。信，[我/日]（義）之异（期）也。

> Loyalty is the substance of humanity; trustworthiness is the expectation of propriety. ("Zhongxin zhi dao" strip 8)

孝，忎（仁）之免（冕）也。僮（禪），義之至也。

Filial piety is the acme of humanity; abdication is the height of propriety. (“Tang Yu zhi dao” strips 7-8)

Such close parallels have all the markings of being stock riffs on a common theme, variations played upon a shared repertoire of ideas that may well have been the signature of a particular lineage or even of the same author. While the virtues of *ren* and *yi* are often combined with others as well—hence the “Five Conducts” and “Six Virtues”—their mutual pairing is a reoccurring trope throughout these texts. Such pairing is of course a feature of a number of early Confucian texts, but nowhere as prominently as in those associated with the figures of Zisi and Meng Zi, whose possible connections with the Guodian texts we will explore in the next section.[231] As the “Zhong yong” 中庸 puts it: “‘Humanity’ is [the virtue of being] human, wherein affection for one’s parents is the greatest [act]; ‘propriety’ is [the virtue of acting] appropriate[ly], wherein the honoring of worthies is the greatest [act]” 仁者人也，親親爲大；義者宜也，尊賢爲大. This is precisely the type of complementary pairing of the two that we find in such texts as “Wu xing” and “Liu de,” not to mention “Yucong 1”:

【厚（厚）於悬（仁），専（薄）】於義，罤（親）而不隫（尊）。厚（厚）於義，専（薄）於悬（仁），隫（尊）而不罤（親）。▌

[231] Focusing primarily on the “Wu xing” and “Tang Yu zhi dao” texts, Kenneth Holloway’s recent book also makes much of what he terms the “integration” of *ren* and *yi* as a “common method for attaining harmony” in the Guodian texts, which he would further relate to a “shared focus on unity” in the “Laozi”/“Taiyi sheng shui” texts as indicating “purpose and order in the selection process of texts to be interred in the tomb.” See his *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*, esp. pp. 14 and 79. Holloway, however, abruptly dismisses the possibility of any close affinity between these texts and the *Mengzi* or any of the texts historically associated with Zisi (pp. 37–40, 45–52)—despite certain parallels in wording and argument that are clearly much closer to each other than to any general common focus on unity to be found among otherwise disparate texts that just happened to be interred together.

> 【[Those who] are high on humanity but low】 on propriety are held close but not honored; [those who] are high on propriety but low on humanity are honored but not held close. (strips 77, 82, 79)[232]

At the same time, however, the texts maintain an internal/external distinction between the two virtues that, on the surface at least, would put them at odds with the more consistently internalist position later, presumably, put forward by Meng Zi, as with the following statements:

> 悬（仁）生於人，我（義）生於道。或生於內，或生於外。▎
>
> Humanity is born from mankind; propriety is born from the Way. One is born from within; the other is born from without. (“Yucong 1” strips 22-23)
>
> 悬（仁），內也。宜（義），外也。豊（禮）樂，共也。
>
> Humanity is [a matter of the] internal, propriety is [a matter of the] external, and ritual and music are [matters] in common [to both]. (“Liu de” strip 26)

We will return to this matter below. Related to this *ren/yi* dualism is another line shared in common between two of the texts, this time “Liu de” and “Xing zi ming chu.” Directly preceding the *ren/yi* passage having parallels to “Wu xing” quoted above, strips 30-31 of “Liu de” contain the following lines:

> 門內之絧（治）紉（恩）穿（弇）宜（義），門外之絧（治）宜（義）斬紉（恩）。
>
> In the order within the [family] gates, goodwill holds check over propriety; in the order beyond the [family] gates, propriety cuts short goodwill.

The same pair of lines appears nearly verbatim in both the “Sangfu sizhi” 喪服四制 chapter of the *Li ji* and the “Ben ming” 本命 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*.[233] Strips 58-59 of “Xing zi ming chu” likewise speak in similar terms:

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[232] A set of closely parallel lines is also to be found in the “Biao ji” 表記 chapter of the *Li ji*; see (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1302.

> 門內之紿（治），谷（欲）其𩞁（宛）也。門外之紿（治），谷（欲）其㭔（折/制）也。
>
> When managing those within the household gates, lenience is to be desired; when managing those beyond the household gates, decisiveness is to be desired.

And the same idea is expressed once again in somewhat different terms in strips 8-9 of “Tang Yu zhi dao”:[234]

> 炁（愛）睪（親）亡（忘）臤（賢），忎（仁）而未義也。尊臤（賢）遺睪（親），我（義）而未忎（仁）也。
>
> To love one’s parents and forget the worthies is to have humanity yet lack propriety. To honor the worthies and neglect one’s parents is to have propriety yet lack humanity.

It should be apparent by now that the distinction between family and social-political obligations, along with their concomitant virtues of “humanity” and “propriety,” is a constant theme throughout many of the Guodian texts, a theme that is often expressed with markedly similar wording among them. Even if these texts were not the products of a single lineage, such affinities show that they were certainly closely affiliated in intellectual disposition and must, at the very least, have shared common sources of influence.

There are, moreover, a number of other common terms and stylistic features that are worthy of note. Take, for example, the term *liu wei* 六位, or the “six positions”—husband and wife, father and son, ruler and minister—which appears as a central notion in “Liu de.” Although this particular set of six shows up in a few pre-Qin texts, there are only one or two instances in the received literature where the term *liu wei* itself appears in conjunction with this meaning.[235] The term just happens to appear again, however, in “Cheng zhi” (strips 39-

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[233] For the full text, see the notes to the translation of “Liu de.”

[234] On this point, cf. Yuasa Kunihiro, *Zhanguo Chujian yu Qinjian zhi sixiangshi yanjiu*, p. 64.

[235] The term appears indirectly in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and directly in a late chapter of the *Zhuangzi*; for details, see the introduction to the “Liu de” chapter.

40): "是故君子慎六立(位)以巳(祀)天常" ("Thus the noble man is conscientious over the six positions, so as to pay homage to Heaven's constancy").[236] As these would be the final lines of the text, it is even possible that "Liu de" might have immediately followed these lines on the next strip in the same scroll.[237] Similarly, the association between the "sage" and "Heavenly virtue" (*shengren tiande* 聖人天德) seen in "Cheng zhi,"[238] though certainly not unheard of in other texts, nonetheless connects it quite inextricably with "Wu xing," wherein "sagacity," the "way of Heaven" (*tiandao* 天道), and "virtue" are practically equated.[239] The "Wu xing" text further associates the sublimated affection of *le/yue*, "happiness/music," with this achieved state of heavenly virtue, an association it shares, to some degree, with both "Zun deyi" and "Xing zi ming chu." There are, furthermore, a couple of relatively unique terms in "Wu xing" that also turn up conspicuously in "Xing zi ming chu," such as *yue* 悅, "pleasure" or "gratification," which appears as a central term in both,[240] and the phrase "X 之方也," "lies in the orientation of X,"[241] which is all but absent from the received literature, at least where two or more terms are being compared as they are in these two texts. Such uncanny similarities serve to contradict the facile conclusion that these two texts offer two fundamentally different philosophical outlooks on human nature—"internalist" and "externalist"—and should give us pause to at least consider their potentially deeper commonalities in philosophical orientation. Also worth noting is that the cultivation chains ending with "不安則不樂，不樂則亡德" in strips 5-6 and 8-9 of "Wuxing" find an utterly distinctive parallel in strip 27 of "Zun deyi": "不和不安，不安不樂." Finally, such terms as *ren dao* 人道, *min dao* 民道, or *min zhi dao* 民之道 may be found in a number of different

[236] Chen Wei argues on this basis that these strips should actually belong to the "Liu de" text instead, but, as I discuss above, calligraphic features—not to mention stylistic features and shared content with the preceding lines of the same passage—would appear to preclude this. For more on this, see the section on "Textual Notes: Rearrangements in Strip Order" in the introduction to the "Cheng zhi" translation.

[237] Strip 40 of "Cheng zhi" ends with a text-end marker followed by blank space; "Liu de" may conceivably have followed directly on the next strip, though it is clearly of different calligraphic hand.

[238] "Cheng zhi" strip 37; the term *tiande* also appears in strips 32-33.

[239] We might also note the pairing together of the virtues of "sagacity" (*sheng* 聖) and "knowledge" (*zhi* 智), a particular pairing we see at work in both "Wu xing" and "Liu de," though their enumeration of the various virtues or conducts are in other ways quite distinct.

[240] See "Wu xing" strips 6, 10-11, 13, 21, 32, and 49; "Xing zi ming chu" strips 1, 11, 12, 21, 43, 50, and 58.

[241] "Wu xing" strips 40-41; "Xing zi ming chu" strips 32, 38-40, and 49.

Guodian texts, signaling a central Confucian theme of virtuous governance through ritual and music, which, as we shall discuss further on, all these texts emphasize without end.[242]

Of course, not all the texts in the Guodian corpus share the same basic philosophical inclinations, the most obvious outliers being the "Laozi" texts, which, no matter how one sees their take on such virtues as *ren* and *yi*, clearly differ in philosophical import from the larger body of Confucian texts that make up the bulk of the corpus. "Taiyi sheng shui," which was likely bundled together with the strips labeled "Laozi C," has also been classified by most scholars as "Daoist," given the centrality of "Taiyi" in the greater Daoist tradition. In any case, it is a text that deals primarily with cosmogony; the sage's relationship to the "Way," which such cosmogonic workings are "forcibly" named; and the valuing of "weakness" as a practical virtue in such a world—all of which closely associate it with the "Laozi" texts. "Yucong 4" is another story altogether, with scholars labeling it everything from "Daoist" to "Legalist" to "Strategic," though I would argue that this compendium of practical wisdom is not greatly at odds with core Confucian values.[243] All the other texts—with the occasional exception of "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao"[244]—have generally been lumped together under the category of "Confucian" (or "Rujia" 儒家). This is a term that I have no objections to employing here, given that the texts in question either refer directly to Confucius as their "master,"[245] or share a set of terms and principles in common with practically all other texts that do so, such as a firm belief in the transformative

[242] For all these reasons, I would take some issue with Dirk Meyer's recent assertion that "the diversity of the philosophical texts" in this tomb "mitigates the danger that we gain only a one-sided picture when using the tomb as a reference point" for the study of text and thought in early China; see his "Texts, Textual Communities, and Meaning," pp. 834–35. To be sure, the diversity is there, but so too is a certain cohesion among many of the texts the likes of which would not be found amidst a more general sampling of texts from the period as a whole.

[243] See the introduction to the "Yucong 4" translation.

[244] Despite their "use of near-Confucian terms or phrases"—those that are standard in Confucian texts—Li Xueqin would place this pair of texts under the category of "strategic" instead, given the strong emphasis on abdication seen within them and the particular historical implications they appear to assume; see his "Xian-Qin rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian," p. 14. Li Cunshan argues that "Zhongxin zhi dao," with its portrayal of the relatively cross-cutting ideals of "loyalty" and "trust" as natural virtues, was a Confucian piece composed under the influence of "Chu Daoism," most specifically, perhaps, under the "school" of the figure of Chen Liang 陳良, described in the *Mengzi* as a famous Confucian scholar originating from the state of Chu; see Li Cunshan, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 200–3.

[245] On this point, see the introduction to the "Ziyi" translation.

power of the ruler's virtue as highlighted and promulgated through ritual and music, or as expressed through the classical works—the Odes and Documents—of the former kings.[246]

But why are such texts as the "Laozi" manuscripts found together—as we see also in Mawangdui—with others of demonstrably Confucian origin? As mentioned earlier, the answer may be simply that the tomb occupant had found all such texts to be of practical value or worthy of study more generally, all deemed fit for consultation, even in the afterlife, despite their mutual incongruities. The history of Warring States thought amply demonstrates that disparate philosophical ideas were both debated and absorbed by rival thinkers, and there is no good reason to suppose that the tomb occupant, whoever he was, would in that environment necessarily have to limit his reading or instructional materials to works of a single school of thought. Insofar, however, as we are looking at forms of coherence among the Guodian texts, we may note the possibility that some of the "Laozi" passages may have been purposively altered so as to alleviate any apparent contradictions with the Confucian texts of the corpus.[247] Doing so would allow the various texts to speak coherently to divergent aspects of a greater philosophy common to all of them, which might prove valuable particularly in the context of instruction. Conversely, some scholars would point to the relative prevalence of discussions of "Heaven's way" in the Guodian Confucian texts as evidence for the adoption of a metaphysical framework possibly influenced by the concerns of so-called "Daoist" philosophies.[248] Others would point to passages such as the "acting to

[246] The emphasis on ritual and music is especially key here, as it serves most clearly to distinguish the followers of Confucius with those of Mo Zi. Some would prefer to use the term "Ru" in place of "Confucian"; that is certainly an option (and indeed my own former practice), but I would argue that we gain little in doing so, as both terms still end up standing for the very same body of doctrine. For more on both sides of this issue, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*, chapter one; and my Review of that book, pp. 190–93.

[247] This is in reference especially to the opening passage of "Laozi A," where the abandonment of *ren* and *yi* found in the corresponding passage (R 19) of the received text is no longer to be found. While most scholars see this as evidence that the "original" *Laozi* had no such opposition to these Confucian virtues, some would take the opposite view, that the Guodian version was altered to avoid contradiction with Confucian texts of the corpus. For this latter view, see especially Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 60 n. 6; Zhou also suggests that the appearance of such "Daoist" texts in the corpus was for the purpose of strengthening the overall Confucian philosophy of the other works by bolstering their metaphysical framework. For the reasons I find Zhou's view on the "Laozi" alterations somewhat more compelling than the more widely held view of original compatibility, see the introduction to my "Laozi" translations later in this book.

[248] See, for example, Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengding ben)*, p. 17, who, however, notes some crucial differences in how such a metaphysical view is applied. Luo Chi goes so far as to argue that the presence of such ostensible "Daoist" influence in these texts suggests that they must have postdated the *Zhuangzi* and expressed a kind of "proto-Huang-Lao" philosophy, from a period in which Confucian and "Daoist" ideas were no longer incompatible; see his "Guodian Chumu zhujian yinxiang," or its expanded version, "Guodian Chumu

no purpose" 亡爲 lines in "Yucong 1" to suggest how early forms of "Daoist" thought coexisted with Confucian ideology in these texts, and so on.[249] Taken together, all such phenomena may indeed point to a greater coherence at work in the Guodian corpus as a larger whole, seen as a purposeful selection built around a central core of Confucian texts with—perhaps—certain alterations made as necessary to ensure that all the texts conform to a more general set of philosophical principles in harmony with that nucleus.[250] Or, as others would see it, it could simply be an assemblage of different texts that cohere on some levels only because they represented philosophies which, at that point in time, were not really opposed to each other in any fundamental ways.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that despite all the demonstrable points of commonality just discussed, differences among the various Guodian texts abound, even among those texts we might justifiably label "Confucian." Each text has its own unique focus, or set of foci, and each is more than worthy of its own specific examination. That examination, however, will come later, in the form of separate introductions preceding the translation of each text. Before embarking on those more concentrated individual treatments, we must first explore in greater depth the affiliations among the texts and treat them to some degree as a coherent group, even if only as a thought experiment. Once having done so, we will have a better backdrop against which to situate our closer examination of the individual

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zhujian de yuan ru tezheng ji duandai wenti." Needless to say, such a view is one that runs the danger of allowing pre-conceived notions of intellectual-historical development to falsely dictate the dating of the manuscripts.

[249] Li Cunshan, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 201–3. Li likewise points to the "stealing of states" passage in "Yucong 4," strip 9, which resonates with parallel lines in the *Zhuangzi*; cf. Luo Chi, "Guodian Chumu zhujian yinxiang," p. 4. For the "Yucong 1" lines, see strips 84, 83, 53, and 55–58. The notion of *wuwei* is by no means a monopoly of the "Daoist" philosophers. For more discussion on *wuwei* in the Guodian texts, see Edward Slingerland, "The Problem of Moral Spontaneity in the Guodian Corpus," pp. 237–56, and my introduction to "Yucong 1." Chen Guying points to further areas of possible philosophical overlap between lines from "Zhongxin zhi dao," "Xing zi ming chu," and "Liu de" with those from the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, arguing that the Guodian texts appear to represent a "harmonious mixture" of "Daoist" and Confucian thought. For Chen's views, and a summary of some of the other early discussion on philosophical schools in the Guodian texts, see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 179–82.

[250] Recognizing the very real differences among "Laoist" and Confucian philosophies of the time and the possible need to assuage them does not necessarily entail that they were opposed in any rigid or diametric ways. I would in fact generally agree with the conclusions of some scholars that the sharp "opposition" drawn between "Daoist" and Confucian ideology was largely a phenomenon that did not achieve full expression until the Han dynasty; see, for example, Liu Zeliang, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan xian-Qin ru-dao guanxi de yanbian," pp. 9–10. But even Liu, in an expanded version of the same article, takes pains to add the thought that scholars have recently lapsed into the other extreme of "seeing only the similarities and ignoring the differences" between the two ideologies; see his "Guodian 'Laozi' suo jian ru-dao guanxi ji qi yiyi," p. 660.

texts, thereby throwing each of their unique features into sharper relief. As to just what extent such an experiment may prove justifiable, that is something that can only become clear in the course of the exploration itself.

Affiliations with Intellectual Lineages

The starting point for any such discussion is the dating of the texts vis-à-vis that of the major intellectual figures of the time, Meng Zi 孟子 (ca. 385–305 BC) in particular. As Li Xueqin puts it, the probable date of the tomb, based on the archaeological evidence, "corresponds with Meng Zi's later period of activity," and all of the texts reflected in its manuscripts could have been available to him; since the text of the *Mengzi* was certainly written no earlier than Meng Zi's later years, the Guodian texts must undoubtedly have predated that work's formation.[251] Pang Pu offers a similar assessment, and in the framework of intellectual developments states that the texts represent a "transitional period" between the times of Kong Zi (Confucius) and Meng Zi, and that the absence in their discussions of human nature of any question of its inherent goodness suggests that that particular issue had not yet arisen.[252] Granted, the interment of the tomb itself may well postdate Meng Zi's death by a few years, and if the some of the texts buried in it were relatively new creations, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that they were written at the same time as, or even after, the *Mengzi*—this gives just enough leeway for some to argue, on intellectual-historical grounds, that certain Guodian texts must postdate that work.[253] Nonetheless, the overall picture given by these time constraints, not to mention geographical disparity, suggests the probability that any influence that may have existed between the *Mengzi* and the Guodian texts more than likely ran the other way, the tomb interring a set of texts which Meng Zi, just like his tomb-occupant contemporary, may well have read and studied. On the whole, however, the Guodian texts probably did not precede the *Mengzi* by too great a span in time:

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[251] Li Xueqin, "Xian-Qin rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian," p. 15.

[252] Pang Pu, "Kong Meng zhi jian," pp. 24, 28–29. Note that Pang gives Meng Zi's dates as roughly 380–300 BC.

[253] As mentioned above, some, such as Luo Chi ("Guodian Chumu zhujian yinxiang"), go so far as to maintain that the Guodian texts even postdate the writings of Zhuang Zi (ca. 365–285 BC), but this naturally takes an even greater leap of faith. Ikeda Tomohisa and his students go even further, Yi Sŭng-ryul arguing that "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" must have been written just prior to such texts as the "Chen dao" 臣道 chapter of the *Xunzi*, and Ikeda himself arguing that such texts as "Wu xing" and "Xing zi ming chu" bear the influence of Xun Zi's thought and thus must even postdate the time of that thinker (ca. 340–245 BC, by Qian Mu's dating); for details, see the introductions to those respective texts later in this book.

though we might not yet see in them traces of certain debates that would come to the fore in the latter, they in many ways still present us with a relatively mature and largely complete picture of pre-imperial Confucian thought.[254]

In the initial flurry of scholarly activity following the publication of the Guodian texts, the question of their *xuepai* 學派—their affiliation(s) in terms of what we might render as "schools of thought" or "intellectual lineages"—was one of the most hotly contested points of discussion. Among the Confucian texts, the bulk of attention has been given to examining possible connections of these texts with the so-called "Si-Meng" 思孟 school, that of Zisi 子思 and Meng Zi 孟子, but scholars have also noted potential links to the figures or lineages of Ziyou 子游, Gongsun Ni Zi 公孫尼子, and others. Such attention has caused some consternation among Western Sinologists, given how our field has generally come to frown upon the "biographical approach" to intellectual history, in favor of methods that examine each text as an anonymous response to greater intellectual trends, to impersonal social and political forces, or to other anonymous statements, whether preserved in the written record or merely presumed. Nevertheless, these texts were undeniably written and transmitted by real people, in the context of an instructional tradition in which certain philosopher-teachers attracted large and enduring followings and thus came to great prominence both during their lifetimes and beyond. Given this reality, the search for textual affiliations with such figures is by no means a meaningless task, and though we should not wish to carry that search so far as to let any presumed conclusions dictate our readings or to allow the search itself to become the endgame of our study, we should at least give such biographical exploration its due and see where it may take us in terms of helping to situate the Guodian texts in their historical context.

Whether or not we accept the well-known *Han Feizi* description of the "Ru dividing into eight" (*ru fen wei ba* 儒分爲八),[255] factional divisions among the followers of Confucius were certainly a reality. As disciples transmit the teachings of their master to a new generation of disciples, and the latter to another yet again, it is inevitable that they will form

[254] Du Weiming, for one, stresses how the texts cover "all four aspects" of the Confucian value system: the individual, society, nature, and the "Way of Heaven"; see his "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 3. Pang Pu emphasizes the full delineation of different virtues that is evident in these texts, which goes beyond the simpler discourses of "humanity" and "ritual" that dominate the *Lunyu*; see "Gumu xinzhi," p. 9.

[255] From the opening of the "Xian xue" 顯學 chapter, wherein eight distinct Confucian lineages "since the death of Confucius" 自孔子之死 (along with three Mohist factions since the "death of Mo Zi") are enumerated, each "at odds in what they adopted or forsook" 取舍相反不同. See (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, pp. 456–57.

their own idiosyncratic interpretations of those teachings or introduce new elements altogether, and that adherence to particular lines of transmission will become interwoven with privileged claims to authenticity.[256] Sorting out the unique particulars of such Confucian lineages is, however, fraught with difficulties. Foremost among these, perhaps, is that little but remnants of the works ascribed to these lineages has survived down to the present, and for those portions that have endured, the ascription itself rests largely on the recovery work of such Han bibliographers as Liu Xiang and Liu Xin 劉欣, who, while no doubt having access to a greater degree of historical memory regarding textual transmission than we now possess, must nonetheless have employed a certain amount of guesswork and determined the affiliation of many such texts on the basis of intellectual content and stylistic similarities alone.[257]

Despite the inherent difficulties, the question of lineage affiliation is nonetheless an interesting one that remains well worth asking, so long as we do not permit it to overshadow and obscure any of the more unique intellectual aspects of these texts. To that end, let us take a quick examination of some of the more important historical associations that scholars have proffered, beginning with the one that has the greatest number of adherents, is ascribed to the largest number of texts, and, arguably, has the most going for it in terms of both direct and indirect evidence. Following this, we will then briefly run through some of the other figures with whom one or more of the individual texts has been associated, saving some of the details of the arguments for the separate introductions to the translations.

a. The "School of Zisi and Meng Zi" 思孟學派

It was the 1973 discovery of the "Wu xing" text and commentary in the early Western Han tomb #3 of Mawangdui that first sparked renewed interest in the existence and nature of a Si-Meng tradition. Zisi (483–402 BC), traditionally identified as Confucius's grandson,[258]

[256] This also invariably had much to do with the geographical separation of disciples as they traveled to serve new lords in new capacities. On this point, see Pang Pu, "Kong Meng zhi jian," pp. 22–23.

[257] As we know from our examination of excavated texts, most of them lack even titles, let alone any clear hints of authorship. On the nature of Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's recovery work, see Yu Jiaxi, *Gushu tongli*, pp. 242–51; see also the discussion in Li Rui, "Kong Meng zhi jian 'xing' lun yanjiu: yi Guodian, Shangbo jian wei jichu," pp. 19–21; and Gu Shikao, "Yi Zhanguo zhushu chongdu *Gushu tongli*," pp. 427–31 and 435–39.

[258] Mark Csikszentmihalyi strongly calls into question the identification of this Zisi with the grandson of Kong Zi, a "conflation" that he argues would not take place until the Han; see his *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*, pp. 94–100. Csikszentmihalyi raises a number of interesting problems and possibilities, but lacking any more demonstrable evidence to the contrary, I remain inclined to accept, for now, the traditional identification.

and Meng Zi lived roughly three generations apart, but the two have long been closely linked as philosophers who were thought to share in a common intellectual lineage. The association of Zisi and Meng Zi derives primarily from the *Xunzi* 荀子, in which the "Fei shi'er zi" 非十二子 chapter derides the followers of those two figures as follows:

> 略法先王而不知其統，(猶)然而〔猶〕材劇志大，聞見雜博。案往舊造說，謂之五行，甚僻違而無類，幽隱而無說，閉約而無解。案飾其辭，而祇敬之，曰：此真先君子之言也。子思唱之，孟軻和之。......[259]

> Emulating the former kings in broad outline yet incognizant of their unifying traditions,[260] they were boastful and ambitious nonetheless, while sundry and scattered in learning and experience. They fabricated a doctrine on the basis of an archaic past and called it the "five conducts"; it was unorthodox to the extreme and lacking in any standards, abstruse and incomprehensible, cryptic and unintelligible. They thereupon adorned their words to lend reverence to [their doctrine], saying: "These are truly the words of the former gentleman (Confucius)!"[261]—Zisi sang the lead in this, and Meng Ke chimed along. . . .

Scholars as far back as Yang Liang 楊倞 of the Tang dynasty have identified the "five conducts" of this passage with the "five constancies" (*wu chang* 五常) of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi*, and *xin* 信 seen in later texts,[262] but because the term *wu xing* does not appear in either the

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[259] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 94.

[260] Jiang Guanghui suggests that this line refers specifically to their penchant for citing the examples of the abdicating sage-kings Yao and Shun and not understanding the principles of orthodox hereditary transmission; see his "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*: jiantan Guodian Chujian de sixiangshi yiyi," p. 82. This, however, fails to recognize the fact that the *Mengzi*, too, expressly viewed abdication as at best an unusual exception to the norm of hereditary transmission; for more on this issue, see the introduction to "Tang Yu zhi dao."

[261] Jiang Guanghui, in "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*" p. 83, notes in this regard an interesting passage from the "Gong yi" 公儀 chapter of the *Kongcongzi*, in which Lord Mu of Lu tells Zisi that "Some say the words of Master [Confucius] recorded in your writings are actually your own words" 子之書所記夫子之言，或者以謂子之辭, to which Zisi replies that "Some I heard myself and some from others, and although they might not be his exact words, still none of them fail to capture his meaning" 或親聞之者，有聞之於人者；雖非正其辭，然猶不失其意焉.

[262] For later variations on this explanation of the term, including those of Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, Guo Moruo 郭沫若, and Hou Wailu 侯外盧, see Yang Rubin, "De zhi xing yu de zhi qi," pp. 254–55.

Mengzi or in any of the texts, such as the "Zhong yong" 中庸, traditionally attributed to Zisi, the exact source of the *Xunzi*'s criticism remained a source of perplexity. The Mawangdui discovery of the "Wu xing" text, with its clear enumeration of the five conducts of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi*, and *sheng* 聖, appeared to be the answer to this puzzle. As Pang Pu first noted over thirty years ago, the "Wu xing" otherwise has unmistakable philosophical and terminological affinities with both the "Zhong yong" and the *Mengzi* (this holds for both the main "Wu xing" text and its commentary), and it is a text, moreover, that can arguably be said to match the charge of being, in places, "abstruse and incomprehensible."[263] The text thus fits in perfectly with both the *Xunzi* description and the nature of the received texts most commonly associated with Zisi and Meng Zi. At the time, however, Pang and other scholars tended to look upon the main text and commentary as a single entity, and, given how the commentarial portion appeared to quote directly from the *Mengzi* in several places, largely concluded that the "Wu xing" was likely the product of latter-day followers of Meng Zi.[264]

Not only does the "Wu xing" appear again—minus attached commentary—in the Guodian corpus, but that corpus, unlike that of Mawangdui, is one dominated by Confucian texts, among which there are two others that also have clear connections to Zisi: "Ziyi," traditionally attributed to Zisi, and "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," in which he forms the main subject. This prompted Li Xueqin, just prior to the formal publication of the Guodian manuscripts, to suggest that these three texts were once part of the now-lost *Zisizi* 子思子.[265] A work by this title in twenty-three *pian* 篇 is listed in the bibliographic treatise, "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志, of the *Han shu* 漢書, with a note ascribing it to "Ji, grandson of Confucius and

[263] Pang Pu, "Mawangdui boshu jiekai le Si-Meng wuxing shuo gumi." Pang Pu was apparently the one responsible for first giving the text its name. Guo Yi also stresses the connections between "Wu xing" and the "Zhong yong," the most substantial being their common emphasis on the organic relationship between internal substance and external form, and though he argues that the latter text represents a development of the thought of the former, he still sees Zisi as the direct author of both texts; see his "'Wu xing' kaolüe" in his *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, pp. 457–59.

[264] Some even attempted to relate the "Wu xing" more directly to Xun Zi himself, but this was a minority view with relatively weak substantiation. For details, see Huang Junjie, "Mengzi houxue dui xinshen guanxi de kanfa"; and Yang Rubin, "Zhi yan, jian xing yu shengren" and "De zhi xing yu de zhi qi." Wei Qipeng was, to my knowledge, the lone exception in seeing the text as pre–Meng Zi, associating it more closely with the immediate followers of Zisi; see his [*Mawangdui Hanmu boshu*] "*De xing" jiaoshi*.

[265] Li Xueqin, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian zhong de *Zisizi*." As Li notes, however, the contents of that work were, of course, not necessarily all written by Zisi himself. Given the existence of the Mawangdui "Wu xing" commentary, which he attributes to the second-generation Confucian disciple Shi Shuo 世碩, Li does speculate that the "Wu xing" proper was likely directly authored by Zisi, comparing the "Wu xing" text and commentary to the situation of the "Da xue" 大學, which he in turn sees as comprising Zeng Zi's 曾子 commentary to a brief passage quoted from Confucius.

teacher to Lord Mu of Lu" 名伋，孔子孫，爲魯繆（穆）公師.[266] It is again listed, this time as a work in seven *juan* 卷, in both the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 of the *Sui shu* 隋書 (there attributed to "Kong Ji, teacher of Lord Mu of Lu") and the bibliographic treatises of both the *Old Tang shu* 舊唐書 and *New Tang shu* 新唐書, and the work is quoted still in Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 (ca. 1105–1180 AD) *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 of the Northern Song, attesting—perhaps—to its continued existence throughout the first millennium of imperial rule.[267] Subsequently, the work seems to have disappeared. As for the possible content of such a work, the "Kong Zi shijia" 孔子世家 ("Hereditary Household of Confucius") chapter of the *Shi ji* links the authorship of the "Zhong yong" 中庸 directly to Confucius's grandson: "Confucius begot Li 鯉, styled Boyu 伯魚, who died before him. Boyu begot Ji, styled Zisi, who wrote the 'Zhong yong.'"[268] According to a 502 AD memorial 奏答 of the Liang 梁 dynasty scholar-official Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513 AD) recorded in the "Yinyue zhi" 音樂志 ("Treatise on Music") of the *Sui shu*, the "Zhong yong," "Biao ji" 表記, "Fang ji" 防記, and "Ziyi" chapters (of the *Li ji* 禮記) were "all taken from 皆取 the *Zisizi*."[269] As Li Xueqin has noted, this likely had some basis in fact, given that the *Zisizi* was still in circulation at the time, and two quotations each of a work by that name in the Tang dynasty scholar Ma Zong's 馬總 compilation *Yilin* 意林 and Li Shan's 李善 (630–689 AD) annotations to the *Wenxuan* 文選 also appear in "Ziyi," further attesting to that text's probable inclusion in the *Zisizi*.[270]

[266] (Han) Ban Gu, *Han shu*, p. 1724. Cui Renyi actually suggests that this *Zisizi* in 23 *pian* is just another name for "Ziyi" with its 23 passages; see his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 10.

[267] Cheng Yuanmin argues that the version listed in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* (and, in fact, even later sources) is actually a forgery, constructed partly on the basis of spurious passages in the *Kongcongzi*; for details on this and the complicated bibliographic history of the *Zisizi* (at least for those citations in which the "Zhong yong" and related texts are implicated), see his "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 2–8. Note that the Old Tang Shu actually lists the *Zisizi*—perhaps mistakenly—as a work of eight *juan*.

[268] (Han) Sima Qian et al., *Shi ji*, p. 1947. The "Ju Wei" 居衛 chapter of the *Kongcongzi* also states that Zisi "wrote the work of the 'Zhong yong' in forty-nine *pian*" 撰中庸之書四十九篇—though it is difficult to account for such a number under any scenario. Han scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 AD), as cited in (Tang) Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 *Liji zhengyi*, also attributes the "Zhong yong" to "Zisi, Ji, grandson of Confucius" 孔子之孫子思伋作之.

[269] See (Tang) Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., *Sui shu*, p. 288.

[270] Li Xueqin, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian zhong de *Zisizi*." For the passages cited by Li Shan, see the notes to strips 8-9 of "Ziyi" (*Li ji* passage 17), and Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 41–42. Citations of "Zisi said" 子思曰 in such earlier works as the "Tan Gong" 檀弓 chapter of the *Li ji* and in two Han works, Liu Xiang's 劉向 (77–6 BC) *Shuoyuan* 說苑 and Xu Gan's 徐幹 (170–217 AD) *Zhonglun* 中論, give further support to these attributions. The "Ziyi," however, has also been attributed to Gongsun Ni Zi, a matter we shall take up below. There are also *Zisizi* (and/or "Zisi yue") citations for lines from the "Zhong yong" and "Biao ji," as well as for lines from an ostensible chapter of that work entitled "Lei de" 累德 that

Even assuming this to be the case, we should note, of course, that the fact that "Ziyi" was still floating around as an independent text (or perhaps, in the Guodian materials, bundled together with "Wu xing") suggests that the *Zisizi* as an integral compilation did not likely take form until much later, likely in Han times.[271]

We must likewise note that scholars of early Chinese intellectual history have long been divided on the dating and precise affiliation of the "Zhong yong." Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990), for instance, thought that while the sections of that text in the form of recorded utterances (passages 2-20a) may well have been authored by Zisi, the more "mystical" sections in essay form (passages 1 and 20b-33) represented a post-unification elaboration of Mengzian thought.[272] Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 (1903–1982) countered this with an argument that

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overlap with material found in the "Mou cheng" 繆稱 chapter of the *Huainanzi*; see Ye Guoliang, "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 6–7. Cheng Yuanmin, however, has disputed one-by-one the various Zisi citations related to the "Zhong yong," on the basis of a variety of different arguments, including, for instance, that one of the sources is in fact directly citing from the *Li ji* "Zhong yong," but simply attributing the quote to Zisi on the basis of what was by then a traditional association; for more on this and the other cases, see Cheng's "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 8–11. As for "Ziyi," Cheng argues (pp. 30–32) that differences between the Guodian and *Li ji* versions of the passage in question suggest that the variant lines were in fact added to the *Li ji* version *from* the *Zisizi*, from a passage which originally bore no direct relationship to the "Ziyi" passage (see the "Ziyi" notes for details; for a critique of Cheng's conclusions here, see Liao Mingchun, "'Ziyi' zuozhe wenti xinlun," pp. 164–66). And as for "Fang ji," Cheng contends (pp. 28–29) that its unique style of citation of Confucius in the form of "Zi yun" 子云 rather than "Zi yue" 子曰 suggests different authorship from both the "Biao ji" and "Ziyi" (other points of similarity aside), and that the text's quotation by name of both the *Chunqiu* and the *Lunyu* is also indicative of later authorship, probably as late, in his estimation, as the early Han. While it may ultimately be simpler to accept Shen Yue's statement at face value rather than attempt to counter, as he does, each and every individual case of citation, Cheng does raise a number of compelling points that may warrant further investigation. At the same time, however, it is worth noting that Cheng does in fact accept three of the four *Zisizi* citations that closely parallel "Biao ji" lines as authentic, and thus he does affirm the "Biao ji," and that text alone, as a genuine work of Zisi himself; see pp. 42–44. For a critique of each of Cheng's views on "Ziyi" and "Fang ji," see Yu Wanli, *Shangboguan cang Chu zhushu "Ziyi" zonghe yanjiu*, pp. 432–37. In particular, Yu raises the following issues worth noting here: one, it is difficult to find, under Cheng's scenario, any rational explanation as to why the later redactor/interpolater would, given all the possible sources, borrow *only* from the *Zisizi* to add lines into "Ziyi"; and two, given what we have learned from the excavated "Ziyi" manuscripts, which suggest that the lone *Yi* citation in the received "Ziyi" is a later accretion (see the "Ziyi" introduction), it follows that we likewise cannot assume that the *Chunqiu* and *Lunyu* citations were original to "Fang ji."

[271] For more on this point of independent transmission, see Yu Jiaxi, *Gushu tongli*, pp. 238–41. See also Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 49–53; Li Rui, "Kong Meng zhi jian 'xing' lun yanjiu," p. 20; and Gu Shikao, "Yi Zhanguo zhushu chongdu *Gushu tongli*," pp. 435–36. And of course the individual texts themselves may have undergone accretion over time, so that attaching even a single text to a particular author is inherently problematic, as Ye Guoliang duly notes in his "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," p. 6.

[272] Feng Youlan, "*Zhongyong* de niandai wenti," pp. 183–84. Feng's views on this are very close to ones separately offered by Takeuchi Yoshio 武內義雄; for more on this, and for further support for such views, see

the “first half” of the text (passages 1 through the first half of 20, excluding 16 and 19 as later accretions) was the work of Zisi himself, while the “second half” (second half of passage 20 to the end) likely came from his disciples, but still before the time of Meng Zi. Tang Junyi 唐君毅 (1909–1978), while affirming the unparalleled place of “Zhong yong” in the tradition, nonetheless saw it as not the work of Zisi at all, but rather a post–Zhuang Zi transformation of Mengzian notions of heavenly endowment, especially with its idea of *cheng* 誠, “sincerity,” as that which connects Heaven’s mandate with human nature.[273] The “Zhong yong” may certainly be post–Meng Zi in whole or in part, but the Guodian texts themselves will show that some of the notions that have been used to demonstrate that late date may themselves well have a much earlier provenance, at least in their incipient forms. In any event, there is no particularly compelling reason to discount the likelihood that the “Zhong yong” may have formed part of the *Zisizi*, even if it is highly improbable the text could be directly attributed to Zisi himself.[274] Thus the “Zhong yong,” along with the other two texts (“Fang ji” and “Biao ji”) mentioned alongside “Ziyi” in Shen’s memorial, remain potentially valuable in any exploration of the Guodian texts in connection with a possible lineage relationship with Zisi.

As for “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi,” the reasons for connecting it with Zisi are obvious. That it presents, moreover, a clear picture of Zisi as a forthright and audacious minister with a philosophy of frank remonstration accords well with descriptions of Zisi we find in other texts, including the work that bears the name of Meng Zi, his ostensible second-generation disciple.[275] The fact, moreover, that Meng Zi himself is portrayed in strikingly similar

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Cheng Yuanmin, “*Liji* ‘Zhong yong,’ ‘Fang ji,’ ‘Ziyi’ fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao,” pp. 12–16. Cheng himself would emphasize the point that the words “zhong yong” themselves, from which the title is taken, do not appear until the second passage, suggesting that the first passage was indeed not original to the text; on the other hand, Cheng also avers (p. 21) that the form of address of Confucius as “Zhongni” 仲尼 seen in the second passage makes it doubtful that even those middle passages could have been written by Zisi, his grandson.

[273] Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo renxinglun shi, Xian-Qin pian*, p. 103; Tang Junyi, *Zhongguo zhexue yuanlun, yuandao pian juan er: Zhongguo zhexue zhi “dao” zhi jianli ji qi fazhan*, pp. 78, 82. For a slightly more detailed summary of these views, see my (Gu Shikao) “Guodian Chujian Rujia yishu yu qi dui Taiwan Ruxue Si-Meng chuantong de yiyi,” pp. 170–71.

[274] There are also the well-known cases of references in passages 26 and 28 that would appear to be reflective of geographical and administrative realities of the Qin unification or later; for more on these, see Cheng Yuanmin, “*Liji* ‘Zhong yong,’ ‘Fang ji,’ ‘Ziyi’ fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao,” pp. 17–20. Even if such interpretations are correct and the “Zhong yong” did not take final form till after the Qin, there is still no reason to assume that the text could not have made its way in to the *Zisizi*, unless we hold the indemonstrable view that that work as a whole must have taken form prior to the end of the Warring States.

[275] According to Meng Zi’s biography in the *Shi ji*, he “received instruction from one of Zisi’s disciples” 受業子思之門人; see *Shi ji*, p. 2343. Some suspect the 人 after 門 is extraneous, which would imply instead that he

characterization in the *Mengzi* seems to lend further credence to the notion that he may have received instruction in Zisi's lineage.

Shortly after the publication of the Guodian manuscripts, Li Xueqin went on to further ascribe a number of other Guodian texts to the *Zisizi* in addition to the three mentioned above, and he was quickly supported in these attributions by more than a few scholars. For instance, given that the "Liu shu" 六術 chapter of (Han) Jia Yi's 賈誼 (200–168 BC) *Xinshu* 新書 appears to quote from lines found in both "Wu xing" and "Liu de" (the latter also quoted by the closely related "Daode shuo" 道德說 chapter), Li sees them as arising from a common source. "Xing zi ming chu" he then relates to the "Zhong yong" by virtue of the similarity of their opening lines; the existence of a line in "Zun deyi" (strips 28-29) that is elsewhere ascribed (in the *Mengzi*) to Confucius he cites in connection with a vague similarity of that text's form with that of the "Zhong yong"; and so on—concluding that these texts all "have some degree of connection with Zisi and represent an important link in the development of Confucianism from the time of Zisi to Meng Zi," demonstrating that the "Zhong yong" indeed "came from Zisi."[276] Jiang Guanghui is among many who note how the notion of "seeking it within one's self" (*qiu zhu ji* 求諸己) seen in such texts as "Cheng zhi," or even the more general emphasis on cultivating the self regardless of fate in "Qiongda yi shi," closely parallel characterizations of Zisi's thought, as in the "Gui yan" 貴驗 chapter of Xu Gan's 徐幹 (171–217 AD) *Zhonglun* 中論, where Zisi is portrayed as extolling the notion of "seeking it within oneself and not others" 求己而不求諸人.[277] The wording of *fan zhu ji* 反諸己, *qiu zhu ji*, etc., also finds nearly verbatim parallels in both the "Zhong yong" and

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was a direct disciple; for examples from the *Kongcongzi* with similar implications, see Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," pp. 608–9. The tradition that Meng Zi may have been a direct disciple of Zisi can also be found in such early sources as Liu Xiang's 劉向 *Lienü zhuan* and Ban Gu's 班固 self-annotations to the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapter of the *Han shu*, but the chronological absurdities of this connection have long since been pointed out by such scholars as (Qing) Huang Yizhou 黃以周, Liang Yusheng 梁玉繩, and Qian Mu 錢穆; for more on this, see Cheng Yuanmin, "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," p. 4. For details on "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" in relation to other texts presenting a similar portrayal of Zisi, see the introduction to its translation.

[276] Li Xueqin, "Xian-Qin Rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian," pp. 15–16. Li also suggests that the manuscripts may also somehow support the notion that Zeng Zi 曾子 authored the "Da xue" 大學, parts of which also resonate closely with the Guodian texts.

[277] Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*," pp. 85–86. Jiang goes so far as to conclude (p. 88) that "Wu xing," "Ziyi," "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," "Tang Yu zhi dao," "Qiongda yi shi," "Xing zi ming chu," "Liu de," and the first half of "Cheng zhi" were all written by Zisi himself (perhaps with help from disciples). The "Liu de" connection is especially tangential, based mainly on its frankness of tone in delineating the limits of ruler-minister bonds.

Mengzi.[278] In more general terms, Pang Pu himself stressed early on how not only the "Wu xing," but also such texts as "Yucong" 1-3, "Xing zi ming chu," and indeed all the Confucian texts of the Guodian corpus approach the problem of human ethics from an internal perspective, in which Heaven's mandate (*tianming* 天命) is decreed through the endowment of human nature and to be sought within rather than something to be emulated externally, a perspective that equally characterizes both the "Zhong yong" and the *Mengzi*.[279] Furthermore, throughout all their different enumerations of virtues, the texts often remain centered, as with the *Mengzi*, around the cardinal virtues of *ren* and *yi*—a phenomenon we already noted above.[280] In light of all this, Pang offers the relatively conservative conclusion that the *Zisizi* represents a kind of collection of writings from the emerging Si-Meng school written over the years between Confucius and Meng Zi, and that some of the Guodian Confucian texts "may very well have been among them."[281]

Others have since taken the relatively cautious lead of Li and Pang and followed it to greater extremes,[282] and as the search goes on, evidence for associations with Zisi and Meng

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[278] For details, see the introductions to "Cheng zhi" and "Qiong da yi shi." See also Guo Yi, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' pian shuzheng," p. 292; Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," p. 608. It is worth noting, however, that the term 反己 appears in a fair number of other texts as well, including several times in various chapters of the *Wenzi*; for examples, see Li Rui, *Xinchu jianbo de xueshu tansuo*, pp. 209–10.

[279] See his "Gumu xinzhi," p. 8, and, especially, "Kong Meng zhi jian." Pang does, however, make particular note of the basic neutrality of human nature and the importance of education in "Xing zi ming chu"; see his "Kong Meng zhi jian," p. 33.

[280] Pang Pu, "Gumu xinzhi," p. 9. This pairing further implicates "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Zhongxin zhi dao," texts which are also closely associated with the lineage due to overlap in wording with such texts as "Biao ji" and "Fang ji," as well as a reverence for the sage-kings Yao and Shun and the virtue of abdication that many would view to be in concord with ideals expressed in both "Biao ji" and the *Mengzi* (though, as mentioned earlier, this last connection is especially problematic). For details, see the introductions to those texts' translations.

[281] Pang Pu, "Kong Meng zhi jian," p. 24.

[282] Jiang Guanghui, as noted above, argues that seven and a half of the texts were authored by Zisi himself. Liao Mingchun makes the argument that "Ziyi" and "Wu xing" were possibly written by Zisi himself, and "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" by his immediate disciples, and even goes so far as to suggest that "Qiongda yi shi," "Tang Yu zhi dao," and "Zun deyi" were authored by none other than Confucius; see his "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," esp. p. 69. Zhou Fengwu avoids any such claims of direct authorship, but sees all the Confucian texts of the corpus as associated with the Zisi lineage (less so with Meng Zi per se) in one way or another, with even the "Laozi" texts revised so as to not conflict with the tenets of that lineage (as discussed above); see his "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 53–55. Ye Guoliang holds that all the Confucian texts of the corpus (excluding the "Yucong") are products of what he would call the "Zeng Zi-Zisi lineage," though he would not attempt to attach them to the *Zisizi*; see his "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 10–11. Liu Huan argues that phrases pertaining to human nature from second and third century AD sources that appear eerily close to those found in "Xing zi ming chu" must have been lifted from the *Zisizi*,

Zi becomes at once both more voluminous and, inevitably, more tangential.[283] As Du Weiming (Wei-ming Tu) has aptly noted, the quest to establish this association may in some ways derive its momentum from a kind of "hope" (*qidai* 期待)[284]—a desire to discover the lost *Zisizi* and establish its place once and for all within the *daotong* 道統, or orthodox tradition, of Confucian thought, in which, thanks to the Song dynasty neo-Confucians, Zisi and Meng Zi have come to hold privileged positions.[285] At the same time, we should not allow criticism of the motives behind it and the possible excesses to which it can lead to cause us to casually discount the evidence for any such association itself, which is by no means inconsiderable. The links of "Ziyi," "Wu xing," and "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" to the figure of Zisi or his lineage are strong and deeply rooted, and when we couple this with the demonstrable coherence of many of the core Guodian texts as noted in the previous subsection, conclusions along the lines of Pang's that some of these texts may have (eventually) been included in the *Zisizi* are certainly not unwarranted.[286] No less

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even though they are unattributed in those works; he otherwise makes note of various similarities in both content and wording between nearly all the other Guodian Confucian texts and either the "Zhong yong," "Biao ji," and other texts associated with Zisi, or the *Mengzi*, to suggest that they at least belonged to the "Si-Meng" school of thought, even if not necessarily part of the *Zisizi* itself; see Liu Huan, "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji," pp. 60–61. The list could go on indefinitely, but in the interest of space I will desist from attempting a full inventory.

[283] The discovery of the Guodian texts and their ostensible association with a "Si-Meng" lineage has even brought about an entire body of specialized research dedicated to the study of that lineage; see, for example, the recent collections *Sixiang, wenxian, lishi: Si-Meng xuepai xintan* and *Rujia Si-Meng xuepai lunji*. I make no claims to have exhausted this body of literature; while what I have read has proven well grounded in its argumentation, a certain amount of ideology and redundancy seems both inherent and inevitable. Liang Tao's *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai* is another substantial work that is largely (though not entirely) devoted to exploring connections with the "Si-Meng" lineage.

[284] Du Weiming, "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ru-dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 2. Du, no doubt, would have to plead guilty of feeding off this "hope" himself, as he has continued to play a leading role in promoting further study of the "Si-Meng" lineage.

[285] See, for example, Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) comments in the "Preface" 序 to his *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 15. The desire to reformulate such an orthodox Confucian tradition in light of the Guodian materials is expressly evident in some of the Chinese scholarship on the texts; see, for example, Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian Chujian yu daotong youxi: ruxue chuantong chongxin quanshi lungang," and Liang Tao, "Returning to 'Zisi': the Confucian Theory of the Lineage of the Way." Liang, however, appears to treat Zisi not so much as an historical figure as a kind of abstract ideal of a fully rounded Confucian way that existed incipiently before the bifurcations of Meng Zi and Xun Zi at once each both enriched it and obscured it; the Guodian texts thus represent a philosophy, though still undeveloped, in which, for instance, internal benevolence and external ritual were more organically united, and human nature was seen in a more comprehensive framework that incorporated sentimental as well as moral aspects at its core; see esp. pp. 95–97.

consequential is the fact that while individual lines, idiosyncratic terms, or central ideas from the Guodian texts find parallels in many pre-Qin texts, including other chapters of the *Li ji*, a disproportionate number of these, including some of the most key ones, are to be found in the "Biao ji," "Fang ji," and "Zhong yong," as will become apparent in our summary of intellectual content below. Worth noting here is that the four texts Shen Yue remarks as coming from the *Zisizi* all share the common form of a quotation-comment structure (save for the second half of "Zhong yong"), most passages beginning with "the master said" and often quoting from the *Shi* or *Shu* for further support—aside from the "Da xue" 大學, there are no other *Li ji* texts that cite the *Shi* or *Shu* so frequently.[287] While most of the Guodian texts other than "Ziyi" itself are generally more discursive in nature, the "Wu xing," with its many *Shi* quotations, and "Cheng zhi," with its citations of the *Shu* and the "noble man," do bear in part a formal similarity to those texts.[288]

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[286] As for what the overall philosophy of the *Zisizi* may have looked like, Yang Rubin attempts to break it down to its essentials, which we could briefly summarize as the notion of cultivating—both internally from within and externally through education—a kind of fully conscious (yet intuitive and "super-subjective") morality that develops from the depths of one's bodily existence to achieve manifest outward expression in harmony with heavenly virtue, and thus holding a mysterious power to directly transform others. Yang's description is more or less on the mark, but is in fact based almost exclusively upon textual examples from "Wu xing" (including its commentary) and the "Zhong yong." Note that Yang would, in addition to the three main texts just mentioned, also include "Qiongda yi shi," "Tang Yu zhi dao," and "Zhongxin zhi dao" among the Guodian texts that likely belonged to the *Zisizi*, and "Xing zi ming chu," "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," and "Liu de" as texts of the same intellectual ilk, which may even have had canonical status within that work (this conclusion partly follows the theory of Zhou Fengwu regarding strip lengths as an indicator of textual status). See his "Zisi xuepai shitan," esp. pp. 610–15 and 622–23. Yang does, however, draw distinctions between the thought of the Guodian texts and that of Meng Zi, insofar as the former would seem to equate human nature with the *qi* of simply the desires one is "born with" (as in "Xing zi ming chu") and hold to a distinction that humanity is "internal" while propriety is "external" (as in "Liu de" or "Yucong 1"), both of which are positions close to (ostensibly) those of Gao Zi as characterized in the *Mengzi*; see pp. 615–19. Meng Zi aside, I believe both positions in these texts are somewhat more nuanced than the way Yang presents them; on the internal/external distinction in particular, I will have more to say below.

[287] I first raise this point in my "Guodian Chujian rujia yishu yu qi dui Taiwan ruxue Si-Meng chuantong de yiyi," p. 199. As Zhang Fuhai mentions, Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692) early on noted the similarities in form between "Biao ji," "Fang ji," and "Ziyi"; see Zhang's "'Ziyi' er ti," pp. 107–8. Martin Kern also makes similar observations (though not in the context of the Zisi issue) and provides statistics demonstrating just how concentrated such quotations are in these particular *Li ji* chapters; see his "Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts: The Case of 'Zi yi' (Black Robes)," pp. 298–99. For a detailed account of the close ideological and formal relationships among "Ziyi," "Fang ji," and "Biao ji," see Yu Wanli, *Shangboguan cang Chu zhushu "Ziyi" zonghe yanjiu*, pp. 390–97.

[288] We might also note in this regard the pervasive use of conditional "chains" or "sorites" (A 則 B, B 則 C) in "Wu xing," an element, though not seen in other Guodian texts, which does serve to affiliate it stylistically with the "Zhong yong," where this is something of an idiosyncratic feature (it is seen also somewhat prominently in

There are, naturally, objections to be raised against the plausibility of the association, especially as any individual Guodian text can potentially be argued to espouse, in whole or in part, a philosophy at odds with that of the texts traditionally associated with the lineage. The "Xing zi ming chu" in particular forms a focal point for such criticisms, insofar as the inherent goodness of human nature (*xing* 性) is a key philosophical position in both the "Zhong yong" and, more explicitly, the *Mengzi*, whereas the inherent moral status of *xing* in this Guodian text is neutral or ambiguous at best, and for all those who, like Pang Pu, see in it a fundamentally "internalist" orientation, just as many others would stress its emphasis on "external" education and align it more closely with the *Xunzi*.[289]

This brings us to what I perceive to be the greatest danger in examining these texts in affiliation with intellectual lineages: as such lineages, whatever their ontological status, certainly developed over time, we are always in danger of judging the texts against those later developments, with which we are in most cases intimately more familiar. On the one hand, this is a valuable and necessary exercise from the standpoint of exploring the trajectory of developments in intellectual history. On the other hand, it has us force these texts to speak to issues to which they themselves may not have directly spoken—even if their later adherents may have derived ideas from them and eventually, in some cases, come to impute such developments back upon those earlier works. In this case, if we take Meng Zi and Xun Zi 荀子 as the standards by which to judge any early utterance related to human nature, it becomes especially easy to perceive these texts as not forming a coherent group, insofar as one text will always seem to favor Meng Zi's view, and another that of Xun Zi. If, on the other hand, we can first manage to put all such preconceptions behind us, we may come to see that the Guodian Confucian texts, while each approaching their central concerns from different angles, may after all derive from a coherent philosophy in which the cultivation of

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the "Ji yi" 祭義 chapter of the *Li ji*, and is also reminiscent of the slightly different chains from the opening of the "Da xue").

[289] Xiang Shiling, for one, stresses that for all their similarities, differences between the Guodian texts and the "Zhong yong" are equally manifest: namely that *qing* 情 is not emphasized at all in the "Zhong yong," and that in "Xing zi ming chu" human nature is more malleable, formed largely through practices, whereas in "Zhong yong" it appears more as a one-time product of heavenly mandate; see his "Guodian zhujian 'xing' 'qing' shuo," pp. 71, 77. Xiang, however, centers all his arguments around "Xing zi ming chu," apparently assuming that this text can stand for the others—certainly not a foregone conclusion. For more arguments on how "Xing zi ming chu" does not fit well into the "Si-Meng" tradition, see the references to articles by Paul Goldin and others noted in the introduction to its translation below. As for the absence of *qing* in the "Zhong yong," some have argued that the use of *qing* in "Xing zi ming chu" in the sense of "authentic" is essentially equivalent to the use of *cheng* 誠 in the "Zhong yong"; on this point, see Chen Ligui, "Guodian rujian 'Xing zi ming chu' suo xianxian de sixiang qingxiang," p. 149.

both inner sincerity and outward forms of learned behavior are equally important, at a time when the dogmatic separation of the two was still a philosophical nightmare of which they had not even begun to dream.

All that said, the connection of these texts with the philosophy of Zisi, or with a greater Si-Meng lineage, simply is what it is: the evidence to associate some of the texts, and perhaps a number of others, with this lineage is both tantalizing and substantial, but it cannot be regarded as in any way conclusive—never mind what "conclusive" may mean in the context of associating an assemblage of distinct excavated texts with another array of received texts that, while historically related with some justification, themselves represent works largely separated in time, authorship, and intellectual development. For this and other reasons, seeking to identify the intellectual affiliations of these texts should not become our endgame, where we merely look to pigeonhole them into one lineage or another, as if philosophers and their texts did not speak to each other across lineages or across even more fundamental intellectual boundaries.[290] But that itself is no reason to conclude that looking into such connections is intrinsically unimportant, given the demonstrable fact of teacher-disciple lineages in early China.[291] The Song neo-Confucians did not simply invent a Zisi myth out of nothing, even though they may have raised the status of that figure and his associated works well beyond the eminence that Zisi possessed in his own era.

b. Connections to Other Figures or Lineages

If we may, for now, continue to delve into the problematic search for biographical associations, there are a number of other figures whom scholars have proposed as bearing direct or indirect responsibility for the Guodian texts. As each of these figures has mainly been associated with only one particular text or subset of texts, we will discuss each more

[290] Some scholars have begun to take the more conservative approach of simply viewing all the Guodian texts as works put together by later followers of Confucius, not concerning themselves with the more dubious project of assigning them to particular lineages. Li Rui, for instance, makes the useful distinction between "schools," in the sense of actual teacher-disciple lineages, and just common intellectual orientations, and he generally opts for the terminology of "Kong Zi xuepai" 孔子學派 over the more commonly utilized *rujia* 儒家 when referring to the early Confucian tradition as a whole; see his "Kong Meng zhi jian 'xing' lun yanjiu," p. 21.

[291] For my own study of possible connections between the Guodian texts and the "Si-Meng lineage," see my "Guodian Chujian rujia yishu yu qi dui Taiwan ruxue Si-Meng chuantong de yiyi" (note that the "Taiwan ruxue" in the title reflects mainly the demands of the conference theme and has relatively little to do with the overall content of the paper itself).

specifically in the appropriate individual text introductions, but let us first quickly run through some of the more prominent figures here.[292]

Gongsun Ni Zi 公孫尼子

Let us begin with the second-generation (or perhaps first-generation) Confucian disciple Gongsun Ni Zi,[293] who is important here for two reasons: first, because an alternate early source attributes authorship of "Ziyi" to him rather than to Zisi; and second, because of striking resonances between "Xing zi ming chu" and the *Yue ji* 樂記, *Record of Music*, a text with which Gongsun Ni Zi has also been closely connected.

The alternate attribution comes from Liu Huan 劉瓛 (434–489 AD) of the Southern Qi 南齊 dynasty, who is quoted by Tang dynasty scholar Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627 AD) as stating that the "Ziyi" was "written by Gongsun Ni Zi" 公孫尼子所作也.[294] This naturally poses something of a contradiction with the claims of Shen Yue cited earlier, and for some the answer to this disagreement comes down to which of these two Six-dynasties figures one finds more credible.[295] Despite Liu's attribution, we still have the citations from later sources

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[292] I will save discussion of figures associated with "Taiyi sheng shui" and the "Laozi" texts for the appropriate chapters, centered as they are on the rather murky figure of Guanyin Zi 關尹子 for the former, and the usual troublesome suspects of Lao Dan 老聃, Taishi Dan 太史儋, etc., for the latter.

[293] That Gongsun Ni Zi was a second-generation disciple of Confucius rests largely on the strength of Ban Gu's note on the figure in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the *Han shu*, p. 1725. For more on this figure and his possible relationship to the *Yue ji*, see my "*Yue Ji—Record of Music*: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary," pp. 3–10. Some, such as Guo Moruo 郭沫若, have argued that the Gongsun Long 公孫龍 listed as a direct disciple of Confucius in the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" 仲尼弟子列傳 of the *Shi ji* is actually a mistake for Gongsun Ni, which would thus make him a first-generation disciple; on this point, cf. Cheng Yuanmin, "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 32–33. See also Liao Mingchun, "'Ziyi' zuozhe wenti xinlun," pp. 166–69; expanding on the prior research of Ruan Tingzhuo 阮廷焯, Liao strongly supports Guo's conclusion and suggests that Gongsun Ni Zi was a young disciple from Confucius's later years, born perhaps about twenty years prior to Zisi. For a critique of Guo's conclusions, see Yu Wanli, *Shangboguan cang Chu zhushu "Ziyi" zonghe yanjiu*, pp. 448–49; Yu would actually place Gongsun Ni Zi's years to ca. 430–370 BC, conversely making him young enough to have been a disciple of Zisi in Zisi's later years. A work entitled *Gongsun Ni Zi* is listed in the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Han shu* as existing in twenty-eight *pian*, and in the "Jingji zhi" of the *Sui shu* as comprising one *juan*; the work appears to have been lost by no later than the southern Song dynasty, perhaps earlier.

[294] See (Tang) Kong Yingda et al., *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 55, p. 1a.

[295] Cheng Yuanmin argues that Liu, as a famous classical scholar renowned for his erudition in Ritual (*li* 禮) texts, was eminently more believable than the career-driven literatus Shen Yue, and, as noted above, he attempts to discount the evidence from later sources quoting the *Zisizi* by noting that all or part of at least two of those quotations do not appear in the excavated versions of "Ziyi"; see his "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 8–11 and 39–42. As Zhang Fuhai notes, however, this latter fact really does nothing to

wherein "Ziyi" lines are quoted as coming from the *Zisizi*, and some scholars have attempted to assuage the contradiction by noting the possibility of textual overlap between that work and the work which bore the title *Gongsun Nizi*.[296] Be that as it may, Liu's ascription serves to cast a shadow of doubt over the whole ostensible relationship of the Guodian texts with Zisi, at the same time that it suggests an alternative one.

The association of Gongsun Ni Zi with the *Yue ji* is especially intriguing in this regard because it comes from the same Shen Yue memorial quoted earlier, stating essentially that the *Yue ji*—a Han dynasty compilation—"took from the *Gongsun Ni Zi*" 取公孫尼子. The fact that sections of the "Xing zi ming chu"—including those that do not deal directly with music—bear an uncanny similarity in wording, content, and even thought process to key sections of the *Yue ji* has led a number of scholars—present author included—to ponder its

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disprove that "Ziyi" was included in the *Zisizi*, and, as Zhang goes on to show, the overall weight of evidence would seem to fall in favor of a stronger association of the work with the figure of Zisi than with that of Gongsun Nizi; see his "'Ziyi' er ti," pp. 106–7. See also the objections of Yu Wanli, who, in his *Shangboguan cang Chu zhushu "Ziyi" zonghe yanjiu* pp. 443–44, defends the credibility of Shen Yue's statements. Scholars over the centuries have long been divided on support for either Shen's or Liu's attribution; for a comprehensive account of this history, see Liao Mingchun, "'Ziyi' zuozhe wenti xinlun," pp. 158–61.

[296] See Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 70–73, who suggests that Zisi and Gongsun Ni Zi may have both "transmitted" the text simultaneously—so that it might thus come to have been included in the works ascribed to both figures—but not authored it in any sense. Or it may have come down, again, to a process where early editors simply chose to assign "Ziyi" to both of these two separate figures, resulting in its eventual inclusion in both works; on this point, see Li Rui, "Kong Meng zhijian 'xing' lun yanjiu," pp. 20–21. Cf. Li Tianhong's remarks in her *Guodian zhujian "Xing zi ming chu" yanjiu*, p. 121. See also the comments of late-Qing/early-Republican scholar Shi Chong'en 施崇恩, cited in Yu Wanli, *Shangboguan cang Chu zhushu "Ziyi" zonghe yanjiu*, pp. 428–29, in which Shi contends that "Ziyi" was instructionally received by both figures and transmitted in both works. Note that there is also one Song dynasty instance (from Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, probably via Ye Mengde 葉夢得 of the Northern Song) of a *Gongsun Ni Zi* citation that parallels lines found in "Ziyi"; given this, Ruan Tingzhuo once suggested that "Ziyi" itself may have derived from selections from both the *Gongsun Ni Zi* and *Zisizi*. For the citation in question and a critique of Ruan's conclusion, see Cheng Yuanmin, "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 38–39. Liao Mingchun, who also finds the *Gongsun Ni Zi* citation to be a credible one, offers a somewhat different conclusion more line with Ruan than Cheng: that Gongsun Ni Zi was likely responsible for compiling and authoring "Ziyi," whereas the younger Zisi then received instruction in this quasi-record of his grandfather's sayings—thus accounting for its eventual inclusion in both of the works in question; see his "'Ziyi' zuozhe wenti xinlun," pp. 163–64 and, esp., pp. 169–70. Liao also suggests that "Biao ji" and "Fang ji" made their way into the *Zisizi* on a comparable basis, and he notes that all this would imply that "Ziyi" cannot be taken as a direct source for Zisi's philosophy, but only an indirect one. Yu Wanli, on the other hand, notes that Song dynasty bibliographic catalogues from the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (1041 AD) onward do not list the *Gongsun Ni Zi*, suggesting that Ye Mengde or Zheng Qiao may have never even seen the work and simply cited lines from "Ziyi" as coming from the *Gongsun Ni Zi* on the strength of Liu Huan's prior attribution (which, however, Yu does not question); for details of Yu's arguments, see pp. 438–43 of his book. Yu draws a conclusion (pp. 440–50) diametrically opposite that of Liao: that is was likely Gongsun Ni Zi who received instruction from Zisi and thus came to transmit "Ziyi" separately.

possible connection with the figure of Gongsun Ni Zi.[297] Details of these similarities will be presented in the appropriate chapter; for now, let us just take due note of the fascinating possibilities raised by the associations of this figure with two distinct Guodian texts—also, intriguingly, both among the Shanghai Museum corpus—stemming, however, from two contradictory early sources.

Ziyou 子游 (Yan Yan 言偃, ca. 506–445 BC)

While Zisi and Gongsun Ni Zi may perhaps both be considered second-generation disciples of Confucius, authorship of certain texts has been suggested for a few of the demonstrably first-generation disciples as well. Foremost among these is Ziyou, whom a number of scholars have proposed as the possible author of "Xing zi ming chu," primarily because the passage found in strips 34-35 of that manuscript find a near-exact parallel in the "Tan Gong, xia" 檀弓下 chapter of the *Li ji*, where the statement is directly attributed to Ziyou.[298] To this is added the fact that Ziyou is supposedly listed as the bridge from Confucius to the thought of Zisi and Meng Zi in the "Fei shi'er zi" 非十二子 chapter of the *Xunzi*, thus suggesting that he may have an indirect connection with the "Wu xing" doctrine as well.[299] The theory of a Ziyou lineage, however, encounters a major problem with the discovery of the Shanghai Museum version of "Xing zi ming chu" ("Xingqing lun"), as the passage in question is the one passage that is nowhere to be found in that version, and with circumstances suggesting that it may have been added to the text as an afterthought.

Zeng Zi 曾子 (Zeng Shen 曾參, ca. 505–436 BC)

Because of a long, if somewhat late, tradition of seeing the philosophy of Zisi as coming in a direct line from Confucius's disciple Zeng Zi, some would prefer to speak of a Zeng-Si connection rather than one of Si-Meng. Though the lineage claim does not come until the time of Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) in the Tang dynasty, it is one that many have since come to

[297] For a list of the relevant articles, see the introduction to my "Xing zi ming chu" translation.

[298] See Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 60–62; Chen Lai, "Jingmen Chujian zhi 'Xing zi ming chu' pian chutan," pp. 306–7; Peng Lin, "*Guodian Chujian* 'Xing zi ming chu' bushi." The parallels of the two passages were first pointed out by Pang Pu, "Chu du Guodian Chujian," pp. 8–9. For details, see the introduction to the "Xing zi ming chu" translation.

[299] Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 61–62. For problems with this idea, see the discussion of Ziyou in the "Xing zi ming chu" introduction. Jiang Guanghui is one of the most forceful advocates of a coherent Ziyou-Zisi-Meng Zi lineage, exploring longstanding views that would associate Ziyou with the "Li yun" 禮運 and other *Li ji* chapters; see his "Guodian Chujian yu daotong youxi," pp. 13–20. For a criticism of this view, see Ye Guoliang, "Guodian rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 20–23.

bolster with various forms of secondary support.[300] Other than that ostensible lineage connection, however, there is only a limited amount of material on which to base any relationship between Zeng Zi and the Guodian texts, including possible connections between these texts and the "Da xue" 大學, a work with which his claims to authorship are tenuous at best,[301] and some of the "Zeng Zi"-titled chapters of the *Da Dai li ji*, which bear certain rough connections with the thought and terminology of "Ziyi" and other texts of the corpus.[302]

Other Confucian disciples

On the strength of the "Xian xue" division of the Confucians into eight lineages, it was only inevitable that scholars would attempt to attach certain Guodian texts to certain other figures as well. For example, Zizhang 子張 (Duansun Shi 顓孫師, ca. 503–447 BC) has been associated with "Zhongxin zhi dao," for the simple reason that Confucius is given multiple times in the *Lunyu* to discuss the virtues of *zhong* and *xin* in answer to that disciple's queries, and also with "Cheng zhi," because Zizhang is often portrayed in similar conversations pertaining to the *Shang shu*, from which that text quotes several times.[303] Zixia 子夏 (Bu

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[300] See Ye Guoliang, "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 7–10.

[301] Ding Sixin, for example, sees certain general similarities in the mind-body relationship as portrayed in both the "Da xue" and "Xing zi ming chu"; see his "Lun 'Xing zi ming chu' yu Si-Meng xuepai de guanxi," pp. 31–32.

[302] See Luo Xinhui, "Guodian Chujian yu *Zengzi*." As Luo notes, a work entitled *Zengzi* and attributed to Zeng Shen appears in the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Han shu* in eighteen *pian*, and in the "Jingji zhi" of the *Sui shu* in two *juan*; the work appears to have been lost by the time of the Song dynasty. Given that there are no less than ten chapters of the *Da Dai li ji* whose titles begin with "Zeng Zi," it is possible (but by no means certain) that all or part of the *Zengzi* may have been incorporated into that work (now incomplete), with these ten chapters being the sole remnants. Luo argues for a close connection between those chapters and the thought of Zeng Zi himself, contending that certain ideas and terminology therein appear to be forerunners to much of what we now find in the Guodian texts. Most specifically, notions of the needs for caution in speech and following it through with action, and for wide learning and its implementation in practice, are expressed in similar terms in both the "Zeng Zi li shi" 曾子立事 chapter and "Ziyi," suggesting to Luo that the latter (perhaps authored by Zisi) was possibly even a direct development of the former (closely associated with Zisi's ostensible teacher); and lines pertaining to the idea of filial piety as the bridge to loyalty and the foundation of successful governance, seen in such chapters as "Zeng Zi da xiao" 曾子大孝 and "Zeng Zi li shi," would likewise appear to find their developments in such Guodian texts as "Tang Yu zhi dao" and "Liu de." For details, see pp. 65–67 of Luo's article.

[303] On the former connection, see Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 50–51. Liao originally also attempts (pp. 54–55) to associate "Cheng zhi"—and, by association with that text, "Liu de" as well (p. 65)—with the disciple Xian Cheng 縣成, but this under the faulty assumption that "cheng zhi" refers to a name in the former of these two texts. On the latter connection, see Wang Bo, "Shi 'gaomu sannian, bubi wei bangqi': jiantan 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' de zuozhe," pp. 297–300, who also, in the same article, criticizes

Shang 卜商, ca. 507–420 BC) has been implicated in connection with "Xing zi ming chu" because of the tradition that has him authoring the "Great Preface" 大序 to the *Shi jing*, a text with some resemblance to the content of that manuscript.[304] The disciples Mi Buqi 宓不齊 (Mi Zijian 子賤) and Qidiao Kai 漆彫開, along with second-generation disciple Shi Shuo 世碩, are similarly implicated with "Xing zi ming chu" (along with Gongsun Ni Zi) due to commonalities in their alleged theories of human nature.[305] And so on. It goes without saying that the lack of any real evidence for such claims of association renders them hardly worth mentioning, and so we will not belabor them any further here.

Gao Zi 告子 (ca. 420–350 BC)

Outside the category of known Confucian disciples, we have the shadowy figure of Gao Zi, a character of disputed philosophical affiliation, but one whose possible connections with the Guodian texts run somewhat deeper than those of the figures just mentioned.[306] Gao Zi is known to us primarily through his portrayal as Meng Zi's debating adversary—in the form of a philosophical straight man—in the *Mengzi*, in which he is given to advocate a couple of doctrines of relevance to the Guodian texts. The first is the notion that "human nature holds neither goodness nor depravity" 性無善無不善, which appears to espouse a kind of neutrality of human nature that some would see as akin to that found in "Xing zi ming chu."[307] The second notion is that of "humanity is internal; propriety is external" 仁內義外, of which a nearly verbatim expression appears in strip 26 of "Liu de."[308] The association thus

Liao's theory of Xian Cheng authorship. Wang also makes the point that Zizhang, as a southerner from Chen 陳, may plausibly have had a great influence on the Chu region.

[304] On this proposed connection, see Li Tianhong, *Guodian Chujian "Xing zi ming chu" yanjiu*, pp. 122–23.

[305] For more on these connections, see Li Tianhong, *Guodian Chujian "Xing zi ming chu" yanjiu*, pp. 117–18 and 123–25, and the introduction to the "Xing zi ming chu" translation below. Shi Shuo is also accused of having written the commentary to "Wu xing"; for details, see the introduction to the "Wu xing" translation.

[306] Han scholar Zhao Qi 趙岐, in his note at the beginning of the "Gao Zi, shang" 告子上 chapter of the *Mengzi*, describes Gao Zi as one who "worked on the ways of both Ruism and Mohism" 兼治儒墨之道者. A number of scholars have argued for Gao Zi's affiliation with the Mohist school, Tang Junyi being the most forceful among them. See Tang Junyi, *Zhongguo zhexue yuanlun: yuandao pian*, vol. 1, pp. 210–11; cf. Qian Mu, *Xian-Qin zhuzi xinian*, p. 186. For a view that would instead place Gao Zi solidly within the gates of Confucianism, see Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven*, pp. 114–16.

[307] Pang Pu takes note of such a similarity without actually ascribing "Xing zi ming chu" to Gao Zi, but he observes the importance of the text as the first of its kind to imply the capacity for either goodness or depravity; see Pang Pu, "Kong Meng zhi jian," p. 32.

has a good deal going for it, but it is ultimately tempered by the fact that the portrait of human nature given in "Xing zi ming chu" is much too complex to easily equate it with such a straightforward statement on its neutrality, and by the problem that the internal-external division between *ren* and *yi* described in "Liu de" is of a fundamentally different nature from that which Gao Zi is at least *portrayed* as espousing in the *Mengzi*.[309]

Chen Liang 陳良

One final figure to mention in connection with the Guodian Confucian texts is that of Chen Liang, who is described in the *Mengzi* as a brilliant "product of Chu" who, "delighting in the way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, went north to study in the central states," where "none of the northern scholars could ever better him" 陳良，楚產也。悅周公、仲尼之道，北學於中國 。北方之學者，未能或之先也.[310] Thus both Chen Liang and the Guodian manuscripts themselves are testimony to the fact that Confucian learning indeed found its way to the state of Chu on the southern periphery of the Chinese world, and to a degree that can hardly be described as inconsequential. It is thus only natural that scholars would attempt to link the two together, even though ascribing the authorship of any texts to him would require nothing less than an enormous leap of faith.[311]

With the exception of the figures of Zisi (/Meng Zi), Gongsun Ni Zi, and, perhaps, Gao Zi, there is little solid evidence upon which to base any reasonable claims of association for

[308] For more on possible connections to the figure of Gao Zi, see Paul Goldin, "Xunzi in the Light of the Guodian Manuscripts," pp. 139–43, and other references given in the introduction to the "Xing zi ming chu" translation. The debates with Gao Zi are to be found in the first several passages of the "Gao Zi, shang" chapter of the *Mengzi*; see esp. passages 4 and 6, (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 326–29.

[309] For more on these difficulties, see the introductions to the translations of "Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de," respectively.

[310] "Teng Wen Gong, shang" 滕文公上, passage four; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 260.

[311] As mentioned earlier, Li Cunshan argues that "Zhongxin zhi dao" may have been a product of Chen Liang's lineage, with its broad portrayal of the virtues of *zhong* and *xin* somehow reflective of a kind of "Chu Daoism," while Jiang Guanghui even speculates that the tomb occupant was perhaps none other than Chen Liang himself. Li also brings up Liang Qichao's 梁啓超 speculation that Chen Liang may himself have been the figure representing the "Zhongliang" 仲良 branch of Confucianism mentioned in the "Xianxue" chapter of the *Han Feizi*, and he speculates that Chen Liang may very well have studied together with or otherwise shared ideas with such figures as Shi Shuo or Gongsun Ni Zi. See Li Cunshan, "Du Chujian 'Zhong xin zhi dao' ji qita," pp. 275–77, and "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 200–3; and Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian yihao mu muzhu shi shei?" pp. 397–98. For a counter-argument to Li's claims, see Ye Guoliang, "Guodian rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 16–17.

such characters with the Guodian texts, and even for these exceptional figures the arguments remain fraught with difficulties. Nonetheless, any attempt to place these manuscripts within their proper historical framework remains incomplete without such an examination of potentially relevant biographical information, insofar as such information may be knowable. Tenuous as the connections are, I do not presume to fully subscribe to any of them. But in the interest of exploring all of the more feasible ramifications these manuscripts may hold, let us continue, in what follows, to make note of any significant points of connection with such key texts as "Zhong yong," "Biao ji," "Fang ji" and others. We shall do so, however, without injecting any of the presumed biographical associations much further into the discussion.

Guodian and the "Six Classics"

Regardless of precise lineage affiliations, the Guodian Confucian texts share in common with all Confucian writings a reverence for the classical works of the "former kings": those royal documents, historical pronouncements, epic odes and symbolic folk songs, divinatory aphorisms, illustrative scribal records, and enduring guides to ritual and music handed down from "antiquity"—primarily the early Zhou—that came to serve as compendia of timeless wisdom and instructional materials that would constitute the authoritative center of all loftier discourses. Not surprisingly, there is much in the Guodian texts from which to glean new information about both the formation of the classical canon and the precise constitution of some of its texts.[312]

The concept of "six classics" (*liu jing* 六經), not to mention the term itself (also *liu yi* 六藝), had till recently commonly been thought to represent a late, perhaps even Han, development. The term *liu jing* and an enumeration of the six appear in the "Tianyun" 天運 and "Tianxia" 天下 chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, but these "outer" and "miscellaneous" chapters have generally been considered late ones, with the lines in question, moreover, suspected by some to be interpolations.[313] While the term *liu jing* does not appear in the Guodian texts *per*

[312] In my summary of the scholarship surrounding these issues, I am preceded in English by the excellent analysis of Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, chap. 1, esp. pp. 53–60.

[313] See (Qing) Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, pp. 531 and 1067, and Qian Mu, *Zhuangzi zuanjian*, pp. 121 and 270; the term itself appears only in the former of the two chapters. The six classics appear also in the "Jie jing" 解經 chapter of the *Li ji*, though the ordering of 3-5 (*yue* 樂, *yi* 易, *li* 禮) is different; the "Quan xue" 勸學 and "Ruxiao" 儒效 chapters of the *Xunzi* contain listings of the five classics, but lack any mention of the *Yi jing*. For details on all this, see Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 66–68, and "Guodian Chujian yin *Shu* lun *Shu* kao," pp. 123–24, or, for his more sustained treatment, "Lun liujing bingcheng de shidai jianji yigu shuo de fangfalun wenti." As Liao discusses, there are also groupings of the *Yi*

se, the enumeration of all six does appear in "Liu de" (strips 24-25), and in the exact same order as in "Tianyun" at that: *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*), *Shu* 書 (*Documents*), *Li* 禮 (*Ritual*), *Yue* 樂 (*Music*), *Yi* 易 (*Changes*), and *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Springs and Autumns*).[314] These six also appear (with one lacuna) in strips 36-44 of "Yucong 1":

> Ritual is the transmission of conduct for interaction.
> Music is that which is at times engendered and at times instructs.
> The *Odes* are that by which the intentions of past and present are converged.
> 【The *Documents*】 are that 【by which . . . are converged】.
> The *Changes* are that by which the ways of Heaven and Man are converged.
> The *Spring and Autumn Annals* are that by which the affairs of past and present are converged.[315]

This brief exposition is in fact quite comparable to the lines from "Tianxia," a similar set of purpose-defining statements that many have suspected to be an annotation that had somehow crept into the text proper. The "Yucong" example plainly shows that such clear categorizations of the classical works of the past had a much earlier provenance.[316] The most significant statement on the classics in these manuscripts, however, comes from "Xing zi ming chu" (strips 15-18), though it makes no mention of either the *Yi* or *Chunqiu*:

> The Odes, Documents, Ritual, and Music all in their beginnings arose from mankind. The odes [of men] were created for a purpose; the [words of their] documents were expressed for a purpose; [their] rituals and music were performed for a purpose. The sages compared their types and arranged and assembled them; observed their succession and reordered them into better accord; gave embodiment to their propriety and provided it with regularity and refined pattern; ordered the affections [they expressed by] drawing them out

jing with the other classics to be found within the Mawangdui *Yi* commentarial materials; on the dating of these texts, "Yao" 要 in particular, see pp. 51–55 of the latter article.

[314] These appear in the context of a statement that expressions of the efficacy of implementing the "six duties" (*liu zhi* 六職) can be found in each of these classical works or traditions.

[315] The ordering of these strips is uncertain, and I place them in an order different from that given by the editors; see the translation notes for details.

[316] Luo Chi, however, actually attempts to argue that the "Yucong 1" passage is a *later* development of the "Tianxia" passage; see his "Guodian Chumu zhujian yinxiang," p. 4.

> and reimplanting them; and then returned [this all] back [to the people] so as to instruct them.

This passage is significant because it is probably the earliest statement we have that mentions, albeit vaguely, the process of editing or arrangement that these classical works underwent. As this process is traditionally attributed to Confucius, some would take the *shengren* 聖人 ("sage") here to stand singularly for Confucius himself, though it appears more likely that the subject was intentionally left general, simply referring to "sages" of the past and their process of turning human literary and artistic creations into timeless instructional materials.[317] This process is described in four lines that might be taken to refer to the creation of the canonical versions of the *Odes*, *Documents*, Ritual, and Music, respectively,[318] which are first clearly singled out as teaching resources of the highest order, the repository of traditions that represent the human way itself in its most sublime and cultured of forms.

Given the great emphasis on the use of the classics in education that we find in such texts as "Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de," it is somewhat puzzling that none of these classical works themselves were found in the tomb.[319] This apparent anomaly aside, the corpus does have a number of works that quote from the *Shi* and *Shu* at length: most notably "Ziyi," which cites both at every turn, but also "Wu xing," with several *Shi* quotations, and the hitherto unknown text "Cheng zhi," which also cites several times from the *Shu*.[320] These texts provide us with two new sources of information. First, in the case of "Ziyi" especially, we find interesting variants in the citations of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum versions that differ from either/both those of the received *Li ji* version and/or the *Shi* or *Shu*

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[317] On Confucius as the possible referent for *shengren* here, see Li Tianhong, "Cong 'Xing xi ming chu' tan Kong Zi yu shi shu li yue," pp. 201–2. The possibility of such an early Confucian text directly referring to Confucius as "the sage" seems remote; if he were indeed the intended referent, we would more likely expect "夫子," as Li herself notes.

[318] This again is according to Li Tianhong's reading, "Cong 'Xing xi ming chu' tan Kong Zi yu shi shu li yue," pp. 200–1.

[319] The first passage of the "Chuyu, shang" 楚語上 chapter of the *Guoyu* purports to discuss the use of the various classics and other materials in the education of the Chu crown prince. As both Cui Renyi and Luo Yunhuan note, this might have some relevance for how we view the Guodian tomb occupant's use of all these textual materials, especially if he actually was a royal tutor. See Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 16; Luo Yunhuan, "Guodian Chujian de niandai, yongtu ji yiyi," p. 13. For a somewhat different explanation on the lack of classics, see Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue" (pp. 70–71), who suggests that this ostensible tutor specialized in the instruction of Ruist discourse texts.

[320] For concise summaries of all these classical references, see Li Xueqin, "Guodian Chujian yu Rujia jingji," p. 19, and Guo Qiyong, "Guodian rujia jian de yiyi yu jiazhi," p. 6.

themselves, posing intriguing dilemmas regarding the process of transmission, and serving, in some cases, to help further demonstrate the inauthenticity of the so-called "ancient-script" (*guwen* 古文) *Shang shu*.[321] And secondly, with manuscripts like "Cheng zhi," we appear to have *Shu* quotations from chapters that otherwise "survive" to us only in the fabricated form of that "ancient-script" version, thus possibly giving us a small glimpse of those lost chapters and providing additional evidence demonstrating the inauthenticity of their received counterparts.

It has long been argued that the "ancient-script" *Shang shu* that has come down to us was not the original one supposedly discovered in the Kong ancestral home 孔壁書 in the early Han and transmitted by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (156?–74? BC) but rather a text in which Mei Ji 梅賾, who ostensibly "rediscovered" it in the time of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 317–322) of the Eastern Jin dynasty 東晉, forged the 28 (out of 55) chapters that had not been transmitted in the version still extant by stitching them together on the basis of quotations of those chapters found in such works as the *Li ji* and the writings of the Warring States philosophers.[322] A number of those quotations would have come from the received "Ziyi," and so the variants we find in the newly excavated versions—truly "ancient-script" texts themselves—provide new evidence for reflection on those arguments and suspicions. For instance, in "Ziyi" passage 5 (*Li ji* 17; strips 8-10), we have the case where graphs written 資冬 in the *Li ji* "Ziyi" and 咨冬 in the "ancient-script" *Shang shu* are instead written 晉冬 in the Guodian (and Shanghai Museum) "Ziyi." As Liao Mingchun and others have argued, the excavated evidence supports Han commentator Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) assertion that 資 stood as a loan for 至, and suggests that the "ancient-script" *Shang shu* 咨 derived from a misreading of the *Li ji*'s 資, which thus got erroneously read together with the preceding 怨 and thereby necessitated a repetition of the same graph, in that version only, after the subsequent 怨 as well—all serving as evidence to demonstrate that this "ancient-script" chapter was likely forged directly on the basis of the *Li ji* "Ziyi."[323] A similar situation

[321] For a complete listing of all the various *Shi* odes and *Shu* chapters as cited in the Guodian "Ziyi," see Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 68–70.

[322] For references surrounding the discovery of the "ancient-script" *Shang shu* in the Kong-family wall (likely around 130 BC), see *Han shu* 1706, 1969, and 2414, and Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, pp. 860, 1125, and 1161–62; for Kong Anguo's work on the deciphering and editing of it, see *Shi ji*, p. 3125. For a brief summary of the events and arguments related to the "ancient-script" *Shang shu*, see Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 55–56.

[323] This argument has been made separately by Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yin *Shu* kao," p. 54; Yu Wanli, "Shangbo jian, Guodian jian 'Ziyi' yu chuanben hejiao shiyi," pp. 433–35; and Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 57–58. For details, see the relevant note to my "Ziyi" translation. A lone contrary voice is that of Lü Shaogang, who attempts to use Guodian "Ziyi" variants to invalidate the arguments

pertains to the quotation of the "Jun Chen" 君陳 chapter in passage 10 (*Li ji* 15; strips 17-19), where variants in the excavated version(s) of the lines provide additional clues suggesting how the lines as originally constituted could not, properly understood, plausibly fit into the presumably fabricated "ancient-script" *Shang shu* context.[324]

With "Cheng zhi," we have the case of a text to which the reputed forger would not have had access in any form, so any quotations from *Shang shu* chapters with "ancient-text" equivalents would potentially provide invaluable information on the authenticity of the latter. Unfortunately, the clues with which that text provides us are somewhat ambiguous. There are two quotations that scholars have identified as *possibly* coming from "ancient-text" chapters: first, that which the text cites as coming from the "詔命," which—though the rendering of the first graph is far from certain—some scholars have identified with the "ancient-text" *Shang shu* chapter "Jiong ming" 冏命, in which case the quoted line (strip 25) does not in fact appear in that corresponding chapter of the received work (or anywhere else therein).[325] The second, even more problematic example is a citation in the form of "Da Yu says" 大垔(禹)曰, which scholars have argued must come from the "Da Yu mo" 大禹謨 chapter of the *Shang shu*.[326] The line in question (strip 33) is "余才厇（宅）天心," which again does not appear as such in the received "ancient-text" version of that chapter. However, as at least one scholar has noted, the latter does contain such lines and terms as "朕宅帝位" and "道心," which are intriguingly close to the line in question.[327] Thus depending on how one wants to

by Qing scholars against the ancient-script *Shang shu*; he does this, however, by means of the most tenuous assertions not actually based on any new evidence from the manuscript, and by implausibly inverting the logic of (Qing) Yao Jiheng 姚際恆 and others. For those interested in the details of his arguments, see his "*Guodian Chumu zhujian* bianyi liangnan," pp. 9–11. Many other scholars have written articles on the various "Ziyi" variants as well, especially since the discovery of the Shanghai Museum version; for details, I again direct the reader to the translation notes.

[324] See Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yin *Shu* kao," p. 53, and the relevant note to the "Ziyi" translation.

[325] To my knowledge, this was first suggested by Li Xueqin and has since been accepted by others, though Li himself later opted for a different explanation. For details, and alternative readings, refer to the relevant note to the translation.

[326] This too was first suggested by Li Xueqin; see his "Guodian Chujian he rujia jingji," pp. 19–20.

[327] Guo Yi, *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, p. 211. Guo does not fully draw out here the ramifications of these near-parallels, but he does suggest that the ostensible quotation of a chapter title more or less the same in name as an "ancient-script" *Shang shu* chapter title demonstrates the authentic nature of the "Little Preface" 小序 to the *Shang shu*, in which such titles were preserved; see also his "Guodian zhujian yu Zhongguo zhexue (lungang)," p. 572, where he earlier makes this same observation alongside some larger, unwarranted claims. Li Xueqin had previously noted that the term 宅心 also appears in the "Kang gao" 康誥 and "Li zheng" 立政 chapters of the *Shang shu*, whereas the term 天心, interestingly enough, appears only in

look at it, the quotation may be seen to provide evidence either for or against the authenticity of the "ancient-text" *Shang shu.*[328] Viewed from the latter, arguably more convincing perspective, the implications are great because, as Liao Mingchun argues, this would mean that while all of the "Ziyi" examples of quotation from *Shu* documents equivalent to the so-called "ancient text" chapters may be found, disregarding minor variants, in those corresponding chapters of the received *Shang shu*, neither of the two "Cheng zhi" examples may be similarly located, certainly a compelling bit of evidence to help demonstrate the theory that those chapters had been forged on the basis of quotations from available texts.[329] One further example worth noting is the quotation from a "吳旹" in strips 27-28 of "Tang Yu zhi dao," which Liao Mingchun has persuasively argued should be read 虞志 and may well stand for a chapter from the *Shang shu* section known as "Yu shu" 虞書, in which case the lines this text quotes from it would be long-missing ones, as they do not appear anywhere in corresponding chapters in the received version.[330] All in all, the evidence provided by these texts, together with that of the "Ziyi" variants, is illuminating and highly suggestive, but in the final analysis not sufficiently clear or voluminous to provide any final verification of the prevailing view that the "ancient-text" *Shang shu* chapters are indeed forgeries.[331]

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the "ancient-script" "Xian you yi de" 咸有一德 chapter—an issue in great "need of pondering"; see his "Guodian Chujian he rujia jingji," p. 20. Note, however, that Liu Zhao reads 厇 not as 宅, but rather as 度; see the notes to the "Cheng zhi" translation.

[328] Liao Mingchun is one who—not noting any such similarities—seems to suggest how the lack of appearance of the line in the received *guwen Shang shu* gives us further reason to suspect it; see his "Guodian Chujian yin *Shu* lun *Shu* kao," p. 122. In similar vein, see also Qiu Xigui, "Zhongguo gudianxue chongjian zhong yinggai zhuyi de wenti," pp. 124–25; and Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 56–57.

[329] See Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," p. 53, and "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi,' 'Tang Yu zhi dao' pian yu *Shang shu*," p. 37, or "Guodian Chujian yin *Shu* lun *Shu* kao," p. 122.

[330] See the latter two references to Liao Mingchun's articles (pp. 37 and 122) in the previous footnote. Note that Qiu Xigui had originally suggested reading "Yu Shi" 虞詩, the "Odes of Yu" (and most still follow this); see *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 160 n. 32.

[331] Liao Mingchun also makes much of the fact that all the *Shu* quotations in "Ziyi" are introduced not by "the *Shu* says," but by specific chapter names alone, a fact which suggests that "Zhai Gong zhi gu ming" (see strip 23), which now belongs to the *Yi Zhou shu*, was conceived at the time as belonging together with all other *Shu* documents (a fact he suggests is less apparent in the received "Ziyi" because of the presence of an *Yi jing* quotation)—thus calling into question the traditional views that the documents of the *Yi Zhou shu* either represented documents "left over" after the editing of Confucius, or, conversely, that they had nothing to do with the *Shang shu* whatsoever. See Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yin *Shu* kao," pp. 58–59. For elaboration upon this point, see Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 58–60. For more on the nature of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the dating of its various chapters, see Robin McNeal, *Conquer and Govern: Early Chinese Military Texts from the* Yi Zhou shu.

The Documents of the *Shu* are obviously of no small consequence to the authors and users of the Guodian texts, but, as scholars have pointed out, no classical works are cited in those texts as frequently as the Odes of the *Shi*, which, after all, heads the lists of the classics as given in both "Liu de" and "Xing zi ming chu."[332] Not surprisingly, a certain amount of new information can be uncovered from these citations as well. In "Ziyi" passage 9 (*Li ji* 9; strip 17), for example, we have the situation where an Ode ("Du ren shi" 都人士) is quoted not only in abridged form vis-à-vis the fuller quote we find in the *Li ji* version, but with variations such that the rhyme appears to be completely different. As the "missing" lines from that Ode are ones that already had a history of appearing anomalously in the *Mao Shi*, but not, apparently, in any of the three competing early transmissions (*sanjia* 三家) of the Odes, their absence in Guodian, coupled with the rhyming discrepancy, carries great implications that have yet to be fully sorted out.[333] Somewhat more straightforward but no less significant is what we find in passage 12 (*Li ji* 3; strip 26): the quotation from an apparently lost Ode, the lines of which are to be found neither in the *Li ji* version nor in the received *Mao Shi* corpus: 吾大夫恭且儉，靡人不斂 ("My great officers are reverent and frugal, and there is [thus] no one who lacks restraint"). The "Wu xing," by contrast, is interesting because of the way that it uses the Odes not just as straight quotes for authoritative exemplification, but freely incorporates and rephrases lines from its quoted Odes into the lines of the discourse itself; moreover, it does not precede any of its quotations with even "the Ode says," and even has cases where it quotes one or two lines of an Ode but then brings up for discussion a different line from the same stanza altogether, apparently assuming the reader's (/student's) intimate familiarity with the lines of that classic.[334] Thus

[332] See Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' pian yin *Shi* kao," p. 71, and Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 54–55; as will be discussed in the introduction to "Ziyi" below, the *Shi* is always cited before the *Shu* in "Ziyi" passages that quote from both. Shaughnessy notes, furthermore, how almost all the quotations, as well as most of the titles, found in the Shanghai Museum (volume 1) manuscript known as "Kong Zi shilun" 孔子詩論 correspond to poems in the received *Shi*, suggesting that this classic "had achieved something approximating its definitive contents by no later than the fourth or even the fifth century BC, whether the actual arrangement of the text was the same as that of the received text or not."

[333] This issue has already been studied extensively by a number of scholars. See, for starters, Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' pian yin *Shi* kao," pp. 72–73; and Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 54–55 n. 108. For other references, and for further details on the problem, see the corresponding note to my "Ziyi" translation.

[334] For good examples of all this, see passages 4-5, strips 9-12, and passage 10, strip 17. The first couple of these points are discussed by Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian yin *Shi* lun *Shi* kao," pp. 173–74; as Liao notes, in the Mawangdui version we have four introductory "*Shi* says" statements added before five of the various citations, but most of the citations still lack these statements. Jeffrey Riegel has previously examined the nature and significance of the *Shi* interpretation found in the Mawangdui "Wu xing" (plus its commentary); see his

from both of these manuscripts we may glimpse a trend in which later versions of texts would cite *Shi* lines in a more complete context than earlier ones, perhaps attesting to a change in the texts' usage over time, beyond the immediate context of teacher-disciple instruction.[335]

While the *Shi* and *Shu* may have constituted relatively stable canonical works by this point in time, the situation with the "Li," or ritual texts, was definitely more fluid. Though the *Yi li* 儀禮, the *Zhou li* 周禮, and the *Li ji* 禮記 were eventually all incorporated into the classical Confucian canon, the latter two almost certainly did not even exist as works per se at this point in time, and even though the *Yi li* may have already come to be transmitted as an object of textual study, it was at any rate not being quoted as such. The way that "Li"—not to mention "Yue," music—is considered in these texts is probably more as a body of traditional ritual practices transmitted within their instructional context, which may well have already had written guides to aid in this, but not as a canonical text to be cited directly. The Guodian texts do allude to concrete ritual practices that find close ritual parallels in the *Yi li*, most notably strips 27-29 of "Liu de":

> Coarse hem-less [garments], cloth sashes, and a cane are [donned in mourning] for a father; [mourning] for a ruler is also thus. Coarse hemmed garments and a hemp sash are [donned in mourning] for a brother; [mourning] for a wife is also thus. Baring of the left arm and tying of the head-wrap are [in mourning] for members of the ancestral clan; [mourning] for friends is also thus.

"Eros and *Shijing* Commentary." Martin Kern as has also explored in particular how both the Mawangdui "Wuxing" commentary and the Shanghai Museum text "Kong Zi shilun" offer a singular interpretation of the ode "Guan ju" 關雎 that differs in fundamental respects from those of the Mao and "Sanjia" traditions; see his "Excavated Manuscripts and their Socratic Pleasures: Newly Discovered Challenges in Reading the 'Airs of the States,'" esp. pp. 784–90.

[335] The Mawangdui version of the "Wu xing" text proper also differs significantly in terms of giving fuller versions of the quoted Ode stanzas, expanded from lines found truncated in the likely earlier Guodian version, thus rendering the text more user-friendly for the uninitiated. Martin Kern also observes that two of the three Guodian texts with a "history of transmission" happen to be ones that contain *Shi* quotations, speculating from this that such quotations may have in fact served to "elevate" the texts and thus effectively strengthen their chances of transmission; see his "Quotation and the Confucian Canon," pp. 294–95, 325–26.

—which, as Qiu Xigui and others have noted, finds close parallels in the "Sangfu" 喪服 chapter of the *Yi li*.[336] But this is typical of the way near-equivalents to *Yi li* lines are found in Warring States texts more generally: directly cited or described as ritual practices, but rarely quoted as textual citations.[337]

The greatest value of the Guodian texts in relation to the works on ritual lies no doubt in what they can tell us about the nature and dating of the *Li ji*, or *Book of Ritual*. The "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the *Han shu* refers to a collection of ritual "Records" (*ji* 記) in "131 *pian* 篇," of "notes recorded by followers of the seventy disciples [of Confucius]" 七十子後學者所記.[338] This may well refer to a loose assemblage of disparate records, but by some point in the Han dynasty two relatively stable collections emerged: the 85-*pian Da Dai* 大戴 and 49-*pian Xiao Dai* 小戴 *Li ji* (associated with the figures of Dai De 戴德 and Dai Sheng 戴聖, respectively), the latter of which soon made its way, under the name of simply *Li ji*, into the canon as a classical work in its own right. Han commentator Zheng Xuan, himself largely responsible for this canonization, noted in his "Liuyi lun" 六藝論 how such records (along with the *Ritual* 禮 texts themselves, i.e., the *Yi li*) had largely been collected from recovered ancient-script manuscripts.[339] As Li Xueqin notes, the presence of "Ziyi," along with a good

336 For Qiu's comments, see notes 16–19 in *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, pp. 189–90; cf. Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," p. 47, and other references cited in the translation notes to "Liu de." The corresponding *Yi li* text is found in different places throughout the chapter, for which see (Tang) Jia Gongyan et al., *Yili shu*, *juan* 30, pp. 1a–9b.

337 For more examples of such textual overlaps with, or possibly indirect quotations of, *Yi li* lines in Warring States texts, see Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 45–47. Peng (p. 45), however, cites these as evidence that the *Yi li* and some of the commentarial records associated with it were already in circulation by this time; commentaries on the *Yi li* can, of course, also be found in the *Li ji*, but these may well come from a later time. As Peng discusses, Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬 had previously concluded that the *Yi li* was most likely compiled sometime over the course of the mid-fifth to mid-fourth centuries BC.

338 *Han shu*, p. 1709.

339 This is as recorded in the "Xulu" 敘錄 of (Tang) Lu Deming's 陸德明 *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文: "後得孔氏壁中、河間獻王古文《禮》五十六篇，《記》百三十一篇，《周禮》六篇" ("Later, from among the ancient-script manuscripts from the Kong family wall and those submitted by King Xian of Hejian, *Li* in 56 *pian*, *Ji* in 131 *pian*, and *Zhou Li* in 6 *pian* were recovered"). Cf. the "Jing shisan wang zhuan" 景十三王傳 chapter of the *Han shu*: "獻王所得書皆古文先秦舊書，《周官》、《尚書》、《禮》、《禮記》、《孟子》、《老子》之屬，皆經傳說記，七十子之徒所論" ("The books obtained by King Xian were all old books in the ancient script from before the Qin, such as *Zhou guan*, *Shang shu*, *Li*, *Li ji*, *Mengzi*, and *Laozi*, all classics, commentaries, explanations, and records, those which were discussed by followers of the seventy disciples"); see *Han shu*, pp. 2410. For further references of note, see Li Xueqin, "Guodian jian yu *Li ji*," p. 31; Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 55–56. As Li observes (pp. 30–31), the *Li ji* and *Da Dai Li ji* had probably been established in their configurations by the time of Liu Xiang. Note that only 39 of the *Da Dai Li ji* chapters now remain to us.

number of passages in Guodian with textual parallels to the two works in both form and content, is a situation that accords well with Zheng Xuan's account, and serves only to confirm the traditional view of Warring States provenance for most of the texts found in the received *Li ji* and *Da Dai Li ji*.[340]

This is of no small consequence. The *Li ji* consists of a variety of different texts, ranging from general discourses on ritual, to accounts of ritual procedures and regulations, to direct commentaries on chapters of the *Yi li*. While many scholars in the recent past have maintained the view that most of these may derive from the Warring States, they have also assumed a substantial number of Han dynasty accretions to these records and commentaries, and others have even argued for outright Han dynasty authorship altogether.[341] There has always been substantial textual overlap between the chapters of the *Li ji* and *Da Dai Li ji* and those of works ranging from the *Guoyu* to the *Mengzi* to, especially, the *Xunzi*, but in such cases it was never clear in precisely which direction the borrowing had taken place.[342] While there is no doubt that some of the chapters of these two ritual works *do* indeed originate in the Han, there is now, however, equally no doubt, with the discovery of the Guodian manuscripts, that much of what is to be found therein derives authentically from no later than the end of the fourth century BC. The Guodian (and Shanghai Museum) "Ziyi" shows how that eventual *Li ji* chapter, despite the fluidity in the ordering of its passages, was on the whole a relatively stable entity by that time, with only minimal accretions to occur over the next couple of centuries, as Edward Shaughnessy has already discussed in some detail.[343] Given this reality, it also appears highly likely that such *Li ji* chapters as "Fang ji," "Biao ji," "Da xue," and at least parts of "Zhong yong" that are closely associated with "Ziyi" in form

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[340] Li Xueqin, "Guodian Chujian yu Rujia jingji," p. 21, and "Guodian jian yu *Li ji*," p. 32.

[341] For examples of these arguments, as well as a classification of the various *Li ji* chapters, see Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 42–44.

[342] For examples, see Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 47–52. However, Peng's conclusion that such examples "clearly show us how most of the general-discourse chapters of the *Li ji* were written in the Warring States" is, I believe, unwarranted from such evidence alone. It is probable that many of the works he cites did borrow lines directly from early texts that would eventually be incorporated into the *Li ji*, but in other cases the reverse appears more likely. Given, for example, what we know from other sources about the compilation of the *Yue ji*, it is to my mind far more likely that that eventual *Li ji* chapter incorporated text from the *Xunzi* (as well as from such works as the *Gongsun Ni Zi*) than that the *Xunzi* borrowed wholesale from an already complete *Yue ji*, as Peng would have it.

[343] See Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, chapter two, who concludes (pp. 92–93) by noting the ways in which "Ziyi" and other such texts are "simultaneously stable and fluid." Peng Lin expresses similar views in "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 52–53. For details, refer also to the introduction to "Ziyi" below.

and content, not to mention in the historical record, derive from a similar time period, even if not necessarily from common authorship.[344] As mentioned earlier, the Shanghai Museum corpus of Chu manuscripts also contains texts, such as "Min zhi fumu," with close parallels in the *Li ji* and/or *Da Dai li ji*, and it is probably not too much of a stretch to suggest that some of the other Guodian and Shanghai Museum texts, among many of which we also find isolated textual parallels with chapters from both of those works, may have been among those of the early Han collections of ritual records that somehow failed to find inclusion in the final (or surviving) versions of those transmitted *Li ji* works.[345]

As for the other three "classics," while there is relatively little in the Guodian manuscripts directly concerning the *Yi*, or *Changes*, the sheer fact that it is cited in these texts along with all the other Confucian classics, and in a context, moreover, where it is given to express the "six virtues" of social relations, amply demonstrates that this work of divination was already treated as a Confucian classic by the end of the fourth century BC, helping to overturn a long-held suspicion that the work did not begin to even be valued by Confucians until at least the time of the Qin 秦 dynasty (221–206 BC).[346] We should note, additionally, that the more recent discovery of a partial *Zhou Yi* itself among the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, which are otherwise also largely dominated (though certainly not exclusively) by Confucian texts, may serve to further suggest, albeit tangentially, how the work was

[344] Peng Lin, in "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai" p. 53, makes the same point, but includes the *Yue ji* in his list; as noted just above, this text is a composite one of a much different nature from such relatively homogenous texts as "Biao ji" and "Fang ji," though I would agree that most of its individual sections derive from Warring States texts. We should also include here the "Jie jing" chapter, which had previously been thought late primarily because of its enumeration of the "six classics," the type of which, as noted earlier, we now also see in "Liu de" and "Yucong 1." The "Tan Gong" 檀弓 chapter is another text for which an early dating is vindicated by the Guodian manuscripts, in this case on two fronts; for details, see Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 53–54.

[345] Peng Lin actually goes so far as to contend that all of the Guodian Confucian texts may have been among the ancient texts considered to have been ritual "records" 記, and he argues that nearly all the chapters of the *Li ji* should, by association, be considered pre-Qin texts. See his "Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai," pp. 56–59. This may be overstating the case somewhat; in any event, the many points of textual similarity or overlap between the Guodian manuscripts and the two *Li ji* collections will become apparent in the references given in the footnotes to the translations later in this book.

[346] See Liao Mingchun, "Cong Jingmen Chujian lun xian-Qin rujia yu *Zhou Yi* de guanxi" (particularly the expanded version of the article), and his "Lun liujing bingcheng de shidai jianji yigushuo de fangfalun wenti," esp. pp. 49–53 and 56–58. Liao suggests (p. 49) that if, as tradition has it, Confucius really did come to appreciate the *Yi* only in his late years (*lao er hao Yi* 老而好易), it would not be surprising that most of his older disciples, and consequently their lineages, would not value it as they did other classical works, thus accounting for its absence in many early enumerations of those classics.

already esteemed in the early Confucian tradition.[347] Though the *Chunqiu* likewise does not figure prominently in these manuscripts, its inclusion in the two aforementioned lists is nonetheless also of some significance for the dating of its addition to the canon, even though its early association with Confucians from at least the time of Meng Zi onward was never really in doubt. Finally, while it is not entirely clear whether the classical tradition of "Music" ever had its own canonical text per se, the importance of this tradition for the Guodian texts can be seen in many places, especially in "Xing zi ming chu," which has a substantial amount of text that overlaps to some degree with the closest thing we have to such a canon, the *Yue ji* 樂記. As the role of music in the Guodian texts generally, and in that text specifically, will be examined at greater length elsewhere in this study, we shall forgo further discussion of that subject for now. Instead, let us proceed to examine some of the overarching themes that we find running throughout many of the different texts in the Guodian corpus.

Shared Philosophical Doctrines in the Guodian Texts

In what follows I will attempt to briefly explore—with minimum footnote interruption—what I see as some of the central notions that pervade most of the texts found among the Guodian manuscripts. This examination will necessarily focus on those texts of Confucian leaning, which happen to constitute the bulk of the corpus. Manuscripts such as the "Laozi" and/or "Taiyi sheng shui" bundles will receive individual treatment in the introductions to their translations below—as will, indeed, every text—and for now we may concentrate on the more general shared themes of the majority.

a. Heaven and Human Endowment

Let us start with perhaps the most celebrated lines in all of the Guodian texts, those which open "Xing zi ming chu" (strips 1-3):

[347] For an introduction to that *Zhou Yi* manuscript, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "A First Reading of the Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of the *Zhou Yi*." As Shaughnessy discusses, this manuscript also shows how the *Zhou Yi* was, the issue of hexagram sequence aside, already a relatively stable text by this time.

> 凡人雖有性，心亡奠（定）志，待物而後作，待悅而後行，待習而後奠（定）。喜怒哀悲之氣，性也。及其見於外，則物取之也。性自命出，命自天降。道始於情，情生於性。
>
> In general, although all people possess [human] nature, their heart-minds have no fixed inclinations, [which instead] depend upon external things to arise, depend upon gratification to take action, and depend upon practices to become fixed. The vital energies of joy, anger, grief, and sorrow are human nature; once they manifest externally, things take hold of them. [Human] nature comes via mandate, and this mandate is sent down from Heaven. The Way begins with the affections, and the affections are born of human nature.

The lines are celebrated because of their close resemblance to the opening lines of the "Zhong yong": "Heaven's mandate is what we call '[human] nature'; following through with this nature is what we call the '[proper] way'; cultivating this way is what we call 'instruction'" 天命之謂性，率性之謂道，脩道之謂教 —which have themselves been among the most renowned lines in the entire Confucian tradition. As Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 (1903–1982) once put it, the first of these three phrases constituted no less than "an earth-shattering statement that had simply never appeared prior to Zisi."[348] Zisi aside, we now know for certain that a statement of similar import—[Human] nature comes via mandate, and [this] mandate is sent down from Heaven—had become a central one in at least some Confucian circles by no later than the end of the fourth century BC.

The concept of "Heaven's mandate" (*tianming* 天命) is, as is well know, an old one, going back to the notion of heavenly ordained dynastic succession following the Zhou's conquest of the Shang. Central to that concept was the idea that the mandate was something that, if its chosen appointees were not vigilant, could easily be lost, an idea often reflected in early Zhou texts: "It was for lack of reverence for virtue that they prematurely lost the mandate" 惟不敬厥德，乃早墜厥命; "Heaven's mandate is not constant!" 天命靡常.[349] This is important because, even if concept of Heaven (*tian*) may have changed to a more naturalistic one over time, the strong historical association of the words *tian* with *ming*

[348] "子思以前，根本不曾出現過的驚天動地的一句話"; see Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo renxinglun shi, xian-Qin pian*, p. 117.

[349] From the "Shao gao" 召誥 chapter of the *Shang shu* and the Ode "Wen Wang" 文王 of the "Da ya" 大雅 section of the *Shi jing*, respectively.

("mandate") invariably implied for anyone who would utilize them the central notion that this "mandate" carried the demands of cultivating virtue and diligently attending to society's needs, and the assumption that the mandate could ultimately be lost if these requirements were not carried out.[350] Applied to human nature, this would suggest both the notions that mankind is naturally endowed with the capacity, or perhaps even the "mission," to cultivate virtue, and that of the urgency for such cultivation itself, the necessity of finding the proper paths toward this goal and of constantly educating oneself in those ways and practicing them assiduously. It is in this sense that "The Way begins with the affections, and the affections are born of [human] nature."[351]

Paradoxically, though, the notion of Heaven—or, when dualistic conceptions are involved, Heaven and Earth together—is just as much a notion that lends a sense of *inevitability* to the terms to which it is attached. With the regular apparent revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars, and the predictable alteration of the four seasons, Heaven is in itself just as constant as the realization of its mandate may be inconstant. Thus while Heaven's mandate must be vigilantly maintained, there is also a certain sense in which the content of that mandate is seen as invariable and necessary, the implementation of Heaven's own constancy within the human social order:

> 天降大常，以理人倫。制為君臣之義，著為父子之親，分為夫婦之辨。是故小人亂天常以逆大道，君子治人倫以順天德。("Cheng zhi," strips 31-33)
>
> Heaven sends down great constancy, so as to bring order to human relations. These are instituted as the proprieties of ruler and minister, manifested as the closeness between father and son, and apportioned as the distinction between husband and wife. Thus the petty man wreaks havoc upon Heaven's constancy

[350] For more on this point, see Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo renxinglun shi: xian-Qian pian*, pp. 20–24.

[351] Pang Pu, on the other hand, suggests that the statement in "Xing zi ming chu" that human nature comes via "heavenly mandate" is simply a kind of "leftover" from traditional conceptions of a controlling Heaven, necessary only to state the idea of how this Heaven "mandates" human nature as opposed to the Zhuangzian idea that human affections themselves constitute this "Heavenly" nature—whereas, for Pang, the real emphasis of the text is on the "human way" itself devoid of this "outdated" conception of heavenly influence. See his "Tian ren san shi: Guodian Chujian suo jian tian ren guanxi shishuo," p. 35. I think that putting it this way risks missing the important organic connection between the human way and innate human nature, which for this text is brought home precisely via this notion of the human as "Heaven"-endowed.

> so as to violate the great Way, [whereas] the noble man brings order to human relations so as to accord with Heaven's virtue.

The mission with which human nature is endowed, should we choose to accept it, is simply to accord with "Heaven's constancy," otherwise known as "Heaven's way" or "Heaven's virtue," embodied in human society as the orderly and harmonious interaction of its different members as manifested in correlated social positions with reciprocal duties. The virtues of the human world are none other than the virtues of the cosmos itself, inviolable traits of the natural world that we would do well to emulate should we want our own society to operate with similar ease and efficiency:

> 至忠如土，化物而不伐；至信如時，必至而不結……大忠不說，大信不期。不說而足養者，地也；不期而可歸者，天也。配天地也者，忠信之謂哉！ ("Zhongxin zhi dao," strips 2, 4-5)
>
> The highest loyalty is like the soil: it transforms [living] things without claiming any credit; the highest trustworthiness is like the seasons: it arrives invariably though not bound [by oath] to do so. . . . Great loyalty does not plead its case; great trustworthiness does not make advance arrangements. That which does not plead its case and yet nurtures bountifully is Earth; that which makes no advance arrangements and yet can be adhered to is Heaven. Are not loyalty and trustworthiness what is meant by "a match for Heaven and Earth"?!

And in this regard, at least, the Confucian texts share something in common with the "Laoist" texts of the corpus, save for the fact that with the latter the Way itself, or the "self-so," is something that is sometimes spoken of as transcending even Heaven and Earth: "To recede in the wake of successful accomplishments, that is the Way of Heaven" 功遂身退，天之道也 ("Laozi A," strip 39); "Man emulates Earth; Earth emulates Heaven; Heaven emulates the Way; the Way emulates that which is so of itself." 人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然 ("Laozi A," strips 22-23); "Those who use the Way to carry things out must entrust [themselves to] its name, and thus their tasks are successful and their persons long-lived" 以道從事者必託其名，故事成而身長 ("Taiyi sheng shui," strips 10-11). The Way of Heaven is eternal and unchanging, and as such provides the grounds for stability that is mankind's proper destiny and course—even though it is a course from which we may easily stray.

The inconstant aspect of Heaven, however, is one that is highlighted in another of the senses in which Heaven appears in these texts, that of the arbiter of "fate." In "Qiongda yi shi," the question of "whether or not one encounters" opportunities for success is "a matter of Heaven" 遇不遇，天也 (strip 11), as "poverty or success is a matter of timing" 窮達以時 (strip 15). Interestingly enough, the term *ming*, though often standing for this notion of "fate" in other texts, almost never appears as such in these manuscripts, where we are given this notion of "timeliness" (*shi* 時) instead.[352] Nonetheless, while "Heaven" and its seasonal whims may refer to aspects beyond human control, we are still responsible for what is within our own power, cultivating virtue for virtue's sake alone: "thus the noble man is earnest about returning to himself" 故君子惇於反己 (strip 15). To the extent, however, that the cultivation of our own natural capacities for virtue is itself our heavenly mandated mission, the charge with which Heaven endows us is essentially to emulate its universal order in spite of its own "seasonal" fluctuations in the rewarding of virtuous conduct. Insofar as Heaven is both commander of our nature and arbiter of our fate, the "division between Heaven and man" remains somewhat blurry.

Needless to say, the issue of just where the Guodian texts stand (or do not stand) on the issue of human nature is important because of the prominence this debate would gain in the mid-to-late Warring States. As such, that stance becomes one of the main barometers for determining the dating and place in intellectual history of any text from the period that discusses *xing*, and allows us to examine possible sources of influence upon or stimuli for the eventual formation of that debate. We can see from the foregoing how the seeds of the debate are already present: is the course laid down by Heaven, in essence, our destiny, one which we are generally "predetermined" to follow? But if we are capable of losing our way, as we manifestly are—if the tenuousness of this mandate is a given—then how are we to reconcile that fallibility with this, our predetermined mission? Meng Zi and Xun Zi would eventually provide two different answers to these questions, but ones which accept the same basic premises: of mankind as having a way proper to it, but also a way from which we may easily go astray, and which we must thus constantly cultivate through the guidance of the traditions of the former sage-kings. Where these two philosophers (and others who debated the issue) would differ is mainly in the extent or form of our predetermination toward virtuous conduct: are we inherently "good" by nature (*xing shan* 性善), or inherently "deplorable" (*xing e* 性惡)? Such a question is never posed in the Guodian texts, even if they would logically seem

[352] A possible exception to this is "Tang Yu zhi dao" (strip 14), where *ming* and *shi* are found parallel to each other in the context of fate and opportunity, as Yao is described as one who "received his mandate with sagacity and met his time with humanity" 聖以遇命，仁以逢時.

to lead toward the exploration of just this sort of dilemma. "Xing zi ming chu" does discuss how, through the intermediacy of the sages, human nature contains the seeds of its own proper way—that the "Way" is ultimately "born of human nature"—but it equally stresses the indeterminacy of our minds in actually taking this way, thus placing much of the burden on the role of education, and ultimately looking for guidance as much from "without" as it does from "within."

The text that comes closest to the notion of there being inherent goodness in human nature, or at least the idea that truly virtuous conduct must derive from within, is "Wu xing," the text that is not coincidentally most directly associated with the ostensible Si-Meng tradition:

> 五行：仁型（/形）於內謂之德之行，不型（/形）於內謂之行。義型（/形）於內謂之德之行，不型（/形）於內謂之行。禮……智……聖型（/形）於內謂之德之行，不型（/形）於內謂之｛德之｝行。德之行五，和謂之德，四行和謂之善。善，人道也。德，天道也。 ("Wu xing," strips 1-5)
>
> The Five Conducts: If humanity takes shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a "conduct." If propriety takes shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a "conduct." If ritual . . . knowledge . . . sagacity take(s) shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a "conduct ~~of virtue~~." The conducts of virtue number five, and all five in concert (/harmony) we refer to as "virtuosity"; four conducts in concert (/harmony) we refer to as "goodness." Goodness is the Way of mankind; virtuosity is the Way of Heaven.

Only ethical practices that are genuinely derived from within one's "inner heart-mind" (*zhongxin* 中心) may be seen as truly "virtuous" conduct, and once all such forms of conduct are extended to their ultimate ends, one may achieve a sage-like state in which all one's virtues are naturally in harmonious accord and one attains transcendent unity with the "Way

of Heaven." This implies that the seeds of virtue already lie within, even though the term *xing* itself never appears in the text.[353]

But how does one get from one's natural state, in which such virtues are only latent at best, to such a realm of highest attainment, the "Way of the noble man," the state of sagacious wisdom to which individuals and political leaders alike must aspire?

b. The Paths to Virtuous Cultivation

In "Xing zi ming chu" we have a text that has already come to employ and grapple with a number of the key philosophical concepts related to human psycho-physiology that would soon become mainstay terms in the works of Meng Zi, Xun Zi, and those of other "masters" of the mid-to-late Warring States period. The relationships among such terms as *xing* 性 ("[human] nature"), *xin* 心 ("heart-mind"), *qi* 氣 ("vital energy"), and *qing* 情 ("[human] affections"), and the relations of all these to such notions as *tian* 天 ("Heaven"), *ming* 命 ("mandate"), and *dao* 道 (the "[proper] way"), are ones that would eventually achieve much sharper definition in some of those presumably later works. In the *Mengzi*, for instance, we come to understand very clearly how the heart-mind is the "commander" of the *qi*, which it nurtures through the moral decisions that it contemplates, makes, and puts into practice, and which in turn serves as the courageous force behind this mind, that which gives it the strength to do what is right. The heart-mind is the locus of the fonts of virtue, which, through "contemplation" (*si* 思), it gradually expands into full-blown virtues capable of transforming others and exerting nearly limitless influence.[354] In "Xing zi ming chu," we have some

[353] Even the "Zhong yong" never explicitly expresses the notion that "human nature is good," though it can readily be argued that that idea is implicit throughout much of the text, particularly the second half. Even so, as Xu Fuguan has argued, the fact that it never clearly articulates a position on what by the time of Meng Zi would become such a major philosophical issue seems to suggest that the text likely predated that later figure; see his *Zhongguo renxinglun shi: xian-Qin pian*, pp. 139–40. If this line of argument is valid, it may be even more applicable to such Guodian texts as "Wu xing" and "Xing zi ming chu"; as noted earlier, Pang Pu and others have argued for a pre–Meng Zi date for the Guodian texts on just such a line of argument. Note that Roger Ames, while largely identifying the thought of "Wu xing" with that of Meng Zi, observes a distinction between them by noting that the former describes the "'five modes of proper conduct' as 'moral excellences' (*de* 德) rather than as the 'four beginnings' (*si duan* 四端) of our 'natural tendencies' (*xing* 性)"; this Ames finds to be a significant "contribution" to the shared argument that "we become what we do" through "an ongoing process of habituation," as "it is compounding proper conduct itself that is the primary source and substance of our moral dispositions." See his "Human 'Beings' or Human 'Becomings'? Another Look at the *Wuxingpian*," pp. 98–99. While the wording of "contribution" might suggest otherwise, Ames does appear to believe that "Wu xing" preceded the *Mengzi* chronologically.

[354] See esp. the second and sixth passages of "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 (3.2 [2A.2], 3.6 [2A.6]); see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 229–35 and 237–38, or (Qing) Jiao Xun, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 187–220 and 232–36.

attempt to define such terms, but nothing that would come into as clear a focus as that; *xing* is defined therein in terms of *qi* and its latent propensity toward emotional expressions, whereas *qing* are those expressions of *xing* once they have achieved definite form or direction, through the infectious influence of external things. Here, however, the heart-mind (*xin*) inherently has no definite direction until it falls under the influence of learning and practices, and any clear distinction between *xin* and *xing* in this text is ultimately difficult to make. With "Wu xing," on the other hand, the basic outline of the Mengzian framework as such is already in place, with "inner-heart contemplation" a central point of emphasis, but the nature of human nature itself is never directly discussed, even if the virtues derived from within us are explicitly linked with the "Way of Heaven."

For both these texts, however, there are specific paths to moral cultivation, and all of these can be subsumed under the larger notion of *dao* 道, the "Way" or "proper way(s)." *Dao* in its most basic sense means a "road," "path," or "course," a "way" that is to be taken if one is to arrive at one's chosen destination. As all things have their own natures, they also naturally have different paths to travel. "Zun deyi" expresses this clearly with the idea that human beings have ways proper to their development just as rivers, horses, and the land have ways proper to their channeling, driving, or cultivation (see below). The human way stands out from all others in terms of humans' capacity to educate themselves. As "Xing zi ming chu" puts it (strip 9):

> 四海之內，其性一也；其用心各異，教使然也。
>
> Within the four seas, all [people] share the same nature; that they each employ their mind uniquely, [however], is due to the direction of their education.

And, more specifically (strips 14-16):

> ……道者，群物之道【也】。凡道，心術為主。道四術，唯人道為可道也。其參（三）術者，道之而已。詩、書、禮、樂，其始出皆生於人。
>
> . . . "Ways" refer to the courses [properly taken by] all things. In general, for all ways, the pathways of the heart-mind are primary. The Way has paths [in] four [directions], [but] only the human way is worthy of being taken; the [other] three paths are merely taken, and that is all. The Odes, Documents, Ritual, and Music all in their beginnings arose from mankind.

Precisely what that the "four pathways" (*si shu* 四術) and "three pathways" (*san shu* 三術) refer to here, and how they may or may not correspond to the Odes (*Shi* 詩), Documents (*Shu* 書), and Ritual-and-Music (*Li/Yue* 禮/樂)—which elsewhere in the early literature have indeed been labeled "*si shu*"—is a matter of great uncertainty.[355] What does seem certain is that, once again, there is a properly "human way" (*rendao* 人道), a way that is uniquely suited to human beings, who have it in their natures to learn and thereby guide their heart-minds along socially productive channels, and that the content of this proper way lies in the literary and institutional traditions of the former sage-kings, all of which find incipient expressions in the dispositions of human nature itself.

Given that human capacity for moral conduct and social order lies ultimately within our own natures, and yet we are by no means wholly predetermined to do good and must eventually rely no less on the guidance of tradition, we must thus look for direction simultaneously both within and without. Since the "proper ways" derive from our natures and represent, in the end, nothing other than the orderly social channeling of our own natural affections, our study and practice of these ways means nothing if we do not authentically seek out their significance from within our own minds. This, indeed, is the whole of Confucian moral cultivation in a nutshell: from the *Lunyu* to the *Mengzi* to the *Xunzi* and beyond, there is no Confucian text that does not place dual emphasis on both inward self-reflection or sincerity of intent and the outward learning of proper social norms as reflected in the literary and institutional traditions of the past. Where they diverge in these respects is largely a matter of emphasis and differences in the terms with which they discuss these twofold aspects.

Among the Guodian manuscripts, "Wu xing" is by no means the only text that emphasizes how truly virtuous conduct must be sought from within. "Cheng zhi" in particular highlights the notion of "seeking it within oneself" (*qiu zhu ji* 求諸己) (strips 10-12):

> 是故君子之求諸己也深。不求諸其本而攻諸其末，弗得矣。是〔故〕君子之於言也，非從末流者之貴，窮源反本者之貴。苟不從其由，不反其本，未有可得也者。

[355] See the "Wang zhi" 王制 chapter of the *Li ji*: "The Master of Music exalts the four pathways and establishes the four teachings, creating men of learning in accordance with the *Shi*, *Shu*, *li*, and *yue* of the former kings, teaching them *li* and *yue* in the spring and autumn, and the *Shi* and *Shu* in the winter and summer" 樂正崇四術，立四教，順先王詩書禮樂以造士；春秋教以禮樂，冬夏教以詩書; (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 364–66. For more on the possible interpretations of this "Xing zi ming chu" passage, refer to the notes to the translation.

> Thus it is deeply that the noble man seeks it within himself. If one does not seek something in its roots but merely tackles it in its branches, he will not attain it. Thus in regard to speech, the noble man places value not in [speech] that trails along the peripheries and branches, but rather in that which traces [things] back to [their] sources and returns to [their] roots. Without abiding by the origins or returning to the roots, there is nothing that can be attained.

The ultimate ends of the noble man's words and actions lie in the political efficacy of their influence upon the people, but these outward manifestations of virtue through which such influence is achieved must of necessity derive from authentic self-seeking (strips 30、1-2):

> 是以君子貴成之。聞之曰：古之用民者，求之於己為恆。行不信則命不從，信不著則言不樂。
>
> Thus the noble man values bringing things to completion. It has been said that those who employed their people in ancient times were persistent in seeking it in themselves. If one's conduct is not trustworthy, his commands will not be followed; if his trust is not manifest, his words will not be taken with delight.

As Li Xueqin and Guo Yi have both noted, this notion of "bringing things to completion" (*cheng zhi* 成之) may be closely related to the celebrated notion of "sincerity" (*cheng* 誠), as can be seen through comparison with the "Zhong yong," with its uncannily similar wording:[356]

> 是故君子誠之為貴。誠者非自成己而已也，所以成物也。成己，仁也；成物，知也。性之德也，合外內之道也。[357]

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[356] See Guo Yi, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi' pian shuzheng," p. 282; Guo credits Li Xueqin with bringing notice of this connection to his attention. Cf. Li Xueqin, "Guodian jian 'junzi gui cheng zhi' shijie," where Li further elaborates on the notion of 成之 as 誠之.

[357] From passage 25; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, pp. 33–34.

> Thus the noble man places value on making things sincere. "Sincerity" is not simply a matter of bringing the self to "completion," but is rather that by which other things are brought to "completion." Self-completion is a matter of humanity; completing other things is a matter of knowledge. Such is the virtue of [human] nature, the way by which external and internal are integrated.

The "Zhong yong" also incorporates the language of "self-seeking" that we find in "Cheng zhi," with such statements as: "If one rectifies himself rather than seeking it in others, he will have [no cause for] resentment" 正己而不求於人則無怨; and, quoting "the master" Confucius: "Archery bears resemblance to the noble man: when one misses the central target, he turns back to seek [correction for] it in himself" 射有似乎君子，失諸正鵠，反求諸其身.[358] And as seen from the "Qiongda yi shi" line already cited above, similar language may be found in other Guodian texts as well: "The noble man is earnest about returning to himself" 故君子惇於反己 (strip 15).

The humanity of "completing the self" demands the knowledge of "completing things," and a similar notion of knowing others through self-awareness is expressed in "Cheng zhi" as well, strips 19-20: "Reflecting upon it within himself, he is able to know others" 察反諸己而可以知人. And as we saw earlier, the constant "Way of Heaven" or "Virtue of Heaven" forms the fundamental ground for both this self-reflection and the social order of the "six relations" that it entails. "Zun deyi" discusses "self" and "others" in markedly similar terms, and further relates the knowledge of self and others and the implementation of this knowledge to the notion of our mandated mission (strips 8-9):

> 察諸出，所以知己；知己，所以知人；知人，所以知命。知命而後知道，知道而後知行。

[358] From passage 14; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 24. All these close similarities may suggest that "Cheng zhi" is in some ways a precursor to the arguably more fully developed "Zhong yong," as the resemblances in both philosophy and wording are too striking to easily dismiss. It should be noted, though, that similar language of self-seeking can be found in a variety of other Confucian texts as well, and may well indeed go back to the teachings of the master himself. See, for example, the "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "The Master said: 'The noble man seeks it in himself; the petty man seeks it in others'" 子曰：「君子求諸己，小人求諸人」; and the "Li Lou, shang" 離婁上 chapter of the *Mengzi* (passage four): "Whatever you do not attain [in response to] your actions, you [must] turn back to seek within yourself" 行有不得者，皆反求諸己. The "She yi" 射義 chapter of the *Li ji* contains a similar description of the archer who misses the mark and fails to win: he "does not blame the victor, but merely turns back to seek [the fault] within himself" 不怨勝己者，反求諸己而已矣. See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 165–66, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 278; (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1448.

> It is by examining it in one's expressions that one may know one's self; it is by knowing one's self that one may know others; and it is by knowing others that one may know one's mandate. Only after knowing one's mandate will one know the [proper] way, and only after knowing the [proper] way will one know how to act.

But just how does one go about examining the self and seeking out our common human mission? How do we, by looking within, find the proper way and avoid letting our affections be led astray by the random influence of external things? To this end, "Wu xing" introduces the notion of "caution over solitude" (*shen du* 慎獨) (strips 16-19):

> 「淑人君子，其儀一也」。能為一，然後能為君子。慎其獨也。「【瞻望弗及，】泣涕如雨」。能「差池其羽」，然後能至哀。君子慎其【獨也。君】子之為善也，有與始，有與終也。君子之為德也，【有與始，無與】終也。金聲，而玉振之，有德者也。
>
> "The well-refined noble man, singular is his manner." Only when you can achieve singularity can you be a noble man—[the noble man] is cautious over his solitude. "【My gaze into the distance no longer reaches her;】 my tears stream down like rain." Only when one can "wear his feathers ragged" can he fully express his sorrow—the noble man is cautious over his 【solitude. The noble】 man, in carrying out goodness, has that with which he begins, and has that with which he ends. The noble man, in carrying out virtuosity, 【has that with which he begins, [but] has not that with which he】 ends. [He who possesses] the tones of bronze [bells], and [instills] them [with] the resonance of jade [chimestones], is one with virtuosity.

This notion of "caution over solitude" would appear to include at least two different aspects. The first is that of unrelenting attention to one's own "solitude" in the sense of that of which only the self can be aware, the incipient tendencies of one's inner mind that have yet to find outward expression. This is the sense in which the same term appears, most famously, in the "Zhong yong," where the emphasis is on how the Dao "cannot be departed from for a single instant" 不可須臾離也, so that the noble man must "take caution over what he does not see and be fearful over what he does not hear" 戒慎乎其所不睹，恐懼乎其所不聞, as these latent inclinations will invariably manifest themselves socially and must therefore be

properly guided from the outset.[359] "Wu xing" expresses much the same idea elsewhere in terms of "inner-heart apprehension" (*zhongxin zhi you* 中心之憂) (strips 5-6):

> 君子亡中心之憂則亡中心之智，亡中心之智則亡中心【之悅】，亡中心【之悅則不】安，不安則不樂，不樂則亡德。
>
> If the noble man has no inner-heart apprehension, he will have no inner-heart knowledge; lacking inner-heart knowledge, he will have no inner-heart 【gratification】; lacking inner-heart 【gratification, he will not be】 secure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); and unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity.

The interesting thing here is how the contemplative disposition of "apprehension" ultimately leads to what could be seen as its diametrically opposite temperament: the sublimated affective state of "happiness"—an idea we will explore in further detail later.[360] The second aspect of *shen du* is the attention to "solitude" in the sense of "singularity," as the text emphasizes through its *Shi* quotations. Whether in the sorrows of mourning or the joys of social communion, outward expression must always be governed by inner sincerity of intent if it is to mean anything, and if we are to fulfill our human capacity to achieve "Heaven's virtue," we must hold onto this singularity from beginning to end, even as we follow the guidance of outward ritual norms.

"Cheng zhi" expresses much the same notions of constancy of purpose, urgency of practice, and the resolution of completing things to the end, but in somewhat different terms (strips 29-23-22-30-1):[361]

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[359] See the opening passage of the "Zhong yong"; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, pp. 33–34. The term *shen du* also appears in the "Da xue" and "Li qi" 禮器 chapters of the *Li ji* and the "Bu gou" 不苟 chapter of the *Xunzi*.

[360] At the risk of belaboring the possible Zisi connections, we may note how much the same notion may be reflected in a statement attributed to that figure in the "Tan Gong, shang" 檀弓上 chapter of the *Li ji* (stated in the context of sincerity in mourning rituals): "The noble man has the apprehension of an entire lifetime, but not the worries of a single morning" 君子有終身之憂，而無一朝之患. See (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 170; it is also possible that this line might be a comment remarking on the preceding Zisi quotation rather than part of that quotation itself.

[361] For details on this reordering, see the introduction to my "Cheng zhi" translation.

君子曰：「雖有其恆而行之不疾，未有能深之者也。」……是故凡物在疾之。……君子曰：「疾之可能，終之為難。」……是以君子貴成之。

> The noble man says: "Though one may have persistence, there has never been one who could make it have a deep impact without practicing it with urgency." . . . Thus [success in] all matters lies in treating them with urgency. . . . The noble man says: "To treat things with urgency may be possible, but it is difficult to bring them to conclusion." . . . Thus the noble man values bringing things to completion.

Thus whether it is the unrelenting singularity of "caution over solitude" or the urgent perseverance of "seeking it within the self," "Wu xing" and "Cheng zhi" emphasize the ways in which we must always look deep within ourselves in order to fulfill our human mission. But is that alone enough? Certainly not, for with our potential to go astray from our proper course, the guidance of education remains indispensable.

c. Education, Moral Suasion, and the Role of Tradition

For all its emphasis on self-seeking, "Cheng zhi" is equally committed to the role of education, with which this seeking is inextricably bound. Self-cultivation does not stop with the self, but rather takes as its eventual goal the guidance of others; conversely, any attempt to lead others without such authenticity is a recipe for failure: "The instruction of the noble man is such that if he is not fully immersed in his guidance of the people, his genuine influence will not run deep" 君子之於教也，其導民也不浸，則其淳也弗深矣 (strip 4). A position of social leadership is the ultimate goal for the noble man, and in this capacity education is the key; as "Zun deyi" puts it: "Thus it is in instructional guidance that those who govern [must] place their priorities" 是以爲政者教導之取先 (strips 12-13).

The course of self-cultivation and the way to guide others are inseparably related, as they must alike follow the path proper to human nature. In "Zhong yong" terminology, "the Way is not far from humankind" 道不遠人, and thus "the noble man rules humans with the human" 君子以人治人, the model for which lies within himself.[362] "Zun deyi" expresses this same idea most clearly (strips 6-8):

[362] Passage 13; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 23.

聖人之治民，民之道也。禹之行水，水之道也。造父之御馬，馬｛也｝之道也。后稷之藝地，地之道也。莫不有道焉，人道為近。是以君子人道之取先。

The sage's rulership of the people is [in accordance with] the way of the people. Yu's channeling of water was [in accordance with] the way of water. Zao Fu's driving of horses was [in accordance with] the way of horses. Hou Ji's cultivation of the land was in accordance with the way of the land. There is nothing that does not have its way, and the way of humans is closest [to us]. Thus it is in the human way that the noble man takes his priorities.

At the same time that this may suggest the idea that everything has a way that is uniquely suited to its nature, there are analogies at work here as well. The idea that Yu controlled the floods not by damming rivers up, but rather by dredging channels that would guide the rivers along courses in line with the direction of their natural flow, holds important implications for how one may successfully rule human beings. The driving of horses, as we shall see, proves to be a similarly meaningful metaphor for rulership. So what exactly are the proper channels for human rulership, and what, by analogy, are the dams that run forcibly counter to the flow of human nature? As the text elsewhere makes clear, virtue (*de* 德) is the guiding force, ritual and music (*li yue* 禮樂) are the channels that direct or the reins that drive human nature, and punishments and penalties (*xing fa* 刑罰) are the dams that would, to no avail, be used to obstruct its course, the chains by which one hopelessly attempts to lead it by the nose (strips 28-29、31a、21b–23a、20b-21a、31b-32a)[363]:

率民向方者，唯德可。德之流，速乎置郵而傳命。……德者，且莫大乎禮樂焉。治樂和哀，養心於慈諒，忠信日益而不自知也。民可使道之，而不可使知之。民可道導也，而不可強也。……尊仁、親忠、敬莊、歸禮，行矣而無遺，民不可惑也。反之，此往（狂）矣。刑不逮於君子，禮不逮於小人。

In leading the people in the [proper] direction, only virtue is capable of this. The outflow of virtue is even swifter than commands transmitted through

[363] For details on this reordering, see the introduction to my "Zun deyi" translation.

> postal stations. . . . Now with virtue, there are no greater [stimuli] than ritual and music. They channel happiness and harmonize sorrow, and nurture the heart-mind in compassion and integrity, so that one's faithfulness and trust increase daily without any self-awareness. The people can be made to follow a certain course, but cannot be made to understand it. The people can be led, but cannot be coerced. . . . [If one] honors humanity, holds faithfulness dear, respects solemnity, and makes his home in ritual, and carries all this out without exception, then the people cannot be deluded. To go against this would be insane. Punishments do not pertain to the noble man, and ritual does not pertain to the petty man.

The sense of the last line here appears to be that true nobility in human character can be brought about only through such channels as ritual, and never through coercive measures. The text elsewhere extols the transformative instructional powers of ritual and music as follows: "If you instruct them with ritual, the people will become resolute and well ordered; if you instruct them with music, the people will harmoniously accord with virtue like the sounds of bells and chimestones" 教以禮，則民果以經；教以樂，則民順德鏗鏘 (strip 13)—which it then contrasts with other, misguided forms of instruction (the arts of persuasion, strategy, etc.), and then resumes with the summarizing statement: "If you preside before them with virtue, then the people will with goodness advance to you" 先之以德，則民進善焉 (strip 16).

The Guodian texts have a specific set of terminology with which they talk about this process of guidance through ritual and music, as opposed to governance through punishments and administrative compulsion, referring to the former as the "human way" (*rendao* 人道), the "way of the people" (*mindao* 民道, *min zhi dao* 民之道), or simply "the [proper] way" (*qi dao* 其道). To the extent that the latter measures may be employed at all, they must rest on the basis of this more primary instruction in virtue through the power of ritual and music: "Rewards and punishments . . . noble ranks and positions . . . (etc.) . . . if these do not follow the proper way, they will not succeed" 賞與刑……爵位……不由其道不行; "If one instructs the governance, but does not instruct the person, the governance will not be carried out" 教其政，不教其人，政弗行矣 ("Zun deyi" strips 2-3, 18-19). "Cheng zhi" likewise speaks of the non-coercive aspects of this "proper way," of the necessity of guiding the people along the grain of their basic nature (strips 15-16):

> 上不以其道，民之從之也難。是以民可敬導也，而不可弇也；可御也，而不可牽也。
>
> If the superior does not make use of the proper way, it will be difficult for the people to follow him. For this reason, the people can be respectfully guided, but they cannot be forcefully contained; they can be driven and steered, but cannot be pulled around by the nose.

This way is the "human way" because, once again, it finds its own beginnings in human nature and human affections, and is in essence simply the ordered channeling of natural human relationships. "Liu de" spells this out most clearly (strips 6、7-10、47、1)[364]:

> 君子如欲求人道，□□【不】由其道，雖堯求之弗得也。生民【斯必有夫婦、父子、君臣，此】六位也。有率人者，有從人者；有使人者，有事人【者；有】教者，有學者；此六職也。既有夫六位也，以任此【六職也】，六職既分，以別六德。六德者，【其為道也，大者以治】人民，小者以修其身。為道者必由此。何謂六德？聖、智也，仁、義也，忠、信也。
>
> If the noble man desires to seek out the way [of ruling] humankind, 【? and yet does not】 follow the way proper to it, then even [one as sagely as] Yao will be unable to find it thus. Among living people, 【there must invariably be husbands and wives, fathers and sons, rulers and ministers—these】 are the six positions. There those who lead others, and those who follow them; those who direct others, and 【those who】 serve them; those who instruct, and those who learn—these are the six duties. Once there are the six positions, these 【six duties】 are thereby assigned; and once the six duties are apportioned, the six virtues are thereby distinguished. 【The way of】 the six virtues 【is such that, on a large scale, they may be used to order】 the people; and on a small scale, they may be used to cultivate the self. Those who would create ways [of governing the people] must follow such [a course]. What is meant by

[364] For more on this reordering, see the introduction to the "Liu de" translation.

> the "six virtues?" Sagacity and knowledge; humanity and propriety; loyalty and fidelity.

These three pairs of relationships, along with their reciprocal duties and associated virtues, are of course mainstays of the Confucian social order, and variations on this quasi-hierarchical scheme may be found in any number of different texts. With the addition of the relationships between elder and younger brothers (*kundi* 昆弟) and between friends (*pengyou* 朋友), for instance, we have the so-called "five prominent ways" (*wu da dao* 五達道) of the "Zhong yong," a listing that is by no means unique to that text. Such relationships are the basis of human existence, the inviolable way that we all share in common, the invariable social framework with which Heaven has endowed us, as we have seen already in "Cheng zhi" (strips 37-40):

> 唯君子道可近求而可遠措也。昔者君子有言曰「聖人天德」。蓋言慎求之於己，而可以至順天常矣。……是故君子慎六位以巳（祀）天常.
>
> Thus only the noble man can seek it closely yet place it afar. Formerly, a noble man once said: "The sage [possesses] Heaven's virtue"—this speaks to how, conscientiously seeking it in himself, he is able to arrive at an accord with Heaven's constancy. . . . Thus the noble man is conscientious over the six positions, so as to pay homage to Heaven's constancy.

The "human way" is built on natural human relations and familial affections, and it is a staple of Confucian thought that the larger social and political order is in some ways an extension of the more immediate bloodline relationships. And yet there are differences, in both degree and kind, and these give rise to competing yet complementary virtues, which in turn necessitate, at times, some guidelines on how to resolve conflicts between them should they arise. One of the striking things about the Guodian texts, as many have already noted, is the stark terms in which they make such distinctions and the resolution with which they prioritize the value of the family over that of the state. As "Liu de" puts it (strips 26-31):

> 仁，內也；義，外也；禮樂，共也。內位，父、子、夫也；外位，君、臣、婦也。……為父絕君，不為君絕父；為昆弟絕妻，不為妻絕昆弟；

> 為宗族離朋友，不為朋友離宗族。人有六德，三親不斷。門內之治恩弇義，門外之治義斬恩。
>
> Humanity is a matter of the internal, propriety is a matter of the external, and ritual and music are matters in common to both. The internal positions are father, son, and husband; the external positions are ruler, minister, and wife. . . . The ruler may be forsaken for the sake of the father, but the father may not be forsaken for the sake of the ruler. The wife may be forsaken for the sake of a brother, but a brother may not be forsaken for the sake of the wife. A friend may be distanced for a member of the ancestral clan, but a member of the ancestral clan may not be distanced for the sake of a friend. People have six virtues, but the three types of blood relatives may not be severed. In the order within the [family] gates, goodwill holds check over propriety; in the order beyond the [family] gates, propriety cuts short goodwill.

Versions of this last line are to be found both in the "Sangfu sizhi" 喪服四制 chapter of the *Li ji* and the "Ben ming" 本命 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*, but the notion of "forsaking the ruler for the sake of the father" is never so clearly stated as it is here. In "Yucong 3" we find the same notion stated this way (strips 2-5):

> 〔君〕所以異於父：君臣不相存也，則可已；不悅，可去也；不義而加諸己，弗受也。
>
> [The ruler] differs from the father insofar as [the minister] may desist if ruler and minister do not support each other, may leave if displeased, and may refuse to accept anything improper that is placed upon him.[365]

It is from such distinctions and potential moral conflicts that dualisms of virtue arise, in particular the complementary dualism of "humanity" and "propriety" (*ren* and *yi*). The "internal"/"external" distinction here has little to do here with the idea—as Gao Zi would in Meng Zi's portrayal conceive it—of whether these virtues are driven from within human nature or taken as standards from without, but rather has everything to do with the division between relationships of blood and those that are socially derived. To be sure, it may be a relatively small step to move from this blood-versus-social distinction of virtues to a

[365] Other examples of this dynamic may also be found in "Yucong 1," strips 80-81 and 87.

philosophy where the "bloodline" virtue of humanity is conceived as deriving subjectively from within while the "social" virtue of propriety is thought of as taken from objective standards that are external to us. But, save perhaps in some of the terse "Yucong" aphorisms, we never find it put in such terms in the Guodian texts, where the "constant" order of *all* the relations is spoken of as Heaven-sent, and the human "Way" is seen as originating in human affections themselves. "Propriety" may well represent the external standards of social duties to which this Dao, in the end, leads us, but it is never seen as somehow objectively "given" to us from without prior to human experience.[366]

While the "internal positions" are clearly prioritized over the "external positions," cultivation of both the cardinal virtues of humanity and propriety is crucial in achieving the goal of a harmonious social order. As "Tang Yu zhi dao" puts it (strips 6-9):

> 堯舜之行，愛親尊賢。愛親故孝，尊賢故禪。孝之殺，愛天下之民。禪之流，世亡隱德。孝，仁之冕也；禪，義之至也。六帝興於古，均由此也。愛親忘賢，仁而未義也；尊賢遺親，義而未仁也。

[366] The "Yucong" texts come closest to expressing the notion that there are ways that are either inherently internal or external. "Yucong 1" states that "Of the many creatures (/things) to which Heaven gives birth, mankind is most noble. In the way of mankind, some [virtues] come forth from within, and others are instilled from without. 夫〈天〉生百物，人爲貴。人之道也，或由中出，或由外入 (strips 18-20); "those that come from within are humanity, loyalty, and trust" 由中出者，仁、忠信 (strip 21); and "Humanity is born from mankind; propriety is born from the Way. One is born from within; the other is born from without" 仁生於人，義生於道；或生於內，或生於外 (strips 22-23). Some would naturally take this to mean that "propriety" is indeed a kind of *a priori* objective virtue; see, for example, Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," pp. 617–19—note that Yang points to such lines as 天生倫 ("Yucong 1," strip 3), 物有理 ("Yucong 3," strip 18), and 物各止於其所，義行 ("Yucong 1," strip 105) as evidence for such objective standards given to us in external nature, but the readings of *lun* 倫 ("relations"), *li* 理 ("order"), and *yi* 義 ("propriety"), along with the strip connections providing context for some of these lines, are all extremely tenuous. To the extent, however, that we are to read the "Yucong" texts and "Xing zi ming chu" as sharing the same philosophy, the fact that propriety "is born from the Way" implies that it, too, is ultimately born of human nature, since, in the latter text, the "Way" itself is "born of human affections." I would thus see the idea that "some virtues come from within, some from without" more in terms of the dialectical process of education we see in "Xing zi ming chu," wherein the Dao that comes forth of human nature is ultimately used to nurture and educate it. So too, perhaps, should we read the similar lines of "Zun deyi": "Thus those who govern at times assess and at times nurture, at times expressing from within and at times installing from without" 故爲政者，或論之，或養之，或由中出，或設之外 (strip 30). Specifically, "music" and "ritual" could be seen as the primary educational means that operate on us "internally" and "externally," respectively (though as I now see it in the context of that text, the virtuous influence of ritual and music may also operate together from within us, whereas rewards, punishments, and other governmental measures serve to mold our behavior from the outside). For further discussion of the *nei*/*wai* issue, see the introductions to "Xing zi ming chu" and "Yucong 1."

> The practice of Yao and Shun was to love their parents and to honor the worthy. Loving their parents, they were therefore filial; honoring the worthy, they therefore abdicated. The dissemination of filiality is to love all the people of the world; the outflow of abdication is for the age to have no hidden virtue. Filial piety is the acme of humanity, and abdication is the height of propriety. The rise of the Six Sovereigns in antiquity all originated from this. To love one's parents and forget the worthies is to have humanity yet lack propriety. To honor the worthies and neglect one's parents is to have propriety yet lack humanity.

In this case we have a text that attempts, as the *Mengzi* would also do later (somewhat more apologetically), to explain the anomaly of abdication and why this was indeed a virtue to be admired in the beloved sage-kings Yao and Shun. The very notion of abdication, for which these sages were especially renowned, might on its face contradict the rule that one does not sever the "father-son" bloodline for the sake of "ruler-minister" bonds. This is a contradiction the text attempts to assuage by emphasizing these sages' own filial piety, and by stressing the universal compass of their actions, forms of propriety that clearly extend "beyond the gates."[367]

Throughout the Guodian texts, as in all other Confucian works, such "sages" or "former kings" set the standard for moral instruction. The sages were themselves just ordinary human beings, but also ones who somehow became extraordinary through an unrelenting process of self-cultivation. As Confucius is famously given to state in the *Lunyu*, humans are "close by nature, but far apart by practice" 性相近，習相遠, and the birth of the sage is explained similarly in "Cheng zhi" (strips 26-28):

> 聖人之性與中人之性，其生而未有非之。節於而〈天〉也則猶是也。唯其於善道也，亦非有譯（釋）；屢以多也。及其薄，長而厚大也。則聖人不可由（須）與（臾）嘼（休）之。此以民皆有性，而聖人不可莫（慕）也。
>
> The inborn nature of the sage is no different from that of the average man. Insofar as he regulates in accord with [his] natural [endowment], he remains the same. Yet in his [pursuit of] the way of the good, he never puts it aside,

[367] For a more detailed discussion of this complex issue, see the introduction to the "Tang Yu zhi dao" translation.

> accumulating through repetition. If one [pursues it] while it is still meager, it will grow to be vast and great. Accordingly, the sage can never abandon it for an instant. Thus the people all have [the same] inborn nature, and yet the sage [is an ideal to which] they cannot [ordinarily] aspire.

The precise interpretation of this notoriously difficult passage is uncertain, but the overall sense of the sage as a human being who achieves his greatness through hard work and persistence seems clear enough. Placed in the context of the rest of this text, this speaks to the need to seek things "urgently," to practice them "with persistence," and to ultimately bring them "to completion." Such is how the sage, by "seeking it deeply within himself" 求諸己也深 (strip 10), comes into being. Having once established his own virtue, the role of the sage is then to serve as a model for both his own time and for that of future generations, to take his own sublimated attainment of humanity and make it a guide for others to follow. It is this by which the classical canon is established, the traditional forms of instruction that would become the hallmark of a Confucian education. "Xing zi ming chu" explains this directly (strips 15-18):

> 詩、書、禮、樂，其始出皆生於人。詩，有為為之也。書，有為言之也。禮、樂，有為舉之也。聖人比其類而論會之，觀其之〈先〉後而逆順之，體其義而節文之，理其情而出入之，然後復以教。教，所以生德于中者也。
>
> The Odes, Documents, Ritual, and Music all in their beginnings arose from mankind. The odes [of men] were created for a purpose; the [words of their] documents were expressed for a purpose; [their] rituals and music were performed for a purpose. The sages compared their types and arranged and assembled them; observed their succession and reordered them into better accord; gave embodiment to their propriety and provided it with regularity and refined pattern; ordered the affections [they expressed by] drawing them out and reimplanting them; and then returned [this all] back [to the people] so as to instruct them. Instruction is that by which one gives rise to virtue within.

Because the "Way" "begins with the affections," which are in turn "born of [human] nature," "【Those who】 know 【the affections can】 bring it forth, while those who know propriety can instill it" 知【情者能】出之，知義者能入之 (strips 3-4). The classical literary and

institutional traditions of poetry, documents, ritual, and music all find their beginnings in the artistic expressions, musical practices, and ritualized customs of the people, spontaneous expressions of the human will as it encounters the full array of things and situations in the world around it. The sage's task is not to create anything anew, but rather only to take these various forms of expression and arrange and reshape them in such a way that the variety of affections they embody will find balanced and harmonious articulation. Without such a process of channeling, human expression would inevitably lead itself astray, and thus the self-conscious action of the sage is needed to bring order to all such forms and thereupon reintroduce them to society as sublimated modes of virtuous expression that will in turn serve to influence, guide, and instruct the people and plant the seeds of an orderly society deep within them.

Ritual and music in particular are singled out for their efficacy in this regard. As "Yucong 1" puts it: "Ritual is that which accords with human affections and provides them with rhythm and refined patterns" 禮因人之情而爲之節文者也 (strips 31、97)—a line we find also in the "Fang ji" chapter of the *Li ji*, where we also have the additional phrase "so as to provide embankments for the people" 以爲民坊者也, reinforcing the notion of "channeling" the affections along the natural course of their flow.[368] Or as "Yucong 1" puts it elsewhere:

> 德生禮，禮生樂，由樂 知形。 (strips 24-25)
>
> 禮生於莊，樂生於亭（盛）。禮繁樂零則蹙，樂繁禮零則慢。 (strips 33-35)
>
> Virtue gives birth to ritual; ritual gives birth to music; and from music [one] knows [proper] expression.
>
> Ritual is born from solemnity; music arises from fullness. When ritual is replete and music is deficient, there is stress; when music is replete and ritual is deficient, there is dissipation.

Like the virtues of humanity and propriety, ritual and music thus form a balancing act, wherein each is integrated within the other and yet, given their respective foci on hierarchy

[368] For the "Fang ji" passage, see (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1281.

and unity, might lead people in the direction of either estrangement or indulgence were the two not to be utilized in concert. Together, they work to instill us with a sense of harmony through order. Music, however, has a particularly deep and direct connection to our affections, and it is thus singled out at times as the most powerful and effective of all motivational forces. As "Xing zi ming chu" puts it, the lascivious musics of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 "give free rein to indulge in the wrong kinds of sounds" 非其聲而從（縱）之 (strip 27), whereas the sagely musical dances *Shao* 韶 and *Xia* 夏 "express musical happiness over genuine affections" 樂情 (strip 28). Music is a uniquely compelling form of influence that arises naturally from basic human dispositions (strip 23):

> 凡聲，其出於情也信，然後其入拔人之心也厚。
>
> In general, whenever [expressive] voices/sounds derive from affections genuinely, their entry into and inciting of the heart-mind is profound.

Music may thus in turn be used to guide and instruct the people, to channel their affections—through the force of the rhythmic motion of disparate instruments playing together in a unified harmony—toward the goal of orderly and productive social interaction. Note that while some of these examples will find close parallels in texts like the "Yue lun" 樂論 chapter of the *Xunzi*, certain core notions—such as the complementary relationship of ritual and music and the whole dialectical process of how music and its parallel arts arise from human affections and yet ultimately return in sublimated guises to guide and instruct them—bear a striking resemblance to those we find at work in the *Yue ji* 樂記, as we will have occasion to explore in greater detail in the separate introduction to "Xing zi ming chu." We will also have more to say about the role of music in these texts shortly.

To a large extent, ritual and music may be conceived as the visual and audible manifestations of the ruler's own moral character. As such, they ultimately serve as extensions of the ruler or noble man himself, the concrete means through which he inspires those below him to emulate his own accomplished virtue. Throughout the Guodian texts, the political emphasis lies in leadership through example, the power of moral suasion, to which is generally opposed, as mentioned above, the notion of governance through coercion. This is nowhere more apparent than in "Ziyi," which opens with the lines (strips 1-2):

> 夫子曰：「好美如好緇衣，惡惡如惡巷伯，則民咸服而刑不屯（鈍）。」《詩》云：「儀刑文王，萬邦作孚。」

> Our Master said: "If one is as fond of beauty as one is of black [courtly] robes (as in the ode "Ziyi"), and as despising of the wicked as one is of slanderers (as in the ode "Xiang bo"), then the people will all submit, and yet the implements of punishment will not be blunted [through overuse]." The Ode says: "Model after the pattern of King Wen, and the myriad states will place their trust in you."

By simply "manifesting [his] likes and dislikes" 章好章惡 (strip 2) in both his words and his actions (*yan xing* 言行), the ruler will set an example that the people will naturally follow like grass swaying to the wind, and there will thus be little need for punishments in the first place.[369] The reading of the line about "punishments" in the opening passage is a matter of some controversy,[370] but there is no mistaking the condemnation of their misuse in the twelfth passage (strips 23-26):

> 子曰：「長民者教之以德，齊之以禮，則民有勸心；教之以政，齊之以刑，則民有免心。」故慈以愛之，則民有親；信以結之，則民不背；恭以蒞之，則民有遜心。
>
> The Master said, "If he who heads the people teaches them through virtue and brings them in line through ritual, they will have minds that are motivated [to do good]; [but] if he teaches them through governance and brings them in line through punishments, the people will have minds bent on evasion." Thus if he cherishes them with fatherly devotion, the people will endear themselves to him; if he binds them with trust, the people will not betray him; if he oversees them with reverence, the people will be of a submissive mind.

Or again in the thirteenth passage (strips 27-28):

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[369] Similar ideas regarding the power of personal example are stressed throughout many of the texts, as in "Tang Yu zhi dao" strips 4-5: "夫聖人上事天，教民有尊也；下事地，教民有親也," etc. ("For the sages, above, served Heaven, so as to teach the people to hold reverence, and below, they served Earth, so as to teach the people to hold affinity. . . .").

[370] For alternate interpretations, refer to the notes to the "Ziyi" translation.

> 子曰：「政之不行，教之不成也，則刑罰不足恥，而爵不足勸也。」故上不可以褻刑而輕爵。
>
> The Master said: "When governance and teachings are not successfully implemented, punishments and penalties will be insufficient to cause shame, and noble ranks will be insufficient to motivate." Thus superiors must not administer punishments partially or bestow noble ranks lightly.

The polemic at work here—if we want to call it that—might have something to do with social and political changes that had begun to occur by the onset of the Warring States period, when bureaucratic centralization and newfound social mobility led to the promulgation of manifest legal codes designed to be more broadly applicable to different levels of society. I have argued elsewhere how such developments were likely viewed by members of the ministerial class in terms of having limits placed on their own individual power to adjudicate crimes and determine punishments, whereas ritual was seen to highlight the hierarchical social relationships in which they, as law*givers*, were invested with solemn authority.[371] This is a view that finds expression in the laments, as recorded in the *Zuo zhuan*, of Jin 晉 minister Shuxiang 叔向 and, later, Confucius himself over the casting in bronze of two different penal codes, in the states of Zheng 鄭 and Jin respectively—both to the effect that, as a result of this manifest act: "The noble and base will lose their order; on what basis will one govern the state?" 貴賤無序，何以爲國.[372] In the Guodian texts we find a somewhat more thoroughgoing dismissal of the use of coercive measures in general, wherein the argument is that since they cut across the grain of human nature itself, they are thus an ineffective form of rulership that can at best serve only as a secondary means to control those incorrigible elements for whom the reach of moral suasion somehow fails to take hold. This emphasis on suasion over coercion is implicit within such coded terms as "follow the proper way" (*you qi dao* 由其道; *yi qi dao* 以其道), and driven home by the force of such analogies as flood-control and horse-driving. This is the sense of the lines from "Cheng zhi," quoted earlier, that the people can be "respectfully guided," but cannot be "led around by the nose." What is

[371] See my "The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the 'Human Way' in Light of Recently Excavated Warring States Texts," pp. 404–49, or my (Gu Shikao) "Cong lijiao yu xingfa zhi bian kan xian-Qin zhuzi de quanshi chuantong," pp. 7–9.

[372] These passages come from the years Zhao 6 (536 BC) and Zhao 29 (513 BC), the lines quoted here coming from latter, where they are recorded as coming from the mouth of Confucius. See Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, pp. 1274–75 and 1504.

interesting is how such terms and analogies would continue to find expression in similar contexts in texts from throughout the Warring States period, as new series of legal reforms came onto the scene and philosophers grappled with changing political realities and the developments of rival philosophies. We see this with Xun Zi, for instance, who, after stating how “stern commands and copious punishments are insufficient to inspire awe” 嚴令繁刑不足以爲威, is given to proclaim, in true Confucian fashion, that if the ruler “follows the proper way (i.e., ritual), he will succeed; if he does not follow the proper way, [things] will go to waste” 由其道則行， 不由其道則廢.[373] Or, to cite just one of many other possible examples, we have the following passage from the *Han Feizi*, where the Zao Fu charioteering analogy is turned on its head:

> 無捶策之威，銜橛之備，雖造父不能以服馬。……無威嚴之勢，賞罰之法，雖堯、舜不能以為治。今世主皆輕釋重罰、嚴誅，行愛惠，而欲霸王之功，亦不可幾也。[374]
>
> Without the might of the whip or the installment of the bit, even Zao Fu would have been unable to subdue his horses. . . . Without the position of might and severity, or the standards or rewards and penalties, even Yao and Shun would have been unable to achieve order. The rulers of today all lightly abandon heavy penalties and severe punishments, put compassion and kindness into practice, and yet hope to accomplish the exploits of a hegemon or king—they are no less unable to approach [such a goal].

There are many more examples worth citing, but as I have already more exhaustively traced the development of these terms and analogies as employed in this debate elsewhere, I will not belabor the issue here.[375]

In any event, that the political focus in these texts is on governance through moral suasion—as promulgated through ritual, music, and other traditional institutions—could not

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[373] From the “Yi bing” 議兵 chapter; see (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 281. As I note elsewhere, Xun Zi takes a much more nuanced position in other chapters, clearly allowing a certain place for punishments in his vision of Confucian rulership. See my “Cong lijiao yu xingfa zhi bian,” pp. 21–24, or “The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the ‘Human Way,’” pp. 423–25.

[374] From the “Jian jie shi chen” 姦劫弑臣 chapter; see (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, p. 105.

[375] See my (Gu Shikao) “Cong Chuguo zhujian lun Zhanguo ‘Min dao’ sixiang,” or “The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the ‘Human Way,’” pp. 429–37.

be any clearer.[376] There is nothing surprising in any of this, to be sure, as this is part and parcel of Confucianism itself, a branch of philosophy that from its beginnings spoke to the dual ideal that would be most famously codified in the phrase "a sage within, a king without" (*nei sheng wai wang* 內聖外王)—notwithstanding the ironic fact that this phrase first appeared in the "Tianxia" 天下 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. What is interesting, once again, is the degree to which these texts employ closely similar wording in speaking to this notion of the influential power of the virtuous noble man. As we discussed earlier, versions of the line "If the superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates (/people) will invariably be those even more so" are found in no less than three of the Guodian texts. In "Ziyi," these lines are attributed to Confucius, as are countless others that speak to the same notion of charismatic influence, wherein the ruler and his people come together as if parts of a single body:

> 子曰：「民以君為心，君以民為體；心好則體安之，君好則民欲之。」
>
> (strips 8-9)
>
> The Master said: "The people take the ruler as their heart-mind, and the ruler takes the people as his body: if the heart-mind is fond of something, the body will find comfort in it; if the ruler is fond of something, the people will desire it."
>
> 子曰：「上好仁則下之為仁也爭先。」 (strips 10-11)
>
> The Master said: "If superiors are fond of humanity, subordinates will vie to be the first to practice humanity."

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[376] See also Susan Weld's illuminating article, "Grave Matters: Warring States Law and Philosophy," wherein she reads the largely theoretical Guodian texts in conjunction with the practical legal documents of Baoshan. Weld likewise notes that it "is in the area of social control that the authors of the Guodian corpus seem to have been engaged in a debate with ghostly opponents who favor more intrusive and despotic forms of government," and then further postulates a possible link to Chu legal practice, suggesting that the idea "that a proper state avoids coercion and relies on example and persuasion may be reflected in the paucity of punishments appearing in the Baoshan records," which is in turn perhaps a reflection of Chu's relatively decentralized form of administrative governance; see esp. pp. 139–47. While I am inclined to view the anti-coercion rhetoric more as part of a larger discourse of the times that to a great extent transcended regional boundaries, Weld's approach to having the theoretical and practical texts of the region speak to each other is in any case an invaluable one, and there is much to be learned from her analysis of particular cases and the theoretical assumptions and administrative practicalities that may inform them.

But how do such miraculous powers of influence come about? What is the nature of this perfected state of virtuous self-cultivation that makes it so efficacious in the political realm? Let us close our exploration of common philosophical notions in the Guodian texts by more closely examining this notion of complete virtuous fulfillment, a state that is often described in terms of "musical" perfection.

d. Musical Harmony and the Symphony of Virtues

There are at least two instances in the *Lunyu* where Confucius is given to speak of 樂—read as either *yue*, "music," or *le*, "happiness," but ultimately a combination of both senses—as the highest state of attainment to which one may aspire:

> 子曰：「知之者不如好之者，好之者不如樂知者。」
>
> The Master said: "Those who know it cannot compare to those who are fond of it; those who are fond of it cannot compare to those who find (musical) happiness in it.
>
> 子曰：「興於詩，立於禮，成於樂。」[377]
>
> The Master said: "Arise through the Odes; become established through Ritual; achieve completion through Music."

"Wu xing," too, speaks of the highest state of attainment in such terms, as can be seen from its final lines (strips 49-50):

> 聞道而悅者，好仁者也。聞道而畏者，好義者也。聞道而恭者，好禮者也。聞道而樂者，好德者也。
>
> One who hears of the Way and finds gratification in it is one fond of humanity.
> One who hears of the Way and stands in awe of it is one fond of propriety.
> One who hears of the Way and feels humility before it is one fond of ritual.

[377] From the "Yong ye" 雍也 and "Tai Bo" 泰伯 chapters, respectively; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 89, 104–5.

> One who hears of the Way and finds happiness (/musicality) in it is one fond of virtuosity.

In "Wu xing," "virtue"—or, as I translate it in that text, "virtuosity" (*de* 德)—is described as that highest state of attainment which incorporates all of the five conducts harmoniously within it, wherein one achieves total accord with the "Way of Heaven" (see strips 4-5, quoted above). It is no coincidence that such a state is portrayed in terms of "finding happiness (/musicality) in the Way" (*le dao* 樂道). We remarked earlier how the text depicts a path of self-cultivation in which a lifetime of moral "apprehension" or "concern" will ultimately, and paradoxically, lead to its affective opposite, this state of ultimate "happiness" in or "contentment" with the Way of Heaven. Such a state of "happiness" is equally "musical" in the sense that music is the art that most truly represents the state of perfect attainment achieved through arduous and unrelenting effort: as when, for example, a student of the *qin*-zither works his way tirelessly through the daily practice routines of learning each note and its subtle articulations, training in the proper breathing technique and the positioning of each hand, etc., in a process of continual correction and constant adjustment, until the day when all past musical failures finally give way to the spontaneous flow of music that is at once completely effortless and yet in perfect order and harmonious balance. So too is how we may characterize the state of absolute virtuous attainment: it is that state of moral rapture one achieves after a long and arduous period of study, practice, and self-introspection, a condition of spontaneous accord with or total embodiment of Heaven's way. It is that state described elsewhere in the literature as "following what the heart desires without transgressing the proper standards" 從心所欲，不踰矩, as the *Lunyu* portrays Confucius at age seventy, or "hitting the mark without effort, attaining it without thought, leisurely in accord with the Way" 不勉而中，不思而得，從容中道, as the "Zhong yong" describes "the sage," who achieves that state only after a lifetime of learning, inquiry, and practice, of "choosing the good and holding onto it firmly" 擇善而固執之.[378]

That this ultimate state of musical happiness is one where our "heart's desires" accord with the proper way implies that "desire" remains very much a key to this whole process. If "the Way begins with the affections," it ends with simply a sublimated form of those affections: in according with the dictates of propriety, we never really leave our fundamental human nature behind, but merely give it a certain positive direction. The *Lunyu* famously

[378] The *Lunyu* quote comes from the "Wei zheng" 爲政 chapter; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 54–55. For the "Zhong yong" references, see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 31.

records that after Confucius heard a performance of the sage-king Shun's musical dance "Shao" 韶 while in Qi, he was so taken over by it that "for three months he was unaware of the taste of meat" 三月不知肉味, and it elsewhere has him making the remark that he had "never seen anyone as fond of virtue as he is of sensual beauty" 未見好德如好色者.[379] Both of these examples speak to the same ideal: the individual's replacement of his drive for sensual pleasures with an almost visceral delight in something of a more sublime nature. This is achieved through that process of nature-cultivation that "Xing zi ming chu" (strips 9-12) describes as "tempering," "sharpening," "nurturing," "growing," etc., all made possible by the guidance of others who have traveled the path before us, as well as through a process of inward self-seeking and the gradual inner development of virtue along paths the likes of which we find enumerated in "Wu xing."[380] And for both the *Lunyu* and "Wu xing" alike, one must first "be fond of" (*hao* 好) the way before one may "find happiness" in it, before achieving that rare state of "sagacity" marked by the perfection of a higher second nature wherein inspiration and the demands of formal constraint operate in effortlessly harmonious accord.

A second sense of "music" as it appears in these texts is one we already touched upon in the previous subsection: music's characteristic of "stemming from the affections authentically" and thus having the miraculous ability to "enter into and incite" our hearts profoundly. This is also a point made clear in the "Confucius in Qi" passage, where just one performance of the sagely music has left such an indelible impression on the master that he completely forgets his baser desires, where the moral spirit and social order that the music embodies is imparted to him directly, immediately, and thoroughly just by virtue of his hearing its harmonious sounds and observing the rhythmic reenactments of its dancers. In the words of "Xing zi ming chu," "ancient music elevates the heart-mind" 古樂龍(隆)心; the "Shao and Xia express musical happiness over human affections" 韶夏樂情 (strip 28). Music has this unique power precisely because it encapsulates within it the authentic sentiments of those who create it, but in a manifest audible form that communicates those sentiments directly to the listener; it derives from the very roots of human affections, and to the extent

[379] The first reference is recorded in the "Shu er" 述而 chapter, and the second appears in both the "Zi han" 子罕 and "Wei Ling Gong" chapters; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 96, 114, and 164.

[380] For more on the notion of true virtue as a kind of sublimated desire in "Wu xing," see my "Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: The 'Wu xing 五行' Essay and Its Aesthetic Implications." Jeffrey Riegel has recently discussed much the same notion as it may apply to an interpretation of the line "賢賢易色" from the seventh passage of the "Xue er" 學而 chapter of the *Lunyu*, as well as to certain lines in both the Shanghai Museum (v. 1) text "Kong Zi shilun" and the Mawangdui "Wu xing" commentary; see his "A Passion for the Worthy."

that the creator of or inspiration for the music embodies a semblance of his own virtuous attainments within its melodies and rhythms, it is fully capable of turning back to guide those affections and directly instill them with the standards of propriety. As “Xing zi ming chu” puts it elsewhere (strips 26-27):

> 其居節也久，其反善復始也慎，其出入也順，治其德也。
>
> [Music] has for long occupied the rhythm [of our affections]; its return to goodness and recollection of beginnings is conscientious, and its bringing forth [of affections] and instillment [of propriety] moves in accord [with human nature]—this is [how] it brings order to its virtue.

In his highest state of attainment, the ruler who has embodied “Heaven’s virtue” within himself attains a kind of miraculous charismatic power itself very much like that of music in its perfected form, a state that “exhausts both beauty and goodness” 盡美矣，又盡善, as Confucius is given to describe the Shao dance elsewhere in the *Lunyu*.[381] The ultimate state of virtue that has been cultivated from within and fully embodied throughout one’s person results in a kind of miraculous radiance that emanates outwardly from one’s very bearing and demeanor, immediately observable by and deeply influential upon all those who happen to gaze upon it. We are already well familiar with such a condition as described in texts traditionally associated with Zisi (not to mention the *Mengzi*), such as the “Biao ji”: “The noble man is manifest while concealed, solemn without flaunting, awesome without severity, and trusted without ever speaking” 君子隱而顯，不矜而莊，不厲而威，不言而信;[382] or the “Zhong yong”: “The noble man is respected before he takes action, trusted before he even speaks” 君子不動而敬，不言而信, or “Though the noble man gives no rewards, the people are still encouraged, and though he shows no anger, they hold him in greater awe than they do the executioner’s axe” 君子不賞而民勸，不怒而民威於鈇鉞.[383] We find closely parallel descriptions in the Guodian texts as well, as in “Xing zi ming chu” (strips 51-53):

> 未言而信，有美情者也。未教而民恆，性善者也。未賞而民勸，含福者也。未刑而民畏，有心威者也 。

[381] “Ba yi” 八佾; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 68.

[382] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1297.

[383] (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 40.

> One who is trusted before he even speaks is one who possesses magnificent affections. One for whom the people have constancy before he even teaches is one who has made goodness his nature. One for whom the people are motivated before he even rewards them is one who harbors blessings within him. One in whom the people hold awe before he even punishes them is one who possesses might of mind.

A related sentiment is expressed, somewhat more mystically as a characteristic of Heaven and Earth themselves, in "Zhongxin zhi dao" (strip 4): "Great loyalty does not plead its case; great trustworthiness does not make advance arrangements" 大忠不說，大信不期. And such efficacy is, not coincidentally, described as the "Heavenly" effect of musical attainment in the *Yue ji*, in wording that bears strikingly similar resemblance to some of the cultivation chains we find in "Wu xing": "With happiness comes security; with security, longevity; with longevity, the heavenly; and with the heavenly, the spirit-like. Heavenly, one is trusted before he even speaks; spirit-like, one is held in awe before showing any anger—this is how one extends music to govern minds" 樂則安，安則久，久則天，天則神。天則不言而信，神則不怒而威，致樂以治心者也.[384] Just as music that embodies virtue and social order within its structure can impart those sentiments directly to the listener, the noble man or ruler who has fully embodied virtuous conduct within his own person can, through the direct force of its outward radiation, imperceptibly influence the behavior of those around him. In both cases, the people are led into action by a force that strikes them directly within and compels them internally, driving them to act as if the desires of the ruler were their own to begin with. As "Ziyi" puts it (strip 6):

> 故君民者，章好以示民欲，謹惡以過民淫，則民不惑。
>
> Thus if he who rules the people manifests his likes so as to show the people [what to] desire, and is cautious over his dislikes so as to block them from excess, then the people will not be perplexed.

"Cheng zhi" in particular emphasizes the miraculous effect of such moral suasion (strips 3、24-25):

[384] See (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1029–31; the same passage also occurs in the "Ji yi" 祭義 chapter, p. 1225. For the comparable "Wu xing" lines, see for example strips 6, 7–9, and 20–21.

> 故君子之莅民也，身服善以先之，敬慎以守之，其所在者內矣，民孰弗從？型（/形）於中，發於色，其燿也固矣，民孰弗信？是以上之恆務，在信於眾。
>
> Thus in overseeing the people, the noble man presides before them having first submitted to goodness himself, and looks after them with diligence and conscientiousness; the locus of his [virtue] is internal—which of his people would fail to heed him? Taking shape from within and emanating in his demeanor, its radiance is unwavering—which of his people would fail to trust him? Thus the imperative of persistence in those above lies in gaining the trust of the masses.

While only the "noble man" may be able to truly understand music and appreciate it to its full extent, all people alike fall under the sway of its influence. This is true of rulership in general: "The people can be made to follow a certain course, but cannot be made to understand it" 民可使道之，而不可使知之 ("Zun deyi" strips 21–22).[385] So long as his virtue "takes shape from within and emanates in his demeanor," the ruler may gain the trust and support of his people. This idea is most prominent in "Wu xing," where it is couched in vivid, if abstruse, language (strips 15-16):

> 聖之思也輕，輕則型（/形），型（/形）則不忘，不忘則聰，聰則聞君子道，聞君子道則玉音，玉音則型（形），型（形）則聖。
>
> Sagacity's contemplation is effortless: effortless, it will take form; taking form, [one] will not forget; not forgetting, he will be discerning of ear; discerning of ear, he will hear the way of the noble man; having heard the way of the noble man, he will have the timbre of jade; with the timbre of jade, he will have [external] form; and with [external] form, he will have sagacity.

Here the "contemplation" of sagacity leads to the noble man having the "timbre of jade" (*yuyin* 玉音), whereas the preceding parallel chains for contemplation of the virtues of

[385] A version of this line is to be found in the "Tai Bo" chapter of the *Lunyu* as well: 子曰：「民可使由之，不可使知之」; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 105.

humanity and knowledge (strips 12-15) lead to the noble man having the "luster of jade" (*yuse* 玉色). Thus whether in the form of his bearing and radiance of his demeanor, or in the tone of his voice and resonance of his words, the noble man is able to cultivate a charismatic power that emanates outwardly in manifestly visible and audible forms.[386] It is worth noting, as we will discuss in the introduction to the "Wu xing" translation, that much the same state would be described in closely similar terms in the *Mengzi* as well, where "musical happiness" is once again used to represent the realm of ultimate "virtuosic" attainment.

A third and final sense of "music" in these texts is the notion of achieving a harmonious balance among disparate constituents, whether they be the divergent virtues that constitute one's personal morality or the different positions that make up the social hierarchy. This idea of "harmony without uniformity" (*he er bu tong* 和而不同) runs through a number of different early Confucian texts, and is perhaps best expressed, once again, in the "Zhong yong":

> 喜怒哀樂之未發謂之中，發而皆中節謂之和。中也者，天下之大本也；和也者，天下之達道也。致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉。[387]
>
> When joy, anger, sorrow, and happiness are unexpressed, we call this "centrality"; when they are expressed and all hit their proper rhythm, we call this "harmony." Centrality is the great basis of the world, and harmony is the attained way of the world. Where centrality and harmony are given ultimate expression, Heaven and Earth find their places, and the myriad things find their nourishment.

While I may run the risk of over-quoting from this text, I do so again here because it forms a fitting footnote to "Xing zi ming chu," where "practices" and "proper ways" are used to "nurture" human nature and "give it growth," so that the heart-mind will gain its appropriate direction and human affections will not be led astray by external things, but will rather

[386] Mark Csikszentmihalyi gives an excellent discussion of such physical transformations—what he calls the "physiognomy and physiology of virtue"—as they appear in both "Wu xing" and the *Mengzi* and in the context of a host of descriptions from technical discourses related to physiognomy that may be culled from recently excavated materials. See his *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*, pp. 127–41. See also Peng Lin, "Guodian Chujian zhong de lirong," who takes note of how the Guodian Confucian texts are rife with descriptions of proper ritual demeanor (*lirong* 禮容) and discusses the relevant passages in the context of the importance this notion had in early Confucian discourse more generally.

[387] (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 17.

maintain a harmonious equilibrium. The "Zhong yong" uses the musical terminology of "harmony" (*he* 和) and "hitting the proper rhythm" (*zhong jie* 中節) to describe the "attained way of the world," implying that perfect moral balance and social order is akin to a musical performance in which the "five tones" are in harmonious agreement and each comes into play at the proper time in accord with a unifying rhythm. If the ruler can embody such moral harmony in his own conduct, society will respond in lock-step, so that all of its disparate members will play their roles and perform their duties in harmonious and regulated balance, just as Heaven and Earth complement and fulfill each other and the four seasons alternate with rhythmic reliability.

"Wu xing" likewise speaks of the "Way of Heaven," or "virtuosity," as one in which the five conducts act in "harmonious concert" (德之行五，和謂之德). And in phrases that would later be used by Meng Zi to describe Confucius himself, the "timely of sages" (聖之時者), "Wu xing" employs other musical terms to describe a state of moral cultivation in which all these various conducts operate together in harmonious and timely accord:

> 唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之 (strip 20)
>
> 君子集大成 (strip 42)
>
> Only one with virtuosity can [possess] the tones of bronze and [instill] them [with] the resonance of jade.
>
> The noble man "assembles the great symphony."

"Assembling the great symphony" refers to the idea of achieving a harmonious and rhythmic balance among the potentially conflicting standards of morality, just as the text elsewhere describes the noble man as one in whom "the five conducts all take shape from within" and who "puts them into practice in a timely manner" (*shi xing zhi* 時行之) (strips 6-7), where all the conducts "hit the proper rhythm," as it were. Some situations call for one to act with compassionate humanity, others with resolute propriety, and so on, and only the noble man is able to so effortlessly find the groove in every circumstance, to act in accord with the overall balance of moral dictates. Once he fully cultivates the "Way of Heaven" within himself, he finally achieves a state wherein he possess something akin to both the resounding power of bronze bells and the lasting resonance of jade chimestones, with all the virtues operating together as a singular musical whole, in perfect harmony and rhythm from beginning to end, with a resonant force that compels society at large to harmoniously respond in concert with it. Such a state matches the "Way of Heaven" in that the virtues of humanity and propriety, the

duties of sons and ministers, and so forth all achieve balance as a unified whole, just as the celestial bodies and four seasons succeed each other in the unitary movement of the cosmos, like one great musical composition bringing together disparate tones, instruments, and dancers in a seamless melodious progression along the flow of a unifying rhythm, and carrying its participant audience along with it, though they be unaware of all the competing tensions that are resolved within its makeup. Not all the Guodian texts may speak to music so directly, nor do any of them describe the portrait of cosmic harmony, "Heaven's way," so vividly as would texts like the "Zhong yong" or *Yue ji,* but most of them point to the ideal of "musical" accomplishment in one or more of the ways described above, and all give us the sense that we inherently possess at least the capacity, if not necessarily the innate tendency, to achieve such a state of harmonious accord with "Heavenly virtue," both within our individual selves and throughout society as a whole.

F. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The foregoing discussion will have served, hopefully, to demonstrate how the Guodian texts can and should be read with and against each other, how, at least among those texts that we can with justification speak of as "Confucian," or "Ruist," there are common areas of overlap in both terminology and content that go well beyond what we might expect of those among Confucian texts more generally. It is now time, however, to let each of the texts speak for itself. By concentrating on the similarities we risk overlooking the differences, and each of these texts has its own unique insights to offer us. For instance, while "Wu xing" and "Xing zi ming chu" certainly share some affinities, they also have some obvious differences in emphasis that deserve further discussion. The notion of fate that appears in such texts as "Qiongda yi shi" and "Tang Yu zhi dao" is another key topic that we have hardly touched upon thus far, and we have not even brought up yet the crucial subject of abdication that is the hallmark of the latter text. "Taiyi sheng shui" is a wholly different animal altogether, one which promises to reveal much about both early cosmological thinking and perhaps even the nature of textual formation, and the texts with received counterparts, such as "Ziyi" or the "Laozi" bundles, will have especially great bearing upon the latter issue. We will have occasion to discuss, at least in broad outline, many such topics in the introductions to each individual text below. But the primary focus will remain on the translations to the texts themselves, which I make every effort to render with all the accuracy possible given the countless ambiguities and multivalent possibilities that they present at every turn. The aim

here is to provide a manageable basis for further study, by presenting both the main issues of scholarly attention or controversy centering on each text, and, most importantly, a readable translation that is yet fully annotated, with concise summaries of all the various interpretations and readings of the often-problematic graphs that make up each line found within the texts.

An Overview of Prior Scholarship

I am, of course, both aided and burdened in this task by a veritable horde of scholarship that has steadily accumulated since the Guodian manuscripts were first published well over a dozen years ago. This body of literature is far too vast to thoroughly summarize here, but I will attempt to at least characterize some of the major sources for secondary literature on the subject, beginning with Chinese sources. We may roughly divide articles on the Guodian manuscripts into those discussing its philosophical aspects or intellectual-historical implications, and those that concentrate on the more technical matters of paleographical analysis, the readings of individual lines and passages, strip reorderings, and the like. The former have appeared in a wide variety of journals, but concentrations of these articles may be found in specific editions of such periodicals as *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究, *Zhongguo zhexueshi* 中國哲學史, and *Wuhan daxue xuebao* 武漢大學學報. Many of the more important early articles (of all sorts, but with heavy emphasis on the seminal writings of Pang Pu and Li Xueqin) were selected for inclusion in volumes 20 and 21 of *Zhongguo zhexue* 中國哲學, respectively entitled *Guodian Chujian yanjiu* and *Guodian jian yu ruxue yanjiu*; articles relating to the "Daoist" texts specifically were incorporated into volume 17 of *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* (ed. Chen Guying); and, more recently, such compilations as *Chudi (chutu) jianbo (wenxian) sixiang yanjiu* (ed. Ding Sixin, four volumes so far) have continued to bring philosophically focused articles together. Other influential collections, including a wide range of both philosophical and technical articles, appear as conference volumes from major international symposia, including *Guodian Chujian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Wuhan University conference of October, 1999), *Xinchu Chujian yu ruxue sixiang guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (2 vols.; Beijing Qinghua University conference of March–April, 2002), and *Gumu xinzhi: jinian Guodian Chujian chutu shizhounian lunwen zhuanji* (Jingmen conference of December, 2003), among others. More recently, volumes concentrating specifically on the "Si-Meng" lineage have begun to make an appearance, such as *Sixiang, wenxian, lishi: Si-Meng xuepai xintan* and *Rujia Si-Meng xuepai lunji*.

Articles on the paleographic and other technical aspects of the texts may be found in particular editions of such journals/periodicals as *Huaxue* 華學, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究, and *Zhongguo wenzi* 中國文字. Also important are the two informally published volumes of *Qinghua jianbo yanjiu* (ed. Liao Mingchun); and such collections as *Guwenzi yu guwenxian (shikan hao)* (Taibei), and, especially, *Jianbo yanjiu 2001* (and subsequent volumes) (ed. Li Xueqin and Xie Guihua). This by no means exhausts the list, but it does account for a large percentage of major articles on the Guodian texts, many of which were also published separately in other journals. Of great relevance also are articles on the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, especially those of volume one that overlap with the Guodian materials—on which a number of important articles may be found in the compilation *Shangboguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu yanjiu*.

For book-length works in Chinese of singular authorship, these may be divided into monographs or collections of articles devoted to the Guodian texts more generally; works devoted to the analysis and/or annotation of a particular text or set of texts; and annotated editions and/or studies of either the entire corpus of Guodian manuscripts, or at least a significant subset thereof. In the first category, we have the books or collections of such authors as Guo Yi, Ding Sixin, Pang Pu, Liao Mingchun, Wang Bo, Liang Tao, and even the present author; others have since published works on Chu manuscripts more generally, many including chapters on texts from both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum corpuses. In the second category, there have long since been several volumes devoted exclusively to the "Laozi" manuscripts alone (usually including "Taiyi sheng shui"), counting those of Peng Hao, Liu Xinfang, Ding Yuanzhi, Wei Qipeng, Li Ruohui, Chen Xiyong, and, more exhaustively, Liao Mingchun; Liu Xiaogan has also published a two-volume study of *Laozi* editions that draws heavily on the Guodian manuscripts, and, over just the last two years, Ding Sixin and Peng Yushang/Wu Yiqiang have even expanded upon Liao's work with "comparative annotations" and "collected explanations" editions of their own. Liu Xinfang, Pang Pu, and Wei Qipeng have also each written book-length studies/annotations of "Wu xing," expanding on their previous studies of the Mawangdui version of the text, and Chen Lai has more recently published his own volume of articles also devoted, in part, to "Wu xing." And two book-length studies of "Xing zi ming chu" have appeared as well: a concise, yet excellent volume by Li Tianhong; and a solid and thorough, yet exceptionally verbose and largely derivative study by Ding Yuanzhi.

Works of the third category deserve separate mention. The starting point for all these works is, of course, the Wenwu chubanshe volume *Guodian Chumu zhujian* itself, the volume in which the manuscripts were first published and of which much has already been said in this introduction. Shortly over a year later, Li Ling came out with his own complete

version of a transcription and notes for the manuscripts (with many revised orderings for the larger blocks of strips), the important and highly influential "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," published in volume 17 of *Daojia wenhua yanjiu*. Two and a half years later, Li would publish in book form a revised and expanded version (*zengdingben*) of the work (now in its second printing), where he has occasion to update and elaborate on certain readings; while this has till recently stood as the major alternate edition of the Guodian texts, Li did not revise nearly as much as he should have, hanging onto most (though not all) of his original ideas and thus failing to incorporate many of the improvements in readings and strip reorderings since contributed by other scholars. In the same year, Li Ling also published his *Shangbo Chujian sanpian jiaoduji*, a work important to us for providing an improved transcription of the Shanghai Museum manuscript versions of "Ziyi" and "Xingqing lun" ("Xing zi ming chu") (see also Ji Xusheng's contribution, Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi) *duben*). Subsequent to the initial version of Li's work, Liao Mingchun produced a set of annotations for several key texts, marked by a relatively thorough review of prior scholarship; many of these may be found in volume one of *Qinghua jianbo yanjiu*. The next few attempts at new annotations of at least a major subset of the Guodian manuscripts were by scholars less knowledgeable in paleography. Ding Yuanzhi's *Guodian Chujian rujia yiji sizhong shixi* provides a useful set of transcriptions and notes that incorporate a reasonable amount of prior scholarship, but it is limited to the four texts of identical dimensions: "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Liu de," and "Xing zi ming chu"—and written at a time prior to the recognition of better strip orderings for the first two. By contrast, *Guodian Chujian xian-Qin Rujia yishu jiaoshi*, by Tu Zongliu and Liu Zuxin, attempts to cover all the Confucian texts of the corpus; frankly put, however, this is a work high on imagination and low on textual evidence, and its creative reinterpretations of the passages only rarely yield any real new insight into the manuscripts. Somewhat better are the textual annotations found in Guo Yi's *Guodian zhujian xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, though these are limited to only a few of the manuscripts: the "Laozi" and "Taiyi sheng shui," "Wu xing," "Cheng zhi," and "Xing zi ming chu." Of great value in all respects is Chen Wei's *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, a work incorporating many of Chen's previous articles to offer newly (though not exhaustively) annotated transcriptions of many of the Guodian texts, and selected annotations on the rest, along with a discussion of the rationale behind some of Chen's proposed reorderings of the strips. Chen's work is full of interesting insights and breakthroughs in interpretation, both paleographic and contextual, and stands along Li's work as a must-read for those undertaking serious study of these texts. In the same light, we should also mention the work of such scholars as Zhou Fengwu, who have provided influential annotations for more than a couple of the Guodian texts, but which appear only as individual articles in periodicals or other

collections. Until recently, the most accurate complete read of the Guodian texts was to be found in Liu Zhao's *Guodian Chujian jiaoshi*, published at the end of 2003. From both a paleographic and common-textual-sense perspective, Liu does—to my mind—an excellent job of selecting and incorporating into his transcription the best of interpretations and readings put forth by prior scholarship (including his own incisive findings); the major drawback with this book, however, is that due to time constraints, Liu chose a format whereby he does not actually cite any of the sources from which these interpretations and readings derive, which thus limits its usefulness as an academic work.

In 2009, all of these works were supplanted, as possible resources of first reference, by *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance (shisi zhong)*, undertaken under the chief editorship of Chen Wei. The work provides up-to-date transcriptions and notes for a variety of manuscript collections from the Chu region; these include chapters for all of the separate Guodian manuscripts, for which the industrious and expert scholars Li Tianhong and Peng Hao split most of the work.[388] The notes are relatively comprehensive, and the format is in some ways like that of the present study, erring on the side of inclusivity and presenting the conclusions of prior scholarship with a minimum of reiteration. This work proved extremely useful as a resource for the final check on my own translation notes, occasionally alerting me to studies I may have missed, including those in certain obscure publications and the occasional online article of import. If there is a drawback to this work, it is that the authors do not offer much new in the way of their own interpretations, and while Chen Wei is to be applauded for not imposing the stamp of his own, sometimes radical reordering of strips, the work is perhaps too overly conservative in the other direction, for the most part following one or another of the earlier proposals for the strip ordering of any given manuscript (often that of Li Ling), without attempting to incorporate any of the more recent compelling proposals (including some of Chen's) into the mix (though it does duly make note of such proposals). And just within the past year, this work was itself superseded by its own partial successor, *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji (yi): Guodian Chumu zhushu*, an updated version of the Guodian portion of the prior work, published now as its own separate (and quite handsome) volume, replete with full photographs of all the strips—certainly now the most comprehensive and authoritative edition of the Guodian manuscripts to date. The transcriptions appear to remain

[388] Work on this volume began in 2002, with the preparatory steps of photograph collection and data compilation; the research and writing phase began in 2004 and was basically finished by the summer of 2007. Li Tianhong was responsible for "Tang Yu zhi dao," "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," "Xing zi ming chu," "Liu de," and "Yucong" 1-3; and Peng Hao handled "Laozi" A-C, "Taiyi sheng shui," "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," "Qiongda yi shi," "Wu xing," and "Zhongxin zhi dao." These two scholars were also joined by Liu Zuxin, who undertook "Ziyi," and Long Yongfang, who handled "Yucong 4."

unchanged from the work's prior instantiation, but the authors have expanded their notes somewhat, mostly to include brief excerpts of some of the more interpretive comments of prior scholars rather than just limiting themselves to the most basic points of graphic interpretation and reading.[389] Finally, we must mention two further collaborative efforts that are still in preparation. The first is a generously annotated edition of the Guodian manuscripts that may in some ways prove to be the best yet, put together by a team of five of China's top paleographers and experts on excavated texts: Qiu Xigui, Li Jiahao, Chen Jian, Shen Pei, and Zhang Fuhai—scholars who have each already written a number of important articles on the Guodian manuscripts (and it was Qiu, of course, who contributed heavily to the final transcription and annotations of the initial Wenwu volume).[390] While I have yet to see all the fruits of this labor, Chen Jian did share with me, just prior to the final submission of my own manuscript, copies of the three chapters for which he is responsible, giving me a sense of what a careful and thorough edition their work promises to yield, and the scholarly community should await this work with great anticipation.[391] Second, a promising edition of somewhat different emphasis is being put together by a team of scholars under the direction of Liu Xiaogan, Zheng Jixiong, and Liang Tao. This edition, while also striving to be authoritative, aims to be something more along the lines of a convenient and informative reader and, along with the transcriptions and notes, will include individual introductions, translations into modern Chinese, and concise sections of discussion that devote more attention than prior editions to analyzing the texts and placing them within their

[389] Unfortunately, the work did not reach me in time to make my way through any but the last few sets of transcription notes (from "Xing zi ming chu" onward); in most cases, however, any new information to be gleaned from the updated notes was quite limited. Note that due to a computer glitch, a number of specially created graphs in the first printing of this book were mapped incorrectly (such as the graph for 彷); this has since been corrected, and a generous recall of the books was even offered.

[390] For an introduction to the project given way back in 2004, see Qiu Xigui, "Beijing daxue Zhongguo guwenxian yanjiu zhongxin Guodian Chumu zhujian yanjiu xiangmu jieshao." Back when work on this project first began, all these scholars were still at Beijing University; Zhang Fuhai was still a graduate student and, as Qiu mentions, Ma Yuehua 馬月華, another recent graduate, also participated in some of the initial work. Qiu had actually stated that the work would likely be finished by the end of 2004. The main reason that it has to this day yet to see print is because of the movement of some of these scholars (including Qiu) to Fudan University and their subsequent involvement with an even more complicated project with a more pressing timeline: a new complete edition of the Mawangdui manuscripts, which will hopefully come out within the coming year.

[391] Chen is responsible for "Cheng zhi," "Zun deyi," and "Yucong 4." I was able to quickly read through his notes to these manuscripts and have added to my own translation footnotes several citations of his insights and unique readings.

philosophical and intellectual-historical contexts.[392] This reader will not be limited to the Guodian texts, but will instead provide a selection of philosophically significant texts from both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum collections.

Before leaving the subject of Chinese scholarship, we should not fail to mention some of the more important reference works directly related to these manuscripts. These include, first, the two major compendia of Guodian graphs: *Guodian Chujian wenzibian*, compiled by Zhang Shouzhong, and *Guodian Chujian yanjiu: diyi juan wenzi bian*, by Cheung Kwong-yue (Zhang Guangyu) et al.; the latter, especially, is an indispensable source for the study and comparison of the Guodian graphs.[393] No less important are the works of Li Shoukui: his *Chu wen zi bian*, the first collection of Chu graphs (subsequent to Teng Rensheng's *Chuxi jianbo wenzi bian*) to incorporate Guodian materials; and, most recently, his co-edited *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi—wu) wenzibian*, which naturally gives us the most up-to-date analysis of all the Chu graphs that occur in those manuscripts. More recently, Bai Yulan has published his *Jiandu boshu tongjiazi zidian*, which, despite its more general name, concentrates almost exclusively on loangraphs occurring in Chu manuscripts, giving us an excellent direct source of evidence for the range of loan possibilities presented in any given Chu text. Finally, there is certainly no resource more convenient for the comparison of Chu graphic forms than the online resource *Zhongguo gudai jianbo zixing, cili shujuku* 中國古代簡帛字形、辭例數據庫, a searchable database of graphic forms and usage examples maintained by the *Jianbo* 簡帛 website of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University 武漢大學簡帛研究中心.[394]

There is also a less voluminous but still substantial body of Japanese scholarship, which can be roughly characterized as divided between the contending academic camps (in the study of early Chinese excavated texts) of Eastern (Tokyo) and Western (Osaka) Japan, with some recent contributions coming out of Kyoto. In addition to giving us a number of articles, the Tokyo group, led by the figure of Ikeda Tomohisa, has been producing (and still is)

[392] As I understand it, however, the team of scholars contributing to this volume will also include a couple of notable paleographers, such as Zhou Fengwu and Shen Pei. The work will also include a contribution by the present author, on "Zun deyi."

[393] In a number of cases, Cheung et al.'s interpretations and readings of graphs differ from those given in *Guodian Chumu zhujian*; most of these are also listed separately in Cheung's introduction to the book. Cheung has more recently also published a short article listing graphs and readings that should be revised in light of scholarly findings that have come to light since the publication of their book; see his "*Guodian Chujian yanjiu* diyi juan *wenzibian* jiaobu."

[394] This may be found at http://www.bsm-whu.org/zxcl/. The database was developed in conjunction with Shan Zhouyao 單周堯 of the University of Hong Kong.

meticulously annotated versions of the Guodian manuscripts, appearing under two separate series entitled *Kakuten Sokan no shisōshiteki kenkyū* and *Kakuten Sokan no kenkyū*. The former series contains both annotations and translations of specific texts (some by individuals; others by teams) and scholarly articles; revised versions of many of these were later incorporated into a 2003 book (edited by Ikeda) under the title *Kakuten sokan jukyō kenkyū*.[395] The latter consists more exclusively of team annotations and translations, wherein individual (or pairs of) annotators each take up a different section of the same text. While the readings discussed in these annotations do not often go beyond the scope of those of their Chinese counterparts, they do occasionally yield new insights, and the annotations are in any case remarkable in their thoroughness, in some cases citing full textual references for almost every early occurrence of each key term from the texts as it appears in the received corpus of literature. The Osaka camp, led by the figure of Asano Yūichi, has produced more scholarship on the Shanghai Museum manuscripts than it has on the Guodian texts, but still boasts of a number of noteworthy articles found in such publications as *Chūgoku kenkyū shūkan*; several books by scholars of this camp, such as Asano, Fukuda Tetsuyuki, and Yuasa Kunihiro, have been published by Wanjuanlou Press, translated into Chinese by Satō Masayuki (a collection of Ikeda's articles on Chu bamboo manuscripts has also been published in Chinese, translated by Cao Feng). Finally, a series of textual studies on the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts has more recently been published under the title of *Yue gu*, put together under the leadership of Asahara Tatsurō of Kyoto University. These latter studies, insightful at times, concentrate more on certain problematic graphs, readings, and technical issues (including strip order), rather than attempting more comprehensive annotations of the texts in question.

In English, I am preceded first and foremost by the finely edited volume of proceedings on the May 1998 Dartmouth conference on *The Guodian* Laozi, put together by Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams. This volume includes seminal essays by both Chinese and Western scholars on a variety of topics: from Chu culture, to overviews of the Guodian excavation, to issues of transcription and analysis of the manuscripts, to theories of textual formation related to the "Laozi" texts specifically; it also includes a thorough account of the conference discussions along with some additional notes and materials. Given its relatively comprehensive nature (despite the focus on the "Laozi" and "Taiyi sheng shui" materials), it should come as no surprise that many of the issues we have discussed in this introduction

[395] Ikeda also has his own influential study of the Guodian "Laozi" texts, published separately in 1999 as *Kakuten sokan Rōshi kenkyū*; he is also responsible for the "Wu xing" annotated translation published early on in the former series. Note that parallel series have subsequently appeared for the Shanghai Museum manuscripts.

have already been touched upon, in one form or another, in this important and groundbreaking volume.

A few other books bear special mention here, each of which contains a full translation of at least one of the Guodian texts. First, Edward L. Shaughnessy's *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* is a major study in many respects, in particular for the many insights it brings upon the formation of early Chinese texts, their relative degree of stability, and the nature of changes that were introduced into them during the early stages of their transmission; Shaughnessy also provides us, in his second chapter, with a detailed study and full, annotated translation of the "Ziyi" manuscript(s). Second, Mark Csikszentmihalyi's *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* undertakes a detailed analysis of the "Wu xing" text—along with the *Mengzi* and a host of other sorts of excavated materials—and its place in the development of Ruist thought of the Warring States period; he also provides full, annotated translations of not only the Guodian "Wu xing," but of the Mawangdui "Wu xing" text and commentary as well. The excellent translations of these two scholars provided me with a useful resource against which to check my own, and, every now and then, a different way from all previous commentators of understanding a particular passage, alternative readings which I take due note of in my own translations.[396] Next, of course, is Robert Henricks's *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching: *A Translation of the Startling New Documents Found at Guodian*, which came out way back in 2000. Henricks's "Laozi" translations are in every respect first-rate, and my own interpretive choices turn out to differ from his only on occasion, so were it not for the sake of completeness, I could perhaps have dispensed with the trouble of reduplicating his efforts. Nonetheless, a thorough study of these manuscripts requires a comprehensive examination, and my own annotations may also serve to present some of the ideas and findings put forward during the dozen years that have now passed since the publication of that work. Two further books have appeared since the present manuscript was first submitted for review back in 2009. The first is Kenneth Holloway's *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*, which focuses primarily on the "Wu xing" manuscript, and secondarily also on "Tang Yu zhi dao" and the "Laozi"/"Taiyi sheng shui" texts.[397] The second, published just earlier this year, is Dirk Meyer's cogent and thought-provoking *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*. Meyer's book

[396] While my own translations of these two texts were first completed before the publications of these two works, I am grateful to Edward Shaughnessy for providing me with an earlier draft of his "Ziyi" translation, created for a workshop on the Guodian texts which he hosted not long after their initial publication.

[397] Holloway now has a second book, focusing on "Xing zi ming chu," slated to be published around the same time as the present work, entitled *The Quest for Ecstatic Morality in Early China* (Oxford University Press).

concentrates especially on the formal analysis of a subset of the Guodian texts, highlighting certain structural qualities of composition that have often gone neglected in prior studies, and drawing our attention to the ways in which form itself may generate meaning in those texts.

Finally, a number of articles have appeared in English dealing directly or indirectly with the Guodian texts, ranging from those that place them, or key ideas therein, within the larger Warring States intellectual-historical or religious-philosophical context; to those examining the more technical issues of graphic variants and loans, textual formation, the comparison of "Laozi" editions, and the like—including those by such scholars as Attilio Andreini, Sarah Allan, William Boltz, Erica Brindley, Annping Chin, Carine Defoort, Paul Goldin, Donald Harper, Martin Kern, Liu Xiaogan, Dirk Meyer, Yuri Pines, Michael Puett, Matthias Richter, Edward Shaughnessy, Edward Slingerland, Rudolph Wagner, and Susan Weld, just to name a few.[398] In addition to providing unique insights into all different aspects of these texts, many of these articles also contain full or partial translations of key passages or, occasionally, even entire texts (such as "Taiyi sheng shui"), as I will make note of in the translations and/or individual introductions below. Several important English-language articles on excavated texts, including a few on the Guodian manuscripts specifically, may also be found in *Confucianism Resurrected: The Third International Conference on Excavated Chinese Manuscripts*, the proceedings of a conference held at Mount Holyoke College in April, 2004.[399]

The present study owes a debt to all these works, particularly those published (or otherwise distributed to me) prior to 2003–2004, when the bulk of my translations were first undertaken; needless to say, I have continued to absorb and incorporate the many new findings of scholarship that has appeared since that time, a process necessitating the continuous refinement and revision of my translations. My own work on the Guodian texts dates back to the time of their initial publication in 1998, with my own contributions in the form of articles beginning to see print by the end of the following year. While I have done by

[398] In addition, a number of important articles included in *Guodian Chujian yanjiu* have been translated into English in *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, vols. 32.1 and 32.2; unfortunately, this journal has proven difficult to attain, and I have been unable to track down a copy. "Xing zi ming chu" has recently become a focal point of study, and a number of new articles on that text alone have appeared over the past two or three years, by Franklin Perkins, Shirley Chan, and others. We should also note that some of the research by the aforementioned scholars has also been incorporated, to one degree or another, into monographs of various sorts—most substantially, perhaps, Yuri Pines's *Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era*.

[399] A number of the articles from this conference have since been published as *Rethinking Confucianism: Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Excavated Chinese Manuscripts Mount Holyoke College April 2004*.

best not to duplicate too much of my earlier work here, it obviously informs this more comprehensive study in many ways. In terms, however, of that portion which specifically deals with the more technical issues of interpretation, in more than a few cases I have simply chosen to cite my own earlier ideas, alongside those of others, as just one more alternate theory to be considered, while, in hindsight, adopting a different reading altogether in the translation itself. While the present work invariably bears something of my own imprint, my hope is that this study and translation will also have served to embody, reflect, and organize the vast amount of scholarly efforts that have been exhausted upon this incalculably important set of manuscripts, and that this publication may, in turn, serve as a useful source for much of the future work on them that still remains to be done.

| ILLUSTRATIONS |
of
strips and artifacts from
Guodian Tomb Number One



Figure 1 兩件鳩杖首
Pair of staff finials with pigeon decor, from Guodian Tomb Number One. Photograph courtesy of Jingmen City Museum.



Figure 2 龍首玉帶鉤
Jade belt hook with dragon heads, from Guodian Tomb Number One.
Photograph courtesy of Jingmen City Museum.

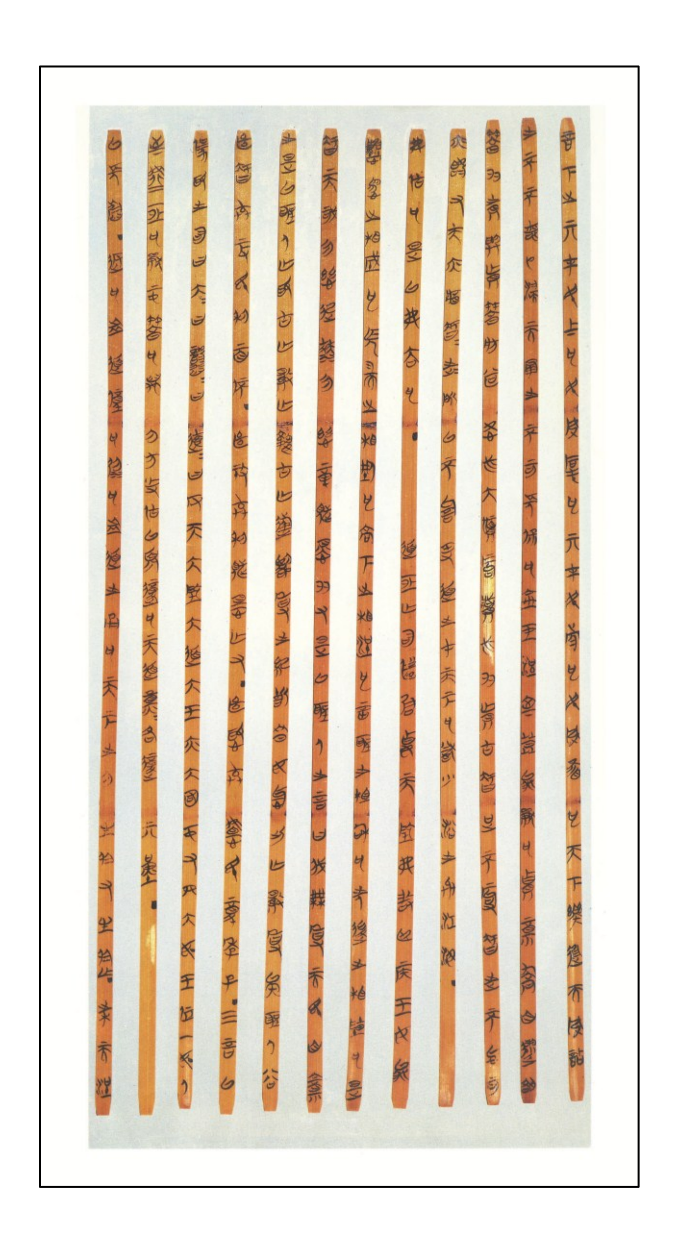


Figure 3 《老子甲》竹簡
Selection of strips from “Laozi A” (unordered). Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.



Figure 4 《老子丙》、《太一生水》竹簡
Selection of strips from "Laozi C"/"Taiyi sheng shui" (unordered). Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.

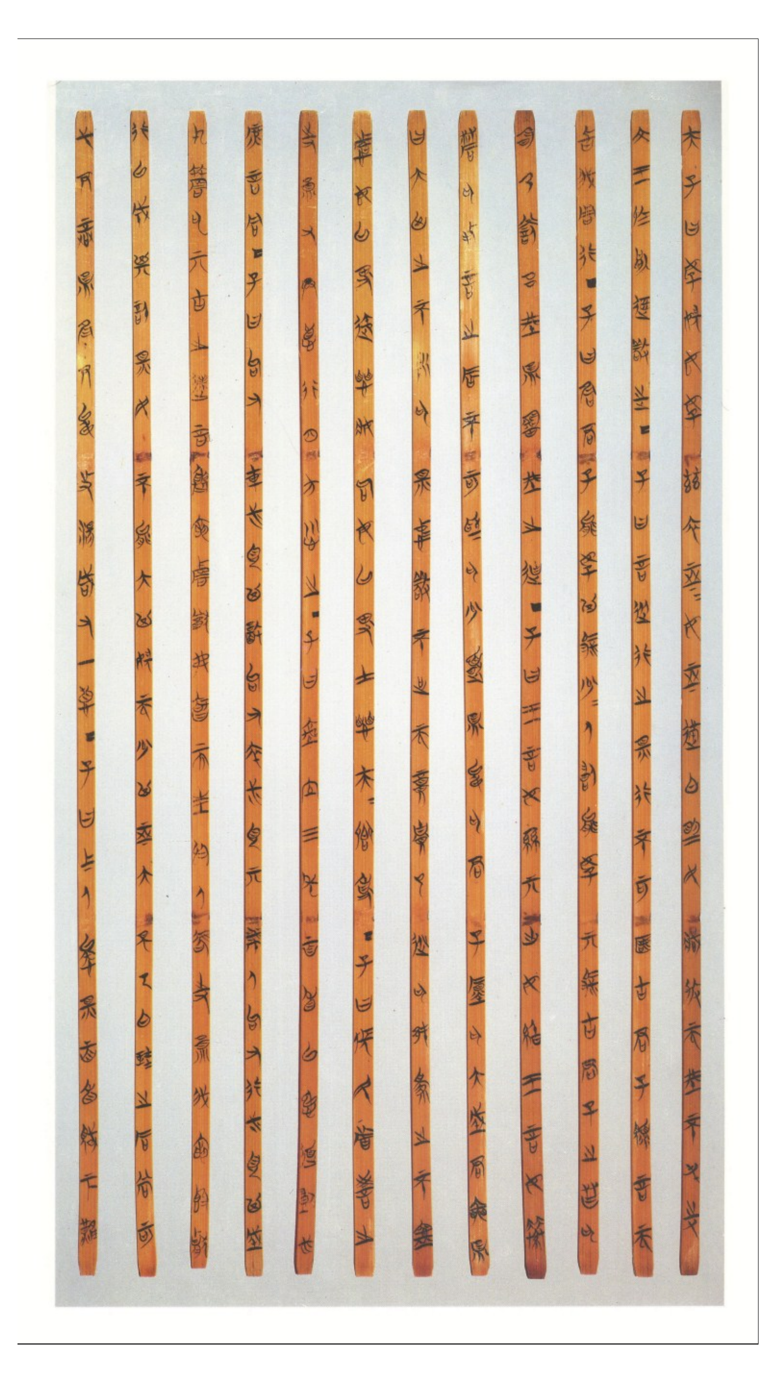


Figure 5 《緇衣》竹簡
Selection of strips from "Ziyi" (unordered). Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.

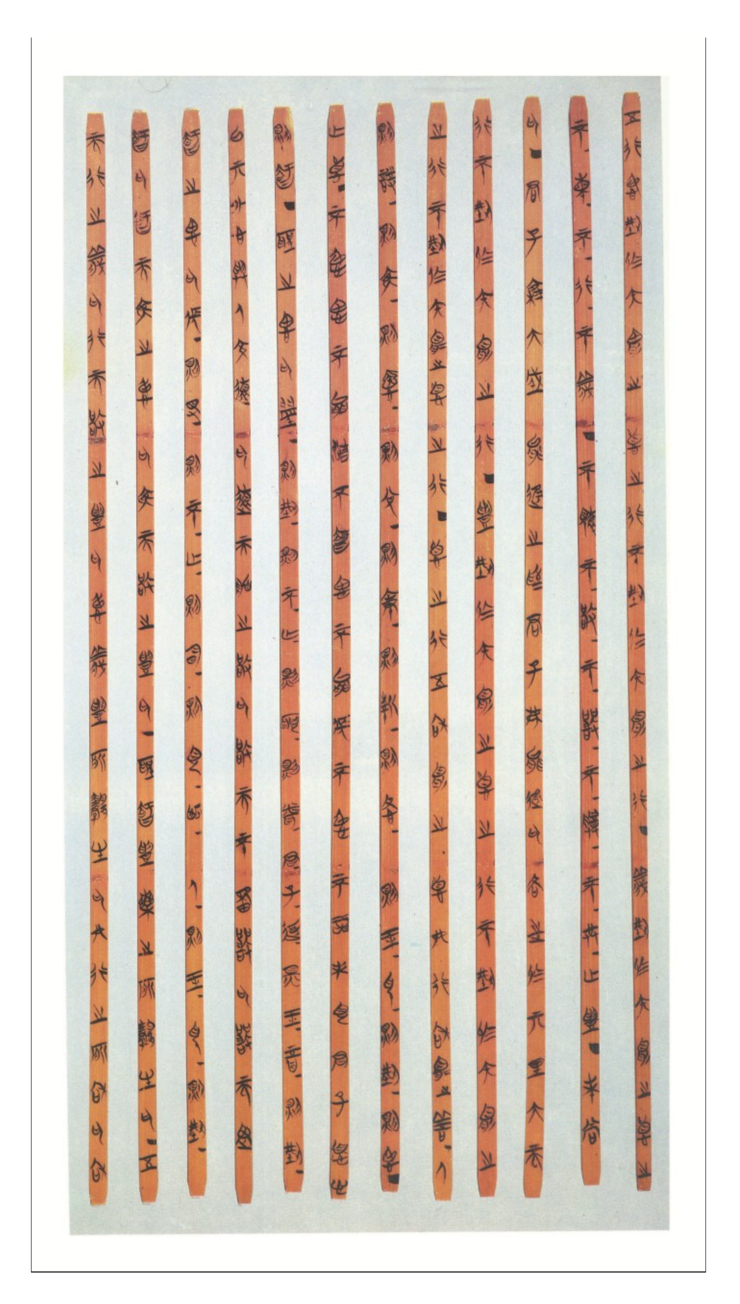


Figure 6 《五行》竹簡
Selection of strips from “Wu xing” (unordered). Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.



Figure 7 《語叢一》竹簡
"Yucong 1" strips 1-12. Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.



Figure 8 《尊德義》竹簡
"Zun deyi" strips 18-23, upper portions. Reproduced courtesy of Jingmen City Museum and Wenwu Press.

Part Two

| TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS |

| Transcription and Translation Conventions |

In what follows below, the Chinese text assumes the transcriptions and readings of *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 as its base.[1] Wherever I have adopted a different rendering or reading of any graph, I will note that work's original rendering/reading in the footnotes; otherwise the transcription may generally be assumed to conform to what is found in the main text of that work. It should be noted, however, that the transcription here initially derives more directly from the electronic version of Cheung Kwong-yue (Zhang Guangyu) 張光裕 et al.'s transcription from their *Guodian Chujian yanjiu: diyi juan wenzi bian* 郭店楚簡研究・第一卷文字編 (which is itself in turn largely based on *Guodian Chumu zhujian*), though I have altered the renderings in a number of cases to conform with the findings of later scholars; the readings adopted here will, of course, often vary significantly from those suggested in the original work. With some exceptions, the conventions for the transcriptions here largely follow those employed in the above two works, as follows.

The title for each text is the same as that given to it by the *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors, except that "Cheng zhi wen zhi" 成之聞之 has been shortened to "Cheng zhi" 成之. The original strip numbers within each text are indicated by Arabic numerals in parentheses immediately following the text of each strip; even where I have adopted a different order, I do not renumber the strips. Large sections of text written contiguously on strips and which unambiguously belong together are placed together under headings indicating that block of strips (e.g., "Strips 4-6"),[2] but such groupings are sometimes subdivided into paragraphs based on natural breaks in content, or where a passage marker on the original strip suggests such a break; if the connection between strips is tentative, I place them into separate groups

[1] This base does not include, per se, Qiu Xigui's suggested emendations to the transcription ("Qiu anyu" 裘按語), as these are noted separately in the footnotes as "QXG 98.5."

[2] The term "block of text" refers to text that can be read continuously from strip to strip with confidence, generally up until where the end of a sentence or passage corresponds with the conjunction of two strips, in such a way that the next strip of the original sequence cannot be determined with any certainty.

on the page, even where the translation may suggest that I am treating them as a connected whole. In most of the texts with received or excavated counterparts, which thus lack (for the most part) ambiguity in strip order, I do not provide strip-number headings, but rather number the passages in order either on the basis of clear and (more or less) consistent passage markers (as with "Wu xing" and "Ziyi"); or, in some cases, in comparison with the received passage divisions (as with the "Laozi" texts), indicating in each case the equivalent received passage number(s) in parentheses (in the form of "R #"). Following the example of *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, I omit all repetition and combined-graph markers and simply write out the intended characters wherever that intention is obvious, but I retain them in all doubtful cases, or wherever there is some other reason to do so, and discuss such cases in the notes. I similarly omit all obvious line markers, but retain all markers that would seem to indicate divisions between passages or sections, or the end of a text, regardless of their shape or size. Those thus retained will be marked in the transcription with symbols that correspond to the different shapes found on the original strips; for a key to these symbols and the most common usages for each type of marker, refer to the subsection on "Markers for punctuation, division, combination, repetition, and insertion" in section C of the general introduction.[3] For rhymed texts and passages, rhyme will be marked by formatting, such that the separate rhymes will be divided into separate paragraphs in the Chinese text with rhyme words placed at the end of lines; for the "Yucong 4," "Laozi," and "Zun deyi" passages where rhyming is present, the phonological rhyme group or interrhyming groups will be indicated by the Chinese characters traditionally used to stand for those groups placed in square brackets following the final lines of each rhymed stanza; the specific type of any interrhyming will also be indicated therein by the Chinese terms *heyun* 合韻 or *tongyun* 通韻 as defined by Wang Li.[4]

The readings (phonetic or graphic) that I adopt for each rendered graph will be indicated inside parentheses (（ ）) following it; such parentheses are occasionally also used to indicate character equivalencies. Proposed corrections for corrupt graphs will be enclosed in angled brackets (〈 〉) following the rendering of the original graph. Any lacunae in the text

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[3] These principles are also essentially the same as those followed by Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji." As Li notes, the original editors were somewhat inconsistent in marking the passage and section markers in the transcription; like Li Ling, I attempt to restore to it all such markers that have these functions.

[4] See Wang Li, *Shijing yundu*, pp. 28–36. As Wang describes it, *tongyun* basically refers to rhyming between words with the same main vowels but different types of (yet closely related) final endings (i.e., *duizhuan* 對轉 relationships), whereas *heyun* refers to those of similar yet different main vowels (i.e., *pangzhuan* 旁轉) or those with the same main vowels but with final endings of an altogether different category or which otherwise constitute what he terms a *tongzhuan* 通轉 relationship.

due to physical breaks in the strip or unreadability will be indicated in one of three ways: for text that can be reasonably inferred from context or parallel passages, that text will be supplied inside coarse brackets (【】) and indicated in the notes; for text that cannot be so inferred, an empty box (□) will be used for each graph when the number of such graphs can be estimated, but otherwise ellipses (⋯⋯) will be used. Graphs supplied for what I take to be accidental scribal omissions are supplied inside large square brackets (〔 〕) and indicated in the notes, while superfluous graphs are retained but placed inside braces ({ }). Within the translation, small square brackets ([ ]) are used to indicate words supplied for clarity that are assumed rather than expressed in the original Chinese.

Aside from addressing any necessary points of discussion, the footnotes will largely consist of brief entries on how various scholars "render," "read," or perhaps "interpret" the graph(s) in question. By "render," or *liding* 隸定, I refer to the process of transcribing the unfamiliar forms of the Chu script into their rough "equivalents" in the modern script, largely by translating each of the component parts and then reassembling them as given (e.g., rendering as 訢).[5] In some cases, the process also involves a simplification or removal of extra strokes or components when the relationship of the complex graph to a later standardized graph is well understood. By "read," *du* 讀, I refer to the act of determining in standard orthography the word that the graph thus rendered was likely intended to represent, based on phonetic considerations and attested loans (e.g., reading 訢 as 慎, or reading [illegible][寡] as 顧, etc.). The term "interpret" I reserve for such gray areas as where graphic equivalency is determined by factors that go beyond merely the translation or simplification of component parts (such as when 亙 is interpreted as 亟).

Given the unavoidable copiousness of these annotations, it is necessary to take certain shortcuts in the exposition of prior scholarship and my evaluation thereof. Studies will be referenced by the initials of the scholar(s) (surname first) who authored them,[6] followed by

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[5] Refer to the description of this process given in "Transcribing and interpreting the graphs" in section D of the general introduction.

[6] Chinese names of three syllables will have three letters (e.g., Li Xueqin is LXQ); Japanese and Western scholars will generally all have two (e.g., Ikeda Tomohisa is IT; Paul Goldin is GP). In some instances, exceptions to these rules may occur where a middle initial or some other modification is needed to avoid confusion. For example, William Boltz is BW, whereas William H. Baxter is BWH; I am CS, whereas Shirley Chan is ChS; Inokuchi Tetsuya is ITY, to distinguish him from Ikeda; Lü Hao is LH2, in distinction to Liu Huan's LH; and Mark Csikszentmihalyi is CsM, whereas Chen Ming is CM, and Cai Min, who is not referenced in the translation notes, is given no initials. Initials found in co-authored works do not necessarily correspond to the same initials found in works of single authorship; e.g., Ding Sixin and Liu Chen is DSX/LC, whereas LC alone is always Luo Chi.

the year and month of publication (or year and periodical issue number)[7] of the study as found in the bibliography; page numbers will not be cited except where the entry cannot otherwise be easily found. No *pinyin* romanization will generally be given for any of the graphs or terms cited in the notes, only characters. Most importantly, while I have evaluated each of the various readings and interpretations put forth in these studies based on the considerations discussed in the general introduction, I will not, except where necessary, attempt to duplicate the details of their arguments (even my own) or expressly evaluate them in the notes, and assume that interested readers will be able to locate the individual studies for themselves. In all cases, my determination of the most plausible arguments should be implicitly indicated by the readings I give in the parentheses of the transcription and my understanding of such readings as expressed in the English translation.[8]

The following abbreviations are used throughout the translation notes as described below. All other two- or three-letter abbreviations that are followed by year/month citation, referring to the studies of various scholars, may be found by looking next to those scholars' names in their first entries in the bibliography. For further abbreviations specific to the "Laozi" translations, refer to the introduction to the "Laozi" manuscripts.

GDCJ *Guodian Chujian* 郭店楚簡, where this refers to the version of the text in question itself as found on the strips of the Guodian manuscript

GDCMZJ *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, usually referring to renderings, readings, or notes (excluding those of Qiu Xigui) given by the editors (Peng Hao et al.) of that volume

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[7] For example, LXQ 02.1 refers to Li's article in a book with a January 2002 publication date, whereas LXQ 01.6 refers to Li's article in Issue 6 of a 2001 periodical. If the author has more than one publication from the same month, these are listed with "a," "b," etc. (e.g., LXQ 99.8a, 99.8b), though the "a" is occasionally omitted for the first article if it is frequently cited throughout (e.g., LL 99.8). If there is no publication month of record, no month is listed (e.g., LXQ 00). "PC" refers to information I obtained through "personal communication" with the author (e.g., LXQ (PC)). For ease of reference, these dates/numbers/etc. are each listed at the head of the publication's entry in the bibliography.

[8] Edmund Ryden proposes a rather different apparatus for presenting texts (in his case the "Laozi" texts) as read, without brackets or parentheses, along with a compact form of notation for all the various alternate readings and transcriptions that have been proposed. While Ryden's apparatus has the advantages of increased concision and affording better textual alignment of verse passages, I instead find the use of parentheses for adopted readings and variants to provide much more immediate information as the text is being read, and the use of succinct prose rather than symbols for all the proposed alternate interpretations to be much easier to follow. My use of abbreviations for the names of scholars, however, is similar to Ryden's. See his "Edition of the Bamboo-Slip *Laozi* A, B, and C, and *Tai Yi Sheng Shui* from Guodian Tomb Number One."

LJ *Li ji* 禮記, for the received "Ziyi" text as given therein, based on the *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition of the *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義

MWD Mawangdui 馬王堆, for the "Wu xing" or "Laozi" texts, where this refers to the Mawangdui silk-manuscript version of the text itself (as given in MWDHMBS)

MWDS Mawangdui "Wu xing" *shuo* 說, text of the MWD commentary to the "Wu xing" as found in MWDHMBS

MWDHMBS *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, vol. 1 (1980 ed.), usually referring to the renderings, readings, or notes given by the editors of that volume

QXG 98.5 Qiu Xigui's 裘錫圭 notes or suggested emendations as given in GDCMZJ

SBCJ *Shangbo Chujian* 上博楚簡, my abbreviation for the Shanghai Museum versions of "Ziyi," "Xing zi ming chu" ("Xingqing lun"), etc., where this refers to the texts themselves

SBCZCZS (1-8) *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, volumes 1–8, the editions in which the SBCJ are transcribed and published

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"LAOZI" JIA, YI, BING

"Laozi" A, B, and C

〈老子〉甲、乙、丙

There is probably no Chinese text more familiar to Western readers than the *Laozi*, or *Daodejing* 道德經 (*Classic of the Way and Virtue*), and few that have had as much lasting influence on the Chinese tradition itself. It is a work famous for its abstruse metaphysical descriptions of a nameless, formless, constantly reverting, and yet unalterable Dao, or Way, as "mother" of all the world; for its espousal of "emptiness," "tranquility," "spontaneity," "weakness," "withdrawal," and "acting to no purpose" as attributes of this Dao to be emulated by the aspiring sage; and for its suggestive claims that the ruler who embodies such principles will achieve longevity and true renown, leaving nothing left unaccomplished as all things in the world "transform of themselves." These are some of the enduring themes from the work that have continued to shape the Chinese philosophical tradition for over two millennia.

Prior to the Guodian discovery, however, the dating of this text has been a matter of great controversy. Tradition most commonly ascribes its authorship to the figure of "Lao Dan" 老聃, or Li Er 李耳, whom early texts portray as an elder contemporary of Confucius, which would place the composition of the work squarely within the latter half of the sixth century BC. While most modern scholars have doubted such attribution, there has been little agreement as to precisely where to place the temporal origins of the text, with some even going so far as to date the work, counter-intuitively, to after the time of Zhuang Zi 莊子 (ca. 365–285 BC).[1] The unearthing of two complete *Laozi* manuscripts at Mawangdui 馬王堆,

[1] These include such scholars as Qian Mu 錢穆 and A. C. Graham, but the debate goes back much farther. For brief accounts of the views of various past scholars on the dating of the *Laozi*, see Xu Hongxing, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* sanzhong: dui *Laozi* yi shu yanjiu de xin de zhongda faxian," pp. 397–401; Wang Zhongjiang, "Guodian zhujian 'Laozi' lüeshuo," pp. 103–4; Chen Guying, "Cong Guodian jianben kan Laozi shang ren shou zhong sixiang," pp. 65–67; and Robert Henricks, *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, pp. 1–3. A somewhat more thorough account is provided by Edward Shaughnessy, "The Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century

dating to the earliest years of the Han dynasty, did little to solve this controversy, demonstrating only that the work must have achieved something approaching its fixed form sometime prior to unification.[2] But now with the discovery at Guodian of three separate

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Historiography on the *Laozi*," pp. 418–44. Just prior to the publication of the Guodian manuscripts, William Baxter authored an article arguing, on phonological grounds involving rhyming, for a relatively traditional dating for the bulk of the *Laozi* to the early-to-mid fourth century BC; see his "Situating the Language of the *Lao-tzu*: the Probable Date of the *Tao-te-ching*." The question has also clearly involved the issue of single versus multiple authorship for the work. Zhang Dainian, for instance, one of the earliest defendants of single authorship, has recently reiterated his basic position while admitting that the work has been augmented by later additions, including perhaps those more critical of the virtues of *ren* and *yi*; see Wang Bo, "Zhang Dainian xiansheng tan Jingmen Guodian zhujian *Laozi*," p. 22.

[2] We have always been certain that the *Laozi* in some form had been around by the late Warring States, given the extensive quotation of it in the "Jie Lao" 解老 and "Yu Lao" 喻老 chapters of the *Han Feizi*, not to mention less direct quotations throughout the *Zhuangzi*, but Mawangdui shows us how two *complete* versions of the text had been transmitted into the earliest years of the Han. Given the respective absence or observance of the taboo on the character *bang* 邦, it appears that the Mawangdui A manuscript likely dated from before or during the reign of the Gaozu 高祖 Emperor Liu Bang 劉邦 (206–195 BC) and Mawangdui B from the reign of either Empress Lü 呂后 or Emperor Hui 惠帝 (194–80 BC). While the Mawangdui texts' ordering of the two major sections, traditionally labeled *de* 德 and *dao* 道, is the opposite of the received, all of the passages are present and only a few are found in different relative order (passages 24 and 80-81 all found in different locations, and the order of 40-41 reversed). The received order of the text would then appear to have been the norm by at least the time of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–87 BC), as the *Shi ji* alludes to the work's discussion of the "notions of *dao* and *de*" (*daode zhi yi* 道德之意); the larger sections of *dao* and *de* are, of course, not present in the Guodian texts. Cui Renyi, however, speculates that the larger sectional division of "Laozi A" might make it the direct forerunner of the *De-Daojing* with its two major divisions (cf. Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," p. 462). Cui also makes note of the relative distribution of passages in the three Guodian manuscripts across the *Dao* and *De* sections of the Mawangdui and received versions; i.e., a rough split of 10/9 (*dao*/*de*) for A, 2/8 for B, and 4/1 (excluding the "Taiyi" portions) for C, corresponding to what he sees as their different thematic emphases. For more on these issues, see Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 29 and 33; for a different view, see Li Ruohui, "Ping Gao Huaping xiansheng lun 'Laozi' sanben zhi xingzhi," pp. 214–16. Note that Cui himself employs a numbering opposite to that of *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, thus referring to "Laozi, jia" as "Laozi (C)," and "Laozi, bing" as "Laozi (A)"; here, however, I use letters corresponding to the numbering of the standard edition to refer to his intended texts. Finally, let us note here that another complete Western Han *Laozi* (speculatively dated to the reign of Emperor Wu 漢武帝, 141–87 BC) has recently been discovered as part of the so-called "Beijing University" bamboo manuscripts (*Beijing daxue cang Xi Han zhushu* 北京大學藏西漢竹書), first reported, in late 2009, to be similar in divisional structure to the Mawangdui manuscripts; needless to say, the publication of this manuscript will be awaited with great anticipation. For a preliminary introduction of the find, see Han Wei, "Beida Hanjian *Laozi* jianjie." According to Han's article, the manuscript was written on 223 bamboo strips, of which 218 survive more or less intact and another three in part, with only two strips missing entirely. The back of a strip in the last passage of the *de* section is labeled "Laozi shang jing" 老子上經, and the back of one in the final *dao*-section passage (R 81) is labeled "Laozi xia jing" 老子下經, thus indeed suggesting an arrangement along the lines of Mawangdui; as each passage is written on a self-contained unit of strips, however, the passage order within each section cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty, though evidence from diagonal lines scraped onto the backs of the strips suggests that the passage sequences may have been equivalent to those of the received versions. The estimated

"Laozi" bundles containing material which, added together, equates to roughly a third of the received *Daodejing* text,[3] we may now ascertain that at least a substantial *portion* of the latter almost certainly predated the composition of even the earliest *Zhuangzi* chapters.[4]

Nonetheless, the Guodian "Laozi" texts are far from the complete work known to later ages.[5] The three texts in question vary greatly in length and are written on bamboo strips of different dimensions: "Laozi A" on thirty-nine strips of roughly 32.3 cm in length, "Laozi B" on eighteen strips around 30.6 cm long, and "Laozi C" (excluding "Taiyi sheng shui") on only fourteen strips of 26.5 cm.[6] And though there is almost no duplication among the three,

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total character count of the complete manuscripts (5266) falls about 200 graphs short of the Mawangdui B total (5467), largely the result of a greater number of "empty" particles employed in the latter. Finally, Han notes that while there are a number of individual textual cases wherein the Beida version is closer to either the received versions or the Mawangdui versions, there are also a few instances in which it differs from both while instead conforming closely to that of Guodian.

[3] The figure has also been given as two-fifths, but as Qiu Xigui notes, this latter figure was arrived at by including both the "Taiyi sheng shui" and the duplicated passage corresponding to 64b; subtracting these out, the percentage becomes roughly one-third; see Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 26 n. 1. In all, the Guodian "Laozi" texts contain portions of thirty-one of the eighty-one received passages, and total to around 1,700 characters.

[4] Needless to say, this still leaves it an open possibility that the text (in some form) or the ideas behind it could have originated with a "Lao Dan" or some other person roughly contemporary with Confucius. Zhang Dainian, in fact, has come to hold this view in light of the Guodian discovery; see Wang Bo, "Zhang Dainian xiansheng tan Jingmen Guodian zhujian *Laozi*," pp. 22–23. Cui Renyi speculates that the three separate manuscripts may reflect the authorship of the three different "Laozi" individuals identified in the *Shi ji* 史記: Li Er (Lao Dan), Lao Lai Zi 老萊子, and Taishi Dan 太史儋; see his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 26–29. Guo Yi offers a similar sort of speculation, arguing that the Guodian "Laozi" texts as a whole were written by Lao Dan in the sixth century BC, and that the received (/Mawangdui) version, incorporating and expanding upon the former, was compiled by Taishi Dan in the early fourth century BC; see his "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an: jianji xian-Qin zhexue ruogan wenti," pp. 135–42. However, evidence for any specific claims of authorship for the *Laozi* is far too sketchy to give much credence to such attempts to so neatly connect archaeological evidence with historical legend. Nonetheless, Guo's theory has been uncritically accepted by some scholars; see, for instance, Liu Zeliang, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan xian-Qin ru-dao guanxi de yanbian," p. 10. And even those critical of it tend to still hold to the view of a Lao Dan authorship for the central core of the *Laozi*. See for example, Liu Xinfang, "Guodian jian 'shan shu zhe bu shuo' ji qi xiangguan wenti," pp. 39–43; and, especially, Gao Chenyang, who, in "Guodian Chujian *Laozi* de zhenxiang ji qi yu jinben *Laozi* de guanxi," pp. 77–80, otherwise attempts to discredit Guo's theory by noting instances of citation of non-Guodian *Laozi* passages found in works or attributed to figures dating prior to the early fourth century BC.

[5] As discussed in the general introduction, however, the Guodian "Laozi" texts are almost certainly complete in themselves—that is to say, there do not appear to be any missing strips. For more on this point, see also Guo Yi, "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," p. 131.

[6] Assuming the additional fourteen strips of "Taiyi sheng shui" were included in the "Laozi C" bundle, this would give that bundle a total of twenty-eight strips in all. As Peng Hao notes, the calligraphy and spacing of the graphs in each of the "Laozi" manuscripts is also slightly different, further indicating that the manuscripts

there is one notable exception: the second half of received passage 64 (hereafter "R 64b"), which occurs as an independent passage in both "Laozi A" and "Laozi C," with major variations between them. All this suggests that the three texts may not have been considered, by their owner at least, to have formed an integrated whole—but the implications of this fact, as we shall discuss shortly, are open to debate. No less significant is the fact that the "Taiyi sheng shui" strips are of the exact same dimensions and calligraphic style as "Laozi C," strongly implicating that they were originally bound together as parts of the same scroll. Whether they were conceived as together forming a single *text* is, of course, another matter: there are conceptual and stylistic reasons both for and against seeing a close relationship between the "Taiyi sheng shui" strips and the "Laozi" materials more generally. We will save full discussion of this issue for the next introductory chapter, but as the question has implications for understanding the nature of the Guodian "Laozi" manuscripts more generally, it must also be kept in mind for what follows below.

In most respects, the passages of these texts are remarkably close to those we find in the received *Daodejing*, and we have no trouble identifying each passage with the corresponding one (or two, or portion thereof) of the received text. The differences, however, are by no means inconsequential, the greatest, perhaps, being the complete difference in order of the passages. Aside from those of "Laozi C," the passages are written one after another without breaking to a new strip, so aside from those places where the end of a passage matches the end of a strip, the sequence of passages is clear, and it turns out that there are only two places where the order of the Guodian "Laozi" texts corresponds to that of the received: "Laozi A" 16-17 (strips 27-32), corresponding to received passages 56 and 57; and "Laozi C" 1 (strips 1-3), a single passage corresponding to received passages 17-18. Whether these unique instances represent vestiges of an original order, or whether the general disparity of order demonstrates that the text as a whole was still in flux and had not yet received its fixed sequence, is another matter we shall take up below. Related to this also is the fact that many of the passages appear only "in part" when compared against their received counterparts, or have occasional "missing," "reversed," or "truncated" lines.

There are also a number of differences in wording. While most of these are either orthographic/homophonic variations or alternate word choices that do not affect the meaning, there are a few instances where the differences can only be described as significant. The most

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may have been copied at different times; see Peng Hao, "Guodian yihao mu de niandai yu jianben 'Laozi' de jiegou," p. 17. Despite certain calligraphic variations among (and even within) the three manuscripts, however, the scribal features of the three all belong to the same general type—as discussed in the subsection "Calligraphic divisions" (Type I) in section C of the general introduction.

celebrated of these is clearly the absence of any denunciation of the virtues of "sagacity," (*sheng* 聖), "knowledge" (*zhi* 智), "humanity" (*ren* 仁) and "propriety" (*yi* 義) in "Laozi A" 1, in contrast to its counterpart, received passage 19 (see the translation notes for details). This has led to a number of bold claims by scholars eager to minimize the differences between Laoist and Confucian thought in their ostensibly original forms. We will return briefly to this passage later in this introduction, and examine other potentially significant lexical variations throughout the notes to the translation.

Notwithstanding these various differences, the close affiliation between the Guodian "Laozi" passages and the received *Daodejing* is undeniable, and identifying these texts as "Laozi" materials, of one sort or another, should be relatively unproblematic. The major themes of the *Daodejing* are more or less all well represented in these "Laozi" texts, and the correspondence of passages is striking—the question that remains is then how exactly do we get from one set of materials to the other?

THE NATURE OF THE TEXTS: PRECURSORS, SELECTIONS, OR?

This brings us to arguably the most central question posed by the Guodian *Laozi* find: what exactly are the Guodian *Laozi* texts and how do they relate to the ancestral version of the eighty-one chapter text that has come down to us? Do they represent selections of an earlier, more complete *Laozi*, or rather the beginnings of a text that would form from their merging and gradual augmentation so as to finally reach its present form? Or do they represent some intermediate scenario, such as selections from a larger, yet still "incomplete" *Laozi*, or from competing editions of an ancestral text?

In an essay first delivered at the Dartmouth Guodian *Laozi* conference in May of 1998, Harold Roth proposed three models by which to explain the possible relationships: the "Anthology" model, in which the "Guodian *Laozi* material constitutes extracts from the ancestral *Laozi*";[7] the "Source" model," in which the "Guodian *Laozi* material would be one of the sources of the ancestral *Laozi*"; and the "Parallel Text" model, in which the "Guodian *Laozi* material represents a unique text, which descends from a common ancestor or set of ancestral sources, as do the ancestral *Laozi* and other similar texts."[8] Roth himself inclines

[7] As a kind of variation on the "Anthology" model, Wang Zhongjiang proposes that the texts may have only been "symbolic" selections as funerary objects; see his "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* lüeshuo," p. 107. If so, it is hard to see the precise need for what are clearly three different manuscripts.

[8] Harold D. Roth, "Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian Laozi Parallels, p. 77. Li Ling refers to these three models as the "son-father" 子父 model, the "father-son" 父子 model, and the "brothers" 兄

toward the latter two models, and points out that if we accept the "Anthology" model, we must at least recognize that the compilers of texts A and C could not have been drawing on the same edition of an existing *Laozi* text—save for the possibility of substantial willful alteration—given the fact of major textual variations between the two versions of R 64b.[9] Roth's third model can be understood to take into account all the intermediate scenarios, and as models go, it is a relatively complex one.[10] It will be useful for now to limit ourselves to the first two models in order to simplify the discussion, keeping in mind that the true picture will always be much more complex.

While Roth considers the "Anthology" model the "least likely of the three," it has certainly been the one of greatest currency among Chinese scholars, including such elder

弟 model, respectively; see his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 28–30. For a number of other views and a summary of the salient points of discussion on this issue at the Dartmouth conference, see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 142–46.

[9] Roth, "Some Methodological Issues," pp. 78–81. Cf. Wang Zhongjiang, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* lüeshuo," p. 107. If we do accept the anthology model, then as Wang notes, the degree of discrepancies suggests that the *Laozi* must have already been around for some time. Liu Xiaogan is another who offers this claim as evidence that they must have been derived from two different editions with a still older common ancestral edition; see his "From Bamboo Slips to Received Versions," p. 340. Ding Sixin likewise argues how disparities in the use of loangraphs, archaic or unusual graphs, the appearance of semantic classifiers, and the complexity of language between these two passages, between lines shared in common by strip 27 of "Laozi A" and strip 13 of "Laozi B," and throughout the three bundles more generally all point, along with the physical distinctions of the strips, to the conclusion that they were copied from different sources at different times—A, B, and C, in respective temporal order—and not simply selected out from a larger text by the tomb occupant or his copyist(s); see his "Lüe lun Guodian jianben 'Laozi' jia yi bing sanzu de lishixing chayi," pp. 11–12. Robert Henricks also stresses how the three bundles, with their different dimensions, appear to have been copied from different sources (and so too perhaps for even groups of passages within them), but does not find this alone sufficient evidence on which to draw conclusions as to the degree of "completeness" of those sources; see his *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, pp. 20–21. Edward Shaughnessy stresses that most of the textual variations between the two R 64b passages are in fact commonplace ones, and questions how far back, in terms of textual generations, even the couple of more substantive variations between them would necessarily take us; see his "Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography in the *Laozi*," pp. 448–49.

[10] These intermediate scenarios of course also involve the possibility of at least some role for oral transmission. As Martin Kern puts it regarding such "texts with a history" as this, we "could instead propose the existence of multiple, mutually independent written versions that at least once, and perhaps more often, were generated not from copying but from a memorized or orally transmitted text"; see his "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants and the Modes of Manuscript Production in Early China," p. 149. Note that Kern discusses this issue mainly in the context of lexical and graphic variants rather than in that of textual assemblages. The issue of oral versus written transmission is taken up further in section D of the general introduction.

statesmen as Li Xueqin and Gao Ming.[11] Wang Bo, however, has been this theory’s most forceful proponent, arguing that each of the three texts (excluding “Taiyi sheng shui” from consideration) has a clear thematic content (or two themes in the case of “Laozi A”), suggesting that they each constitute an independent anthology selected for some particular purpose, perhaps didactic. More specifically, he sees “Laozi A” as divided into two parts, dealing separately with the themes of rulership and cultivation of the Dao; “Laozi B” as focusing on the methods, attitudes, and goals of Dao-cultivation and their attainment; and “Laozi C” as concentrating on rulership though “spontaneity” and “non-action.”[12] Other scholars have made similar attempts to locate central themes for each text, with varying results.[13] Wang sees as further evidence for the selection theory a certain concentration of

[11] See Li Xueqin, “Xian-Qin Rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian, p. 14; and Gao Ming, “Du Guodian ‘Lao Zi.’” Li points to the texts’ almost complete lack of overlap as evidence for their constituting selections from an earlier work. Li elaborates on his argument in a later article, “Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao,” arguing that the Guodian “Laozi” texts were similar to the “Yucong” in terms of constituting selections made for didactic purposes.

[12] See Wang Bo, “Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian Laozi de jiegou yu xingzhi,” pp. 151, 165; and “Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa,” pp. 251–57. Wang assumes a different ordering of the “blocks” of text in “Laozi A,” with I+IV forming one section and II+III+V the next; for more on this, see the brief introductions to each of the individual “Laozi” manuscripts below.

[13] Xing Wen, following the editors’ ordering of “Laozi A,” breaks it down into the three separate themes of the “way of the sage or sage-ruler”; the “attributes of the Dao” itself; and the “way of knowing when to stop”; he further sees “Laozi C” (including “Taiyi sheng shui”) as closely related to “Laozi A” with its focus on “the Dao of Heaven,” with both in turn much different from “Laozi B,” which deals more concretely with “self-cultivation” and “human affairs.” See his “Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi,” pp. 176–78. Robert Henricks, by contrast, argues that such notions as “non-action,” “the genuine,” “contentment,” and “having few desires” are all generally concentrated within the first “block” of “Laozi A” (strips 1-20), all an elucidation of the “ruler’s agenda” involving the elimination of desires and artifice and the embracing of naturalness and simplicity. Like Wang, he sees this as the result of a conscious selection process, wherein the texts were likely taken from a pre-existing work whose scope and arrangement was much closer to that of the received *Daodejing*. See Han Lubo (Robert Henricks), “Zhiguo dagang: shidu Guodian *Laozi* jiazu de diyi bufen.” Edmund Ryden, on the other hand, follows Wang’s scheme quite closely, and following Li Xueqin’s theory of the tomb occupant as tutor to the crown prince, attempts to explain how each of the texts may have constituted a selection of materials as a kind of “textbook”; see Lei Dunhe (Edmund Ryden), “Guodian *Laozi*: yixie qianti de taolun.” Gao Chenyang puts forth much the same line of argument, though he also contends that the B and C manuscripts were likely compiled as supplements to the more primary reader of “Laozi A”; see his “Guodian Chujian *Laozi* de zhenxiang,” pp. 80–81. Guo Yi simply gives “upholding the Dao and returning to simplicity” as the theme of A and the “path by which” to do so as the theme of B, but cites such thematic coherence, along with what he sees as the “superiority” of wording of certain passages in these texts vis-à-vis their received counterparts, as demonstration that the Guodian “Laozi” texts formed an integral whole and should be seen as ancestral to the received versions; see his “Chujian *Laozi* yu Laozi gong’an,” pp. 119–23. And while Harold Roth identifies certain themes—all centering on the larger notion of the benefits of inner-cultivation practice to rulership—these mostly run across the three texts rather than serving to distinguish them from each other; see

topics within these texts (giving the first few passages of "Laozi B" as an example), wherein one passage appears to pick up on the theme of the previous one, whereas the arguably more jumbled order of the received versions cannot be adequately explained if they indeed represented a later stage in the process of textual formation.[14] Based on a comparison of the two versions of the passage equivalent to received 64b and an analysis of the discrepancies of all passages vis-à-vis their received counterparts, Wang draws the further conclusion that the three bundles were produced over time by different individuals and were each based on a separate transmitted version of the text (thus addressing Roth's caveat), "Laozi A" reflecting the earliest version and "Laozi C" the latest.[15]

The "Source" model, however, has not been without its advocates, with Cui Renyi being the earliest and most prominent. Much like Wang, Cui identifies different themes for each manuscript and argues that the three (including "Taiyi sheng shui" as part of "Laozi C") are mutually independent. However, he draws from this the much different conclusion that, while all are reflections of the same Laoist doctrine, they were written by three different

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his "Some Methodological Issues," pp. 87–88. For a general discussion of this issue, see also "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 154–58.

[14] Peng Hao has detected greater logical coherence in the sequence of "Laozi A" than in the other texts; see his "Tan Guodian 'Laozi' fenzhang he zhangci." Qiu Xigui also notes where certain passages appear to have been consciously copied together, as in the "non-action" passages of "Laozi A" 6-9. And for Guo Yi's breakdown of sub-themes in "Laozi A," see his "Chujian *Laozi* yu Laozi gong'an," p. 123. See also Gao Chenyang, who, in "Guodian Chujian *Laozi* de zhenxiang," p. 81, draws from such circumstances the same conclusions as Wang. In terms of the received order, as we noted above, Guodian "Laozi" A and C preserve the order, fortuitously or otherwise, of R 17-18 and R 56-57. Edward Shaughnessy, for one, believes that this suggests that at least those portions of the text had already achieved a fixed order; moreover, he also argues that if his speculations regarding the variations between "Laozi A" 4, "Laozi C" 3, and R 30-31 as deriving from a misplaced strip are correct, this would further entail that the sequence of R 30 and R 31 had likely already been fixed by the time of the copying of the Guodian manuscripts. For details, see his "Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography on the *Laozi*," pp. 451–57, and my translation notes to "Laozi A" 4 and "Laozi C" 3.

[15] Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian Laozi de jiegou yu xingzhi," pp. 151–55; and "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 251–57. Wang is also one of many who point to the fact that *wu* is always written 亡 in A and B, but as 無 in C, as possible evidence of a later date for C, but this may in fact reflect little more than scribal preference. Chen Guying stresses that the variations of R 64b suggest, if nothing else, that the *Laozi* had already been in circulation for a long time by the time of the production of these texts; see the "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 142–43. Elsewhere, Chen agrees with Wang's conclusions regarding both the nature of the texts as selections and the temporal order from A to C; see his "Cong Guodian jianben kan Laozi shang ren shou zhong sixiang," pp. 67–69. Guo Yi, on the other hand, suggests that R 64b may have been purposively reduplicated precisely because it was the *only* passage among the different transmissions that exhibited relatively significant discrepancies; see his *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, p. 81.

authors at different periods in time, with their relative importance reflected in their relative strip-lengths—arguing moreover that their manifest differences in overall text length does not suggest a conscious division from a unified whole.[16] Cui also envisions a more or less direct line of development from the Guodian "Laozi" texts to the Mawangdui manuscripts and, finally, to the received versions. He sees the Mawangdui texts as representing an incorporation, expansion, and elaboration of the Guodian materials, though with some of their passages constituting a merging or summation of portions of the latter.[17] These conclusions are also generally shared by a number of other scholars, such as Peng Hao, who argues that later editors felt free to reorder, combine, and even rephrase certain passages, which were malleable because they appear to have taken the form of "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄).[18]

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[16] Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 26–29. Cui first published his conclusions in a couple of earlier articles, "Shilun Jingmen zhujian 'Laozi' de niandai" and "Jingmen Chumu chutu de zhujian 'Laozi' chutan," but revised them somewhat for his book, on which my summary of his views is based.

[17] Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 29–33. It is certainly no coincidence that all the passages that move toward contraction in this model involve those of the "Taiyi sheng shui," which to me argues against their being viewed as part of the "Laozi" materials, even though we might conceive of them as kind of a commentary thereupon; on this point, cf. Li Xueqin, "Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao," pp. 3–4. Ikeda Tomohisa is another scholar who sees a direct evolution from the Guodian "Laozi" manuscripts to those of Mawangdui, and, based on his interpretation of the textual issues surrounding R 20a and R 13 (see the translation notes), he even suggests that Mawangdui B may have been (mis)copied directly from Guodian B; see his "Guodian Chujian 'Laozi' gezhang de shang-zhong-xia duan," p. 195–96.

[18] Peng Hao, "Guodian yihao mu de niandai ji xiangguan de wenti," pp. 363–64. Cf. the similar findings of Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du Guodian zhujian 'Laozi'"; and Xu Hongxing, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* sanzhong," pp. 404–6. Guo Yi, in "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," pp. 132–35, also makes a similar argument, but states at the same time that the received versions in some ways come to represent a different system of thought altogether. Ikeda Tomohisa and Sarah Allan are among other scholars who believe the Guodian materials represent a *Laozi* that was still in the process of formation; see Ikeda's "Shang chu xingcheng jieduan de *Laozi* zuigu wenben" and "Guodian Chujian 'Laozi' gezhang de shang-zhong-xia duan," and Allan's "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*: New Light from Guodian," p. 242. Among other things that Cui and others cite as evidence for such conclusions are the ostensible alteration of certain terms in the context of later debates (see the discussion on *ren* and *yi* below), and an overall tendency toward abstraction, especially with the received versions and their relative lack of particles; on the latter point, cf. Wang Zhongjiang, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* lüeshuo," pp. 108–9. Liu Xinfang takes the view that the Guodian *Laozi* materials represent the original early core of the *Daode jing*, to which later followers added commentarial and supplemental passages closely emulating the form of the original. He points to a number of specific examples of received passages wherein ideas found in certain Guodian "Laozi" passages are re-expressed in slightly different terms, thus identifying them as commentarial elaborations; see his "Guodian jian 'shan shu zhe bu shuo' ji qi xiangguan wenti," pp. 46–55. Needless to say, if the mere repetition of ideas and phrases between passages were somehow sufficient to identify the existence of commentary, we would have to conclude that such commentarial passages were present even within the Guodian manuscripts themselves.

Others, like Li Ling, hold a somewhat more cautious view, stressing the complexity of the situation and how the evidence does not yet warrant coming down on either side of the question of selection versus compilation. As Li notes, the texts may well have been a private selection, but not necessarily from a complete work; even if we could ascribe the beginnings of the *Laozi* to a Chunqiu-period figure, that does not mean that a complete edition preceded these texts. The purely philosophical nature of the *Laozi* makes it difficult to date, and its division into *zhang* made it easily amenable to rearrangement, alteration, and accretion. In short, there is really no way to tell, barring further discoveries, which scenario was valid; we only know for certain that the *Laozi* did not suddenly appear out of nowhere after 300 BC, and had likely gradually taken shape over the course of the fourth century BC.[19]

Li's more cautious conclusions are certainly warranted. Yet to the extent that we may want to determine which of Roth's models the Guodian "Laozi" texts most closely approximate within this more complex picture, the "Anthology" model, to my mind, remains the most coherent of the three, primarily because of the following problem with the other two models. That is: if these three texts indeed reflected part of a larger body of oral tradition or earlier collections of sayings representing a certain trend in thought or the doctrine of some school which would later on, along with other similar texts, be conflated to form the *Laozi* as we now know it,[20] then why is it that *every single one* of the passages in these three texts—excluding the "Taiyi sheng shui"—found its way into the ancestral *Laozi*? Would we not expect—if we were thinking of a more fluid picture—that only certain passages among them would eventually be selected for inclusion into the work?[21] As Qiu Xigui puts it, the notion that all such pre-existent "Laozi" materials would suddenly and without omissions be compiled into the "five-thousand-character" work at a time post 300 BC seems "unfathomable" and "far too coincidental" to be plausible, and such a scenario, if true, would

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[19] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 28–31.

[20] In part following Michael LaFargue, Roth suggests the possibility that the *Laozi* was built up from "small discrete units" (i.e., *zhang* 章); indeed, the fluidity of order among these units not only in the "Laozi" texts but in "Ziyi" as well does imply that they were the fundamental unit in many of these texts, as Rudolf Wagner has argued elsewhere (see his "The Guodian MSS and the 'Units of Thought' in Early Chinese Philosophy"). Roth also suggests origination in an oral tradition as a likely explanation for the text's fluidity and, drawing on William Baxter's analyses of their form, would group the *Laozi* units together with similar verse passages in the "Neiye" 內業 and "Xinshu" 心術 chapters of the *Guanzi* as examples of anonymous verse transmitted over time by practitioners of inner cultivation. See Roth's "Some Methodological Issues," pp. 75 and 80–87, and his remarks in "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 136.

[21] Rudolf Wagner and Paul Thompson are both quoted as expressing similar queries in "Account of Discussion," Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 145.

result in a far greater deal of overlap than just that of a single passage.[22] What, that is to say, are the odds that all three of the particular Dao-oriented texts found in this single tomb would eventually find their way into the "ancestral *Laozi*" completely intact? The situation of course changes if we include the "Taiyi sheng shui" materials, but even discounting the other arguments to be made for their separation from the more demonstrably "Laozi" sections, the fact that they all occur in "Laozi C" would still be difficult to account for. It thus seems more likely that the tomb occupant, or whoever may have "created" these texts, formed them separately on the basis of different editions of a pre-existing (if still perhaps "incomplete") *Laozi* more or less like the one we know,[23] selecting in each case particular passages for a particular purpose—with the "Taiyi sheng shui" perhaps added on to one of these three on the basis of a certain thematic relationship. The issue, however, is far from settled, and the debate will surely rage on until the next archaeological discovery of some further "Laozi" materials forces it to move on in another direction.[24]

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[22] Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," pp. 26–30. As Qiu notes, it is also hard to imagine any scenario wherein followers of a textual lineage would have various passages of their philosophy so loosely floating around only to be compiled so many years later into a single larger work—though others might argue that this is precisely the nature of oral transmission.

[23] We should perhaps put somewhat more emphasis on the "less" here. As noted below (n. 25), the Guodian "Laozi" texts do not contain *any* of the *Daodejing* passages from 67-81, and if we were to see the former as constituting a random selection of a complete *Daodejing*, E. Bruce Brooks calculates the odds of none of those last fifteen passages being chosen at a paltry .0135%; see his "Probability and the Gwōdyèn Daù /Dý Jīng." Of course, the selection would not have been random, and we always can imagine a scenario in which the compiler chose passages from a "complete" work already found in the order of the received version and simply stopped culling the work for useful materials once he reached passage 66. Nonetheless, Brooks's conclusion that 67-81 represent later accretions to an earlier core may well be the most likely explanation to account for this phenomenon.

[24] William Boltz, stressing, much like Rudolf Wagner, how the individual passages—"the 'raw material,' textual building blocks"—are the only more or less stable constituent units in the *Laozi*, argues that believing there was already a more or less complete *Laozi* from which these texts derived is "an act of faith." See his "The Fourth-Century BC Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*," p. 594. It seems to me, however, that his conclusion that "we can only argue that this is a collection of passages that came over the course of the third century to be mixed in an unpredictable sequence with an approximately equal number of passages not seen in these manuscripts" to be eventually fixed into the form of the transmitted *Laozi* is no less an act of faith. Current evidence is not sufficient to clearly demonstrate the veracity of either scenario.

THEMES AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In either the "Source" or "Anthology" scenario, we would expect thematic consistency within each of the three bundles: in the one case because if each text were originally separate, we would naturally expect each one to address somewhat different themes, later to be conflated into a more ideologically diverse *Laozi* text; and in the other because we would expect there to have been *some* rationale for selection if that is indeed what took place—though we might expect more overlap in this case if we thought of the *Laozi* as a more integrally conceived text in the first place. Nonetheless, despite the efforts of Wang Bo, Xing Wen, and others to locate such thematic consistency, it is difficult to see in any of the bundles anything more or less than a microcosm of the received *Laozi* itself, in which self-cultivation through the lessening of desires, political manipulation through "acting to no purpose," and a metaphysical view of the Dao marked by the reversion of opposites are all woven into a seamless philosophical whole. To characterize any single passage, let alone groups of them, as dealing with one of these facets to the exclusion of the others is, to my mind, highly problematic to begin with.[25] At the same time, however, the clustering of

[25] Edmund Ryden, while closely following Wang Bo's thematic scheme, is forced to admit at several points that the distinction between self-cultivation and rulership is not always clear-cut, even describing the theme of "Laozi B" itself doubly as "rulership through self-cultivation." Wang Bo himself notes that the metaphysical descriptions of the Dao serve only as a backdrop to the more central topics of rulership and self-cultivation in these texts. While finding the Guodian "Laozi" texts to be largely representative of the broader range of themes found in the *Daodejing*, Ryden, Henricks, and Yanaka Shin'ichi also all take great care in pointing out what appears to be *lacking* (either wholly or relatively) in the former. For Henricks, these include detailed descriptions of the Dao, reference to the Dao as the "One," reference to the "Way of Heaven," emphasis on the female or on water as a symbol of the power of passivity, and mother-infant metaphors relating the Dao to the myriad things; Yanaka's list is similar to that of Henricks, but includes also the elevation of *de* 德 as a metaphysical concept and the lack of any strong rejection of Confucian virtues; Ryden's list also includes Dao-descriptions and the water metaphor, but further mentions such things as direct statements on ruler-people relations and military passages. It speaks to the inconsistency of the classificatory enterprise when we note that Wang Bo arrives at the opposite conclusion for the last of these, noting how military passages seem to be *emphasized* in the Guodian "Laozi" texts. Even most of these "missing" themes do appear at least once or twice, and their distribution is about as we should expect given the limited size of the "sample." While Wang Bo, too, notices the absence of the water metaphor and the relative lack of focus on the virtue of "weakness," I would have to agree with his conclusion that the nature of an anthology is such that some things are bound to get left out or de-emphasized in the process of selection. More intriguing is Henricks's observation, following Guo Yi, that none of the received *Daodejing*'s passages 67-81 (including the "anti-aristocracy" passages) appear in the Guodian "Laozi" texts, suggesting, in one view, possible derivation from another source altogether (cf. n. 23 above). See Robert Henricks, *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, pp. 17–19; Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian Laozi de jiegou yu xingzhi," 163–66; Lei Dunhe (Edmund Ryden), "Guodian *Laozi*: yixie qianti de taolun," pp. 126–28; Guo Yi, "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," p. 131; and Yanaka Shin'ichi, "Cong Guodian *Laozi* kan

certain concepts in these texts cannot be overlooked. While the identification of such, too, is largely a subjective and potentially artificial process, the fact that, as Qiu Xigui notes, the term *wuwei* 無爲 occurs in four consecutive passages in "Laozi A" (6-9), and yet in no consecutive passages in the received *Daodejing* (save for 37-38, which span the two major sections), is surely too great a coincidence to be ignored.[26] And even if we cannot clearly identify separate themes for each text, and thus cannot locate with confidence the exact motivation behind the selections, this by itself should not preclude us from speculating that they were indeed selections—we cannot possibly presume to claim to understand all the subtleties of the personal proclivities or complex rationale held by the individual or individuals who compiled these texts.[27]

The Guodian discovery also forces us to consider old evidence for the dating of the *Laozi* in a new light. Qiu Xigui reminds us that Tang Lan 唐蘭 long ago showed how all the statements attributed to Lao Dan 老聃 or to the *Laozi* in the *Zhuangzi* and in the "Jie Lao" 解老 and "Yu Lao" 喻老 chapters of the *Han Feizi* are to be found, more or less as quoted, in the *Daodejing*, strongly suggesting that the work must have achieved something approaching its current form by around the end of the fourth century BC.[28] Wang Bo and Robert Henricks make much the same argument, noting how the fact that the passages such quotations parallel include many *not* found among the Guodian texts points to a larger corpus of *Laozi* materials already in existence at the time. They further note, moreover, how the two different Mawangdui editions likewise imply the existence of an earlier common ancestor.[29] Focusing

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jinben *Laozi* de wancheng," pp. 438–41. For more on what may be "lacking" in the Guodian "Laozi" texts, cf. Xing Wen, "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi," pp. 180–81.

[26] The claim here is that if such passages had been logically grouped together to begin with, it would be hard to imagine a rationale by which they were later on dispersed. However, some, such as Guo Yi, would make the reverse claim that the more logical ordering is an indicator of temporal precedence. There is also the interesting case of the placement in "Laozi B" (passages 2-3) of the equivalent to R 20a and its phrase "絕學無憂" immediately following the R 48 equivalent, suggesting to Guo a probable original context for the long-suspected "misplacement" of the phrase to the head of R 20, and thus an argument for the Guodian "Laozi" as representative of a more original ordering; for more on this complicated issue, see Guo's "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," pp. 126–28, and the notes to the translation of "Laozi B" 3 below.

[27] It is also for this reason that Li Cunshan's argument—that if a complete version of the *Laozi* were already in existence, short as it is, there would be no reason for the tomb occupant not to have had the entire text buried with him—should be seen as inadequate. See his "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," p. 186.

[28] Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 29.

[29] Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian Laozi de jiegou yu xingzhi," pp. 160–61; Robert Henricks, *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, pp. 21–22. Li Cunshan also gives a detailed list of all the *Han Feizi* passages not found in Guodian and all the Guodian passages not found in the *Han Feizi*; see his "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 191–92. Ikeda Tomohisa suggests that differences in the portions of passages quoted in

on what he erroneously states as the complete absence in the Guodian texts of *Daodejing* parallels found in the *Zhuangzi* and other early texts, Cui Renyi attempts to draw the much different conclusion that the Mawangdui and received versions were formed by incorporating sources from elsewhere and combining them with the Guodian materials.[30] The claim, however, is simply not true, as there are clear parallels to versions of a number of Guodian passages to be found in such *Zhuangzi* chapters as "Zhi beiyou" 知北遊, "Gengsang Chu" 庚桑楚, and "Zai you" 在宥, most given as quotations and at least one attributed directly to Lao Dan.[31] Finally, the *Han Feizi* offers a further interesting potential parallel to the Guodian texts in that, as Wang Bo notes, the "Jie Lao" and "Yu Lao" themselves represent a kind of "selection" from a larger text, though some scholars had previously argued—as do some now with Guodian—that the *Han Feizi* chapters represented an early form of the *Laozi* in its entirety, a claim that is by now demonstrably untrue.[32]

The issue of whether the *Laozi* existed in roughly complete form early on or gradually emerged through a process of conflation and accretion also brings us back to the old argument of textual coherence. As mentioned above, Zhang Dainian was one of the first to argue for single authorship of the *Laozi* as a systematically coherent text that could not have been written by multiple authors, and he has recently reiterated a qualified version of that old position.[33] Rudolf Wagner, from a somewhat different angle, appeals for consideration of a similar conclusion. While arguing that the individual passage, or *zhang* 章, is the basic organizational unit in the Guodian "Laozi" texts, he contends that those passages "written in interlocking parallel style" convincingly demonstrate that they are "highly crafted and argumentatively cohesive," a fact that, when combined with the general cohesiveness in content, points to a consistency that begs us to reconsider the question of whether it might be the "indicator of an authorial rather than a collective genesis."[34]

"Jie Lao" and the ostensibly later "Yu Lao," when compared to those found in Guodian, point to the gradual solidification of the passages into their current form; see his "Guodian Chujian 'Laozi' gezhang de shang-zhong-xia duan," pp. 162–63.

[30] Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 29–33.

[31] See the notes to "Laozi A" 16 (R 56), 18 (R 55); and "Laozi B" 2 (R 48), 4 (R 13).

[32] Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian *Laozi* de jiegou yu xingzhi," pp. 161–62. Another point of similarity is that the order of passages explained in the *Han Feizi* chapters is, like Guodian, generally completely different from that of the received texts, though possible vestiges of an original order remain. On this point, see Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 32.

[33] Wang Bo, "Zhang Dainian xiansheng tan Jingmen Guodian zhujian *Laozi*," p. 22.

[34] Rudolf Wagner, "The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early *Laozi* Editions," pp. 45–46.

Another possible indicator of the relationships between the Guodian, Mawangdui, and various received versions of the *Laozi* or "Laozi" materials is their degrees of mutual consistency at the level of the passage. A quick glance through the comparative tables of the appendix at the end of this book should suffice to demonstrate the commonly accepted conclusion that the Guodian text is generally closer to the wording of the Mawangdui manuscripts than it is to those of the received (insofar as each of those might be internally consistent).[35] And yet there are still a number of places where the reverse is true, as well as those where the Guodian text differs markedly from both. As Qiu Xigui puts it, the discrepancies with Mawangdui remind us of the fact that the older witness of a text is not necessarily the better and that there have long been competing versions in existence.[36] The late Paul Thompson, who analyzed the textual affiliations most closely, perhaps put it best by suggesting that the Guodian manuscripts may "form a branch on the transmissional tree of the *Laozi*, which though old, has not left us any direct descendants," while the Mawangdui manuscripts "are in effect the 'modern' redaction"; and yet "the survival among some medieval witnesses of positive disagreements" with Mawangdui while agreeing with Guodian "suggests an older tradition ancestral to both."[37] The facts of the matter thus force us to discard any facile conclusions that would suggest a direct line of transmission from one witness to the next.

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[35] For examples of this conclusion, see Wang Zhongjiang, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* lüeshuo," p. 116; Yue Jin, "Zhenfen renxin de kaogu faxian: lüeshuo Guodian Chumu zhujian de xueshushi yiyi," p. 40, and Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du Guodian zhujian 'Laozi'"—Xu noting greater consistency in intellectual content between Guodian and Mawangdui. Paulos Huang, "The Guodian Bamboo Slip Texts and the *Laozi*," pp. 37–42, gives a statistical analysis to show that the Guodian "Laozi" texts are in general closest to Mawangdui A, then Mawangdui B, then Wang Bi (of those three only); and that Guodian B is the most distinct from other versions, followed by A and then C. After first equivocating on what the significance of all this might be, he later (p. 43) states baldly that the three versions are sources from the "three sub-schools of Laoism," without attempting to explain just what the texts of such "three sub-schools," even if they did exist, would be doing in the same tomb. A similar set of statistics may be found in Guo Yi, "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," p. 134.

[36] Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," pp. 46–47; see also the remarks of Yue Jin, "Zhenfen renxin de kaogu faxian," pp. 40–41, which Qiu himself cites in this context. Li Xueqin also makes much the same point in his "Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao," pp. 1–2.

[37] See P. M. Thompson, "On the Formal Treatment of Textual Testimony," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 98. Wang Bo draws much the same conclusion; see his "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian *Laozi* de jiegou yu xingzhi," p. 163.

FORMS OF TEXTUAL DISPARITY AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

It remains for us to examine the two most significant forms of passage-level disparity between the Guodian "Laozi" manuscripts and other versions of the *Laozi*: lexical discrepancies within passages and differences in passage length and division. For the former, we will concentrate on the most celebrated example, that of "Laozi A" 1, or received passage 19.

Where the Mawangdui and received versions read:

> 絕聖棄知，民利百倍
>
> "Forsake sagacity and abandon knowledge, and the people will profit a hundred fold";

and

> 絕仁棄義，民復孝慈
>
> "Forsake humanity and abandon propriety, and the people will return to filial piety and parental affection";

the Guodian passage instead reads 絕智棄辯, "Forsake knowledge and abandon discrimination," for the first half of the first line, and 絕僞棄詐, "Forsake ingenuity and abandon deception," for the first half of the second.[38]

What makes this disparity especially noteworthy is the fact that the presence of the pair *ren* and *yi*, "humanity" and "propriety," in the *Daodejing* has long been raised as evidence pointing to a late date for the text, as many have ascribed the origination of this pairing to the *Mengzi*, to which the passages in question might appear to be responding.[39] While this line of argument is somewhat questionable, especially given that the term pair also appears with great frequency in the core chapters of the *Mozi*—seen by most as likely predating the *Mengzi*—the absence of the pair in Guodian "Laozi A" 1 is nonetheless conspicuous. This immediately led a number of scholars to conclude that the "original" *Laozi*, as reflected in the

[38] This is based on the editors' original transcription and reading and ignores for now other interpretations of these graphs, such as whether the last one is a graphic error for *lü* 慮, "deliberation." See the translation notes for details on this complex issue.

[39] On this point, see, for example, Xu Hongxing, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* sanzhong," p. 405.

Guodian manuscripts, was not at all “anti-Confucian,” that the condemnation of the Confucian virtues of *ren* and *yi* was in fact a later development.[40] Most attribute this development to the influence of the followers of Zhuang Zi, whose thought is reflected in such *Zhuangzi* chapters as “Qu qie” 胠篋, “Pian mu” 駢母, and “Zai you” 在宥, wherein there is expressed opposition to the virtues of *ren*, *yi*, *zhi* (“knowledge”), and *sheng* (“sagacity”).[41]

The wording discrepancy is without doubt remarkable, but there are a number of points to be made that might temper any radical conclusions. First among these is the fact that even with the condemnation of *ren*, *yi*, etc., the *Laozi*’s opposition to Confucian virtues is never so fundamental as it would at first appear. As Chen Guying stresses, all such passages in the *Daodejing* may best be read to oppose only the empty formalism such expressed virtues often amount to, while very much affirming the basic spirit from which they would ideally derive.[42] This point aside, the greatest difficulty with the conclusion is that it largely ignores the fact that *ren* and *yi* are still “condemned,” in one way or another, in Guodian “Laozi C” 1 (R 17-18):

[40] For an account of some of the earliest discussions on this issue, see “Account of the Discussion” in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 160–61. See also Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian “Laozi” yanjiu*, p. 31; Pang Pu, “Gu mu xin zhi,” p. 19; Guo Yi, “Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong’an,” pp. 144–45, and Yanaka Shin’ichi, “Cong Guodian *Laozi* kan jinben *Laozi* de wancheng,” pp. 441–43—Yanaka sees the rejection of Confucian virtues in such *Zhuangzi* chapters as “Qu qie” and “Zhi beiyou” as the product of Huang-Lao 黃老 thought from the Jixia 稷下 academy of Qi 齊. Note that some would also point to evidence outside the *Laozi* itself to argue that “Lao Zi” was never radically opposed to Confucian values. Wei Qipeng, for instance, expanding upon the earlier work of Xu Renfu 徐仁甫, draws upon examples of the ostensible development of Lao Zi’s thought in such works as the *Wenzi* and *Han Feizi* to suggest that it was never opposed to such virtues as humanity, propriety, and ritual to begin with; see his “Chujian *Laozi* ‘da cheng ruo qu’ fawei: jianshuo Lao Zi bu fei liyue,” esp. pp. 22–26.

[41] See Wang Bo, “Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian *Laozi* de jiegou yu xingzhi,” pp. 156–58; Chen Guying, “Cong Guodian jianben kan *Laozi* shang ren shou zhong sixiang,” pp. 72–74. For a more complete listing of scholars who hold the same view, see the notes to the “Laozi A” 1 translation below. As Wang notes, these particular *Zhuangzi* chapters also contain a number of quotations from *Laozi* passages.

[42] Chen Guying, “Chu du jianben ‘Laozi,’” pp. 55–56, and “Cong Guodian jianben kan *Laozi* shang ren shou zhong sixiang,” pp. 70–72. For a similar interpretation, see also Zhang Liwen, “Lun jianben ‘Laozi’ de rujia sixiang de hubu huji,” p. 140. Or conversely, Lü Shaogang suggests that the terms *wei* 僞 and *zha* 詐, understood here more along the lines of “hypocrisy,” were in fact for Lao-Zhuang practical equivalents to the Confucian virtues of *ren* and *yi*, and thus that this alteration in wording is insignificant, the more fundamental point of difference with the Confucians being an emphasis of substance over refinement; see his “*Guodian Chumu zhujian* bianyi liang ti,” pp. 8–9. Robert Henricks also reads it such that the Guodian version can itself still potentially be seen as “anti-Confucian,” even if it was later changed to be more expressly “anti-Mencian”; see his *Lao Tzu’s* Tao Te Ching, pp. 14–15.

> 故大道廢，安(焉)有仁義
>
> Thus it is when the great *dao* is abandoned that we have humanity and propriety.[43]

For even if we were to treat the *an* (/*yan*) here as an interrogative ("If the great *dao* is abandoned, whence can there be *ren* and *yi*?!"), we would be forced to do so for all the parallel phrases in that passage, leading us to such absurdities as "If trust is insufficient, whence can there be lack of trust?!" (信不足，安[焉]有不信？), which could only make sense under the most ironic of interpretations—an irony which if then applied back to the "question" about *ren* and *yi* would still render them as intrinsically undesirable as "lack of trust."[44] A consistent interpretation of "Laozi C" 1 thus demands that we recognize that the virtues of *ren* and *yi* are treated negatively there, and we clearly cannot argue that the Guodian "Laozi" on the whole demonstrates that the early versions of the *Laozi* carried no "anti-Confucian" rhetoric unless that were to hold true for *both* of the passages in question.

The one way around this problem is to assume that "Laozi C" is based upon (or itself partly constitutes) a later version of the text than "Laozi A"—indeed, as we saw above, this is Wang Bo's solution.[45] Yet if we give credence to the theory that these manuscripts represent selections, the simplest solution may be to turn the alteration process on its head: that is, to see the Guodian "Laozi" as having borrowed from and, in at least one case, purposefully altered the reading of a previously existing *Laozi* text largely similar to what we have in the

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[43] Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," pp. 44–45, argues that this is not really a condemnation of *ren* and *yi* per se and would not place it on the same level as their rejection in R 19; he also observes that the virtue of *ren* is otherwise not negated throughout the *Daodejing*. Cf. his similar arguments in "Guanyu *Laozi* de 'jue ren qi yi' he 'jue sheng,'" pp. 9–11, where he argues that the logical relationships of the two passages are altogether different. Nonetheless, *ren* and *yi* are clearly portrayed as somewhat artificial virtues here, and this passage would no less than R 19 appear to assume the background of their contemporary espousal by Confucians or others.

[44] See my "Review of *The Guodian* Laozi"; the problem was perhaps first observed by Wang Zhongjiang, "Guodian zhujian *Laozi* lüeshuo," pp. 111–12. Li Xueqin also draws much the same conclusion, from the standpoint that the passage would simply be too straightforward and meaningless if 安 were an interrogative; see his "Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao," pp. 5–6. In spite of such problems, Ding Yuanzhi and Guo Yi nonetheless both attempt to interpret this line with an interrogative; for details, see the notes to the translation of this passage.

[45] See Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian *Laozi* de jiegou yu xingzhi," p. 156.

received version(s).[46] Given the prevalence of Confucian texts in the Guodian tomb, it is easy to see how the tomb occupant may have desired, whatever his purposes, a version of the passage (R 19) that might not so expressly conflict with the philosophies of the other texts he held in high esteem.[47] More importantly, the alteration of this single text in a single tomb is much easier to account for than assuming that *all* subsequent witnesses to the *Laozi* would incorporate a later alteration—we need not assume that the aberration is the norm simply because it is the earliest physical version of the text we currently possess.[48]

The same logic potentially applies to any of the other lexical disparities found between the Guodian "Laozi" passages and their Mawangdui and received counterparts—but let us leave any further discussion of such examples to the notes to the translations themselves.[49]

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[46] See my "Review of *The Guodian* Laozi." Robert Henricks raises a similar possibility, even though he does not subscribe to it; see his *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, p. 13, and his (Han Lubo) "Zhiguo dagang: shidu Guodian *Laozi* jiazu de diyi bufen," p. 196. Li Ling has also argued along these lines in his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengding ben)*, pp. 15–19, as has Li Xueqin in "Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao," p. 6.

[47] Zhou Fengwu makes this point, arguing that the tomb occupant was a Confucian—of the Zisi lineage, specifically—who used "Daoist" texts to support Ruist causes; see his "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," pp. 54 and 60 n. 6. Li Ling follows Zhou's theory and notes, moreover, the relative prevalence of the discussions of Heaven and human nature in the Confucian texts of the Guodian corpus; see his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengding ben)*, pp. 21–22. Thus both Zhou and Li argue, along with Wang Bo, that those passages most critical of Confucian values are either absent or altered in the Guodian "Laozi" texts, but draw conclusions much different from those of Wang.

[48] Zhou Fengwu stresses this same point; see his "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi," p. 60 n. 6. Qiu Xigui, conversely, makes the argument that such ostensible alterations as those whereby *ren* and *yi* get denounced may have been readily accepted by the people of the late Warring States precisely because it was a time when the hypocrisy of a corrupt ruling class espousing such ideals had become all too obvious; see his "Guanyu *Laozi* de 'jue ren qi yi' he 'jue sheng,'" pp. 13–14.

[49] For a more systematic study of textual variants among Guodian, Mawangdui, and various received versions of the *Laozi*, see Li Ruohui, "*Laozi* yiwen lishi: yi Guodian jianben wei zhongxin," in which Li classifies textual variants into the five main categories of orthographic variants 形異字同異文, lexically identical graphic variants 字異義同異文 (including homophonous loangraphs), notion-identical lexical variants 義異思同異文, phrase-length variants 句異異文, and notion variants 思義異文, providing exhaustive tables of examples of each category and its various subtypes. He concludes, however, that there is no absolute regularity in the manner in which later editions altered wording (though particles in general are clearly more abundant in the excavated manuscripts), and that there is much arbitrariness in the particular choice of graphs, especially particles, throughout the various editions—a phenomenon to which he identifies the oral-poetic nature of the work as the main contributing factor (see esp. pp. 204–5 and 210–11). For the more comprehensive version of Li's study of *Laozi* variants, see his *Guodian zhushu* Laozi *lunkao*, pp. 113–213. Xu Fuchang has also undertaken a detailed inventory of *Laozi* variants, categorizing them primarily on the basis of historical, "ancient-modern" 古今 variants versus contemporaneous loangraph variants; see his "Cong jianbo ben *Laozi* guancha guji yongzi wenti: yi gujin zi yu tongjia zi wei zhongxin." See also his "Dianji yiwen zhi jianbie yu yunyong: yi jianboben *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* wei li," where he further categorizes the variants along the lines of

The second form of discrepancy to discuss here involves the length and division of passages. A significant number of passages in the Guodian “Laozi” texts represent only a portion of their received counterparts or, as is the case with received passage 64, have two separate passages where the received text has one (there is only one case where the opposite scenario holds: “Laozi C” 1 having received passages 17 and 18 “combined” into one). In most cases, the different parts of the larger received passages appear to have little thematic connection with one another, and thus as Peng Hao, Qiu Xigui, and others contend, such smaller segments would seem to represent an earlier form of the text with a potentially greater number of separate passages than the eighty-one found in the received work—passages later to get combined, for accidental or other reasons, into larger single passages.[50] Note that this does not really affect the issue of “anthology” versus “source” per se, as the Guodian texts could easily have been selected from earlier sources that preserved the ostensibly original, shorter divisions.[51] At the same time, however, we need to remain open

form-, sound-, and meaning-based origins; or, for his comprehensive study of variants in Chu manuscripts more generally, his *Jianbo dianji yiwen cetan*.

[50] See Peng Hao, “Tan Guodian ‘Laozi’ fenzhang he zhangci”; and Qiu Xigui, “Guodian ‘Laozi’ jian chutan,” pp. 30–41. Peng Hao combines the Guodian divisions with other evidence to argue that at least R 5, R 46, and R 64 were originally divided into distinct passages (see the notes to “Laozi A” 13, 3, 15, and 6); Xu Kangsheng, in “Chu du Guodian zhujian ‘Laozi,’” pp. 95–96, cites the same passages to make a similar point. Qiu singles out R 64, R 46, R 52, R 5, R 20, and R 45 as passages with separate parts having little thematic connection with each other; Guo Yi, in “Chujian *Laozi* yu Laozi gong’an,” pp. 123–24, gives R 5, R 20, R 30, R 46, and R 52 as examples of such, but assumes they took the form of later additions; and Ikeda Tomohisa, in “Shang chu xingcheng jieduan de ‘Laozi’ zuigu wenben,” pp. 175–76, suggests the two halves of R 64 are contradictory in their stances on “action” and thus represent a forced conflation (In direct contrast to such a view, Gao Chenyang contends that R 64 was in fact a tightly knit unit, sloppily rent asunder into two less comprehensible segments in the Guodian texts, taking this fact as evidence for the theory that the Guodian manuscripts constituted selections from a prior work; see his “Guodian Chujian *Laozi* de zhenxiang,” p. 81, but see also the note to the head of “Laozi A” 6 [R 64b] in the translation notes). For a detailed summary of the different ways in which each of the various passages relates to traditional passages in terms of completeness and divisions, see Robert Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s* Tao Te Ching, pp. 10–11. Regardless of how one views the “missing” pieces of these passages, Rudolf Wagner still contends, against D. C. Lau, that “there is no question that the basic organization unit of the Guodian *Laozi* batches is the *zhang*, and not the proverbial snippet”; see his “The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early *Laozi* Editions,” pp. 45–46.

[51] Ikeda Tomohisa, on the other hand, argues in great detail that because the segments of passages that appear in Mawangdui and the received versions but not in Guodian generally have little direct connection with, or even appear to contradict, the other parts of the passages in question, they must have been forcibly added to those passages at a later point in time, and the Guodian manuscript must represent the “original state” of the text; see his “Guodian Chujian ‘Laozi’ gezhang de shang-zhong-xia duan.” This theory, however, not only pays insufficient attention to the possibility that most of these segments were originally separate passages that simply became conflated over time, but also oversimplifies the situation by more or less ignoring the possibility that the

to the possibility that such passages could have been abridged—like the text as a whole—during any process of selection that may have taken place, especially in the case of those received passages wherein a thematic connection between parts is present.[52]

There is also the issue of the drive for textual uniformity and its possible effects upon the constitution of the received *Daodejing*. Liu Xiaogan has recently analyzed types of textual-alteration tendencies that editors over the centuries appear to have introduced into the work, which he categorizes into two general types labeled "linguistic assimilation" and "conceptual focusing." The first is the "general tendency" for editors "to replace some words, phrases, or passages with common terms or patterns according to their understanding of the message and style of the text," i.e., making the text more linguistically or rhythmically consistent with itself by "regularizing sentence patterns, repeating phrases across chapters, and heightening parallelism"; whereas the latter is essentially the former as applied specifically to key philosophical concepts, particularly *wuwei* 無爲 and the Dao 道.[53] Such alterations include certain cases where phrases may have been purposefully repeated by later editors in passages other than the one in which they initially occurred, as evidenced by the absence of the phrase "物壯則老，謂之不道" from Guodian "Laozi A" 4 or "以此" from "Laozi A" 17.[54] Liu's arguments are sound, but they again assume that there were no accidental, or even purposeful,

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Guodian passages were selected out of a larger whole that may well, in other respects, have still represented a more "original" form of the text.

[52] Qiu Xigui, in "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 40, notes R 48 and R 16 as examples of these, but would still see them as reflections of a later stage of the text, attributing these examples not to conflation, but rather accretion; Guo Yi, "Chujian *Laozi* yu Laozi gong'an," pp. 124–25, gives a similar explanation for R 15, R 16, R 30, R 31, R 48, and R 55. Wang Bo, on the other hand, sees R 48 and R 5 as examples that may have been excised from the selections because they do not focus on the theme at hand, so that R 5, for example, is purposely limited to that portion that discusses the "Way of Heaven," the theme of its surrounding context in "Laozi A"; see his "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian *Laozi* de jiegou yu xingzhi," pp. 159–60. Robert Henricks also concludes that the portions of certain passages absent from the Guodian texts more likely reflect conscious deletions rather than the original state of the text; see his (Han Lubo) "Zhiguo dagang," p. 196.

[53] Liu Xiaogan, "From Bamboo Slips to Received Versions: Common Features in the Transformation of the *Laozi*," pp. 338–39, 351 (for the Chinese precursor to this article, see his "Cong zhujian ben yu boshu ben kan *Laozi* de yanbian"; see also the "First introduction" to his *Laozi gujin: wuzhong duikan yu xiping yinlun*, pp. 1–42). Liu explains the apparent "deletion" of particles in the Wang Bi and Heshang Gong versions of the text as attempts to make lines have the same number of characters, though in some cases (e.g., R 54) this actually involved the insertion of a particle; see pp. 352–56.

[54] Corresponding to R 30 and R 57, respectively, where the phrases are present. The former phrase does, however, occur in "Laozi A" 18 (R 55); the latter may have been present in "Laozi B" 9 (R 54), but a lacuna in the manuscript here prevents us from knowing with certainty. Guo Yi cites such repetitions in the received versions as evidence for the superiority of the Guodian "Laozi"; see his "Chujian *Laozi* yu Lao Zi gong'an," p. 126.

omissions or alterations in the early manuscripts themselves—it is certainly possible that some of these cases may ultimately be explained by other means.[55]

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The Guodian “Laozi” manuscripts are a remarkable find, but they present as many questions as they answer. The nature of these texts is surely a much more complex issue than one of partial selection versus complete source, and insofar as we may adopt either of these as our primary model, we must still take into account a full range of intermediary scenarios. Supposing that the wording, passage divisions, and even passage order of the Guodian “Laozi” materials reflect an older or more “original” text, that still does little to help us decide whether they reflect the text as it existed in its entirety or simply selections therefrom. And even if we do conclude that they represent selections from a larger work or corpus of passages, it remains difficult to ascertain just how closely that larger work may have resembled the *Daodejing* as we know it today. What we do know for certain is that at least the basic philosophy of the *Laozi* had already taken shape by the end of the fourth century BC, and that a sizeable portion, if not the vast majority, of its passages had come to be transmitted in written forms closely resembling those of the received text. This in itself is a major discovery. Further conclusions, however, must remain tentative until new forms of evidence become available to help us determine them with more certainty.

TEXTUAL NOTES

The scope of this study will not allow me to fully evaluate all the implications of the various points of divergence among the Guodian manuscripts, the Mawangdui manuscripts, and the different recensions of the received tradition, or to establish any sort of *stemma codicum* among them. While all major points of discrepancy will be noted, the main focus here will remain on arriving at the most reasonable interpretation of the Guodian texts

[55] For the repeated phrases, Zhao Jianwei, in fact, had previously argued that such phrases may have been purposely excised from the Guodian “Laozi” in an attempt to avoid repetition, though he also suggests the possibility that they were added later on, and that some may have even taken the form of commentarial phrases. See his “Guodian ‘Laozi’ jiaoshi,” pp. 260–62.

themselves. With that in mind, though they may otherwise err on the side of inclusiveness, notes to the transcriptions below will concentrate mainly on variations of potential significance rather than listing all variations exhaustively. I have, however, included collation tables for the “Laozi” texts in an appendix at the end of this book, in which all the divergences among a number of important witnesses to the text can be located at a glance. The reader will find the notes easier to follow by reading them in tandem with those tables. The different manuscripts and recensions I have adopted for comparison, along with the specific editions employed, are given below, beginning with the abbreviations by which I make reference to them.[56] Note that throughout the translation notes I refer to all these loosely as “versions.”

MWD (A and B) The two Mawangdui silk manuscripts, as given in *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, v. 1 (1980 ed.). These were first unearthed in 1973, and would appear to date from the earliest years of the Han dynasty, from between 206–195 BC and 194–180 BC, respectively. The order of the two major sections, *De* and *Dao*, is reversed vis-à-vis the received versions, and, as noted above, there are a few specific variations in passage order as well. Though there are also some discrepancies between these two manuscripts themselves, they are generally closer to each other than to any other version of the text. MWD alone will be used to refer to both manuscripts together, when there is no divergence between them; where only one of these is referenced, “A” or “B” will follow.

FY The Fu Yi 傅奕 (555–639 AD) recension, or *Daodejing guben* 道德經古本. This appears to be a critical conflation of different “old manuscripts” that this scholar-official had collected, including the one from the tomb of Xiang Yu’s concubine, unearthed in 574 AD (the interment of which likely dated to just prior to the beginning of the Han dynasty). The editors of the Mawangdui manuscripts have noted a strong affinity between the Mawangdui *Laozi* texts and the Fu Yi recension. According to Zhu Qianzhi, however, the existing version of this redaction appears to have undergone at least some degree of modification over time. The edition used here is a photo-facsimile of the (Ming) *Dao zang* 道藏 woodblock edition, as reproduced in Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰, ed., *Wuqiubei zhai Laozi jicheng chubian* 無求備齋老子集成初編.

[56] For more on these various recensions and editions, and others not listed here, see William G. Boltz, “*Lao tzu Tao te ching*”; Rudolf Wagner, “The Wang Bi Recension of the *Laozi*”; and Zhu Qianzhi, *Laozi jiaoshi*, “Xuwen” 序文 pp. 1–4, and “Benshu suoju banben shumu” 本書所據版本書目, pp. 1–11 of the same work.

WB Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249 AD), *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經註. This version of the text and its commentary are the product of the famous scholar Wang Bi, and the main, literary competitor to the more popularized Heshang Gong commentary. As a number of scholars have pointed out, this Wang Bi text as it has come down to us appears to differ in many places from the text on which Wang Bi actually based his commentary, in many cases probably altered to conform to the Heshang Gong version.[57] Nonetheless, I cite from the text as we now have it, rather than from any attempt to reconstruct an original. The edition used here is a photo-facsimile of the (Ming) *Dao zang* edition as reproduced in Yan Lingfeng, ed., *Wuqiubei zhai Laozi jicheng chubian*. (Note that where the initials "WB" are followed by a year [as in WB 99.8], this refers to the modern scholar Wang Bo, not Wang Bi.)

HSG *Heshang Gong zhu Laozi Daodejing* 河上公注老子道德經, the Heshang Gong 河上公 recension, to which the Heshang Gong commentary is attached. The latter's putative author, Heshang Gong, is a legendary figure said to have lived at the time of Han Emperor Wen 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 BC). This is a well-circulated recension of uncertain date, originating sometime from the late Eastern Han to the fifth century AD. By the early Tang, the Heshang Gong commentary had become the prevailing one among *Daodejing* commentaries. While the Heshang Gong text, too, seems to differ in places from the text on which the commentary was actually based, it nonetheless appears, as Zhu Qianzhi notes, to have undergone less alteration and is generally closer to the ancient "original" than the Wang Bi recension—which may in turn have been modified on its basis. The edition used here is the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 photo-facsimile of the Song dynasty Jian'an Yu shi edition 宋建安虞氏刊本, as reproduced in Yan Lingfeng, ed., *Wuqiubei zhai Laozi jicheng chubian*.

JLB The Jinglong bei 景龍碑 edition, engraved upon the front and back of a stone stele erected at the Longxing Daoist Monastery 龍興觀 of Yizhou 易州 (modern-day Yixian 易縣, Hebei) during the second year of the Jinglong period (708 AD) of Tang emperor Zhongzong 中宗. I take the text of this edition from Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Laozi jiaoshi* 老子校釋, for which it serves as the base edition. According to Zhu, this edition derives from the Heshang Gong recension, and he makes the case that it is the most accurate reflection of that version, and hence of the *Laozi* itself, that remains to us (prior to the most recent manuscript

[57] On the discrepancies between the Wang Bi text as we have it and that assumed in Wang Bi's commentary, and how readings in the latter find support in Mawangdui and other old manuscripts, see William G. Boltz, "The *Lao Tzu* Text that Wang Pi and Ho-shang Kung Never Saw"; and Rudolf Wagner, "The Wang Bi Recension of the *Laozi*." Wagner concludes that the original Wang Bi text appears most closely affiliated with the two "Old Manuscripts" of Fu Yi and Fan Yingyuan (and, by extension, those of Mawangdui).

discoveries, anyway). Also known as the Yizhou edition, Jinglong edition, or simply "Stele edition" (*beiben*).

XE The incomplete Xiang Er 相爾 manuscript, one of the many pre-Tang manuscripts from Dunhuang 敦煌, to which the Xiang Er commentary is attached. This commentary is attributed by (Tang) Lu Deming to Zhang Lu 張魯 (d. 216 AD) of the Celestial Masters Daoist sect 天師道. It includes only the first half (*Dao jing*) of the text (passages 1-37), of which the first two and a half passages (1-3a) are missing. The edition used here is the *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 photo-facsimile of the hand-written manuscript, the original of which is housed in the British Museum.

Note one further abbreviation that is used in the notes:

All R This shorthand refers inclusively to all of the received editions listed above (i.e., excluding Mawangdui; but including XE where the passage is present), but not necessarily to other received witnesses not included in this survey. Though these are the only versions of the texts I explicitly compare in all instances, I will also otherwise note (on the basis of Zhu Qianzhi) places where other manuscripts, like the *Laozi zhigui* 老子指歸 text attached to the commentary of Yan Zun 嚴遵 (ca. 80 BC–10 AD), or the critical "old-manuscript" recension of Fan Yingyuan 范應元 of the Song, have unique and potentially significant variations.

Before turning to the text and translations of the Guodian Laozi manuscripts themselves, let us take note of the following features of each.

"Laozi A"

This thirty-nine-strip manuscript contains a number of different textual markers, including short strokes, black squares, and hooks. The short strokes mark phrases, clauses, or sentences, but their usage appears inconsistent and often arbitrary, and they are also occasionally found to separate passages as well; in one or two cases, they appear to be incorrectly placed. Black squares usually separate passages, but not consistently, as a number of passages appear to be left undivided; they are sometimes used to divide sentences, as in the first five of passage 1 (R 19). At certain points—in strips 18, 20, 23, 24, and 35—these are followed by blank space of two to six characters in length. Most significant, perhaps, are

the two hook marks, which end strips 32 and 39, followed by blank space for the remainder of the strips, and which convention suggests would appear to mark the ends of two major sections of the text.

The text is divided into five "blocks" within each of which there is no ambiguity in strip order, whereas the order of these blocks themselves is ambiguous because their beginnings and ends coincide with the beginnings and ends of passages; these blocks and the strips they contain are as follows: I (1-20), II (21-23), III (24), IV (25-32),[58] and V (33-39)—blocks IV and V ending with the hook markers. Given that we might expect the two major sections to be of more even length than that provided by the current arrangement, a number of reorderings of the blocks have been suggested, usually on thematic grounds. Li Ling suggests the order of II+III+V for section one and I+IV for section two, averring that the first of these focuses on the "Heavenly way of pliancy" and the latter on the "governance of non-action"; Wang Bo assumes a similar arrangement, though leaving the order of the two sections open, and identifies three main themes of "the Way or Heaven's Way," the "embodiment or cultivation of the Way," and "methods of rulership"; and both Robert Henricks and Edmund Ryden also follow such an arrangement, but with the order of the two sections reversed from that of Li Ling.[59] While I certainly agree that the two sections were probably more equivalent in length than currently given, I do not hold the same confidence that the two can be neatly identified with general themes, or that they were necessarily even divided on the basis of clear thematic distinction in the first place. For this reason, as well as for convenience of reference, I retain the editors' original ordering of the strips in my translation, though the reader should keep in mind that this ordering of the blocks otherwise remains arbitrary.

As with the "Laozi" B and C texts, I number all the passages in this text consecutively based on the given order, noting the equivalent passage(s) of the received text in parentheses (i.e., "R #"). As the usage of passage markers is not consistent in the text, however, it is not always certain where division into separate passages should occur. Passages 6 (R 64b) and 7

[58] Note that strip 26 consists of only two short strip-fragments, placed together to form an incomplete strip.

[59] See Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," p. 462; Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 256–57; Robert Henricks, *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching, p. 10; and Lei Dunhe "Guodian *Laozi*: yixie qianti de taolun," pp. 118–30. Guo Yi also follows Li's arrangement and gives his own thematic rationale; see his *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, pp. 49–50. Li also notes that the first of his two sections contains passage marks but no punctuation marks, whereas the second, longer section contains both. Thematically, Ryden sees I+IV as describing the "basic attitude and spirit of the ruler" ("non-action" and "no desires"), and II+III+V as focused on self-cultivation of the Dao's attributes of emptiness, absence, and weakness. Henricks also makes note (p. 300, nn. 33 and 37) of instances in Peng Hao's initial transcription where the order of certain units had been reversed. Note that Paulos Huang suggests a different order altogether: III+II+I+V+IV; see his "The Guodian Bamboo Slip Texts and the *Laozi*," p. 31.

(R 37), for instance, have no marker between them, but since the equivalent of R 64b also appears as an independent unit in “Laozi C,” we seem justified in treating it here as a separate passage as well—by extension, we are potentially justified in treating other passages similarly unseparated by such marks. In general, I divide the passages as they are divided in the Mawangdui and/or received versions, except where there is a compelling reason to diverge from this. Note that my numbering of passages thus does not always conform to that given in other scholarly works, such as Liao Mingchun’s *Guodian Chujian* Laozi *jiaoshi*. This is particularly true from passages 10-11 (R 32a-b) forward, as I divide 10-11 into two on the basis of a passage marker, while most other scholars treat them like the single passage that they form in the received versions.

“Laozi B”

This eighteen-strip manuscript has black-squares markers separating most of its passages, but passages 2-4 (R 48, R 20a, R 13) are not divided by such, having only short horizontal-stroke markers (also used as line markers) at the ends of the two lines where they divide. There is also no mark whatsoever between passages 8-9 (R 45b and R54), leading some scholars to group them together. Though there are lacunae due to portions missing from a number of strips, the order of the passages is only problematic in the three places where the beginnings of strips coincide with the beginnings of passages, thus forming three internally contiguous blocks as follows: strips 1-8, 9-12, and 13-18. As there are lacunae at the end of strips 12 and 18, it is possible that one of these two strips originally contained a text-end marker. Li Ling, in the later version of his transcription, reverses the order of the first two blocks, taking the passage of strips 9-12 (R 41) as a kind of summary statement to what follows. Guo Yi, conversely, reverses the order of the last two blocks, treating the R 41 equivalent instead as a natural conclusion. Once again, I retain the original order here.

Most scholars who attempt thematic analysis see “Laozi B” as focused more on “virtue” (*de*), or the individual’s/ruler’s cultivation of the self and the Dao rather than descriptions of the Dao itself, focusing on philosophies of life (“conservation,” “diminishing,” etc.) and the political order achieved through such a process.[60]

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[60] See especially Wang Bo, “Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa,” pp. 254–56; and Cui Renyi, who, in *Jingmen Guodian Chujian “Laozi” yanjiu* p. 28, also argues that “Laozi B” is a somewhat later text than “Laozi A.” See also Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, p. 21; and Lei Dunhe (Edmund Ryden), “Guodian *Laozi*: yixie qianti de taolun,” pp. 124–25, who summarizes the theme of this text as “rulership through self-cultivation, with the reversal of values from what is common.”

"Laozi C"

In addition to a number of short, horizontal-stroke line markers, this fourteen-strip manuscript (excluding "Taiyi sheng shui," which will be treated separately in the next chapter) also contains four distinct, black-square passage markers at the end of text in strips 3, 5, 10, and 14, after which no further graphs are written, thus clearly dividing the text into four discrete passages (there is no overall text-end marker). Passage 1 (strips 1-3), however, is actually separated into two passages in the received versions: R 17 and R 18; as several scholars note, however, the *gu* 故, "thus," that heads the latter portion in this manuscript would seem to join the two inseparably.[61] While a number of lacunae appear in the form of missing strip portions, these all occur within passages and thus do not affect the ordering of the text. Note that Xing Wen would rearrange the four "Laozi C" sections in the order of I+III (strips 1-3 and 6-10) and II+IV (strips 4-5 and 11-14), but *precede* both of these with "Taiyi sheng shui" sections I and II (see the next chapter for more on the "Taiyi" divisions).[62]

Thematically, any analysis of this text is of course dependent on whether one includes the "Taiyi sheng shui" portions into consideration. Wang Bo, for instance, sees all the passages as centered around the theme of rulership, with "spontaneity" and "non-action" at its core, whereas Cui Renyi, who includes the "Taiyi sheng shui," sees it instead as centered on descriptions of the "Way" from various perspectives.[63]

Overall, the passages of these three texts correspond to those of the received versions roughly as follows:

"Laozi A": R 19, 66, 46b, 30, 15, 64b, 37, 63, 2, 32a, 32b, 25, 5b, 16a, 64a, 56, 57, 55, 44, 40, & 9

"Laozi B": R 59, 48a, 20a, 13, 41, 52b, 45a, 45b, & 54

"Laozi C": R 17-18, 35, 31, & 64b

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[61] See Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 27; Wang Bo (citing Rudolph Wagner), "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 253 and 262 n. 8; and Qiu Xigui, "Guodian 'Laozi' jian chutan," p. 41.

[62] Xing Wen, "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi," pp. 172–73.

[63] Wang Bo, "Guanyu Guodian Chumu zhujian fenpian yu lianzhui de jidian xiangfa," pp. 253–54; Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, pp. 29–33. Cui sees much of "Laozi C" as a kind of elaboration on passages found in "Laozi A," and views it as the chronologically latest of the three texts. As for Li Ling, he suggests that this text focuses on rulership and the military, with the first two passages depicting "Dao," and the second two describing its "de"; see his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, p. 26.

For the way that rhyme will be indicated in the transcriptions, see the chapter on “Transcription and Translation Conventions” above.

I am preceded in this translation by Robert Henricks’s excellent study and translation of the Guodian “Laozi” texts: *Lao Tzu’s* Tao Te Ching*: A Translation of the Startling New Documents Found at Guodian*. Henricks’s original contributions to the interpretation of these texts, as well as a number of points of convergence and divergence with the present translation (the former more prevalent), are duly noted in the footnotes. I have also benefited at points from the fine translations of Moss Roberts, *Dao De Jing: The Book of the Way*, and Roger Ames and David Hall, *Dao De Jing: A Philosophical Translation*—which, though not translations of the Guodian manuscripts per se, do take it into account.[64]

[64] Needless to say, and as will be clear enough in the footnotes, I have also benefitted tremendously from the voluminous prior work of Chinese scholars, including a number of book-length studies of the Guodian “Laozi” manuscripts by such scholars as Wei Qipeng, Ding Yuanzhi, Peng Hao, and Liao Mingchun, among others. Liu Xiaogan’s comprehensive two-volume study of the various *Laozi* witnesses appeared in print only shortly after this translation was completed, at which time Chen Xiyong’s work also became available to me. Finally—over just the last two years—Ding Sixin published his own annotated edition of the Guodian “Laozi,” followed most recently by a “collected explanations” edition compiled by Peng Yushang and Wu Yiqiang. Needless to say, time constraints have not permitted me to incorporate all of the most recent book-length work on the “Laozi” manuscripts into this translation; fortunately, however, some of these later scholars had previously presented their more original points of interpretation in the form of articles. Note that Edmund Ryden has also recently published a translation of the *Daodejing* that, naturally, takes the Guodian materials into account.

“Laozi A”
老子甲
Text and Translation

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1 (R 19)[1]

　　㡭（絕）[2]智[3]弃（棄）𡴘（辨）[4]，民利百伓（倍）。[5]■

[1] This passage is unusual in having “black square” markers used as line markers separating most of its lines; elsewhere in the manuscript (and in the Guodian manuscripts generally), they are used primarily as passage markers.

[2] 㡭(絕): for more on this graph, see QXG 00.1. BW 99 suggests considering the alternative of reading it in its more “standard” representation of 繼, to “continue.”

[3] 智: GDCMZJ reads 知, “knowing,” “understanding”; QXG 06.12 takes this “knowing” in the sense of making distinctions. As DYZ 98.9 and LGS 00.5 point out, this 智 may also carry more the sense of “cunning” or “resourcefulness” than “knowledge” per se. Cf. R 65: “民之難治，以其多智” (“When the people are difficult to rule, it is because their knowledge is abundant”).

[4] 𡴘: QXG 98.5 identifies this as the ancient form of 鞭, and here initially reads 辯, “argumentation”; as he notes, the graph also appears in “Laozi C,” strip 8; “Cheng zhi,” strip 32; and “Zun Deyi,” strip 14—where he would variously read 偏, 辨, and 辯 (cf. QXG 00.1). JXS 98.12 supports QXG’s reading, noting just how 卞 may have derived from the ancient form of 鞭; cf. HLY/CY 05.6. BW 99 analyzes the graph instead as a two-stroke element (二) over 攴. LXF 99.1 reads 便, “convenience.” DYZ 98.9 takes 辯 in the sense of “order” or “clarification”; WZJ 99.1 in the sense of “wisdom.” HR 00 reads 辨, “distinctions”; LRH 03.11 (pp. 208–11) also argues at length for this reading, and QXG 06.12 also accepts it. 辯 and 辨 are, of course, closely related; “discrimination” should be understood here in both its cognitive and verbal senses.

[5] All R and MWD read 絕聖棄知，民利百倍 (orthographic variations in MWD A): “Cut off sagacity and discard knowledge, and the people will profit a hundred fold.” This variation is significant because this is the only instance in the received text where the term *sheng* 聖 carries a negative connotation. WZJ 99.1, LCS 99.1a, ZJW 99.8a, WB 99.8b (pp. 156–58), QXG (99.8, 00.1, and 06.12 [pp. 11–13]), and others argue that GDCJ represents the earlier version of the line, some arguing that the text later changed under the influence of the followers of Zhuang Zi (XKS 99.1 and others make a similar claim about 絕仁棄義 below). The main *Zhuangzi* line in question appears in “Qu qie” 胠篋: “絕聖棄知，大盜乃止......攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同矣” (“Forsake sagacity and abandon knowledge, and great thieves will desist . . . cast aside humanity and propriety, and only then will the virtues of the world merge in profundity”); for further *Zhuangzi* references of possible relevance, see QXG 06.12. For the opposite view, wherein GDCJ here may represent an alteration of an earlier

𢇍（絕）攷（巧）[6]弃（棄）利[7]，覜（盜）惻（賊）[8]亡[9]又（有）。[10]■

𢇍（絕）𢡺（僞）[11]弃（棄）慮（詐）[12]，民复（復）季（稚）子[13]。[14]〔之部〕

[15]■

text, see ZFW 00.5 (p. 60, n. 6), CS 02, LXQ 02.1a (p. 6), and LRH 03.11. LXQ 06.10 argues that "Yucong 4" in fact quotes other lines directly from "Qu qie," which—assuming no later alterations would be made to that chapter—would in turn imply that the "絕聖棄知" version of the line in question here in fact predates the Guodian manuscripts (note that this line is only one of a number of *Laozi* quotations found in "Qu qie"); for more on the ostensible "Yucong 4" quotation, however, see my introduction to that text.

[6] 攷: LXF 99.1 disputes the rendering and interprets the graph as 敦, in the sense of "imbalance"; LMC 03.6, however, shows that LXF's revision is unwarranted. 攷 is interchangeable with 考, here a loan for 巧; see QXG 00.1, BW 99. HR 00 translates as "artistry."

[7] 利: LGS 00.5 notes the similar pairing of 巧 and 利 in "Xing zi ming chu," strips 45-46: "人之巧言利辭者，不有夫詘詘之心則流." Taking similar note of its close relation to 巧, QXG 06.12 understands 利 as "conveniences" in the sense of modern technology.

[8] 覜惻: QXG 98.5 reads 盜賊; for more on these loans, see QXG 00.1 and BW 99.

[9] ZJW 99.8a (p. 261), WB 99.8b (p. 155), and others note that while 無 is consistently written 亡 in both "Laozi" A and B, it is always written 無 in "Laozi" C, suggesting a certain degree of distinction for the latter manuscript.

[10] In All R and MWD, this sentence comes after the next one.

[11] 𢡺: GDCMZJ renders 憍, which QXG 98.5 reads 僞; I render the graph more strictly here (and elsewhere) as 𢡺. The same graph appears on strip 48 of "Xing zi ming chu"; PP (99.1a [p. 11] and 00.5b [p. 39]) sees the graph in both instances as closely related to 爲, "(purposive) action," but, having the heart radical, as focused more on the mental aspect of such action. JXS 98.12 and LMC 99.10 interpret similarly, as "actions of the mind" or "deliberation," and QXG 00.5 qualifies his reading as 僞 to mean "artifice" in the sense of "human action that runs counter to nature" (cf. QXG 06.12, where he would opt for the reading orthography of just 爲). Cf. SE 06 (pp. 25–26), who supports PP's more nuanced reading. LL 02.3 affirms the initial reading of 僞 (see next note). LXF 99.1, HLB (HR) 99.8, PH 00.1, and CSP 00.8 all instead read 化, "instructional transformation," the reading given the same graph in both "Laozi A" strip 13 and "Yucong 1" strip 68 (though it elsewhere reads 僞); HLB (HR) (pp. 190–91) contrasts this with the 自化, "self-transformation," of passage 7 (R 37) below. GM 98.10 suggests the possible readings of 譌 or 化, but instead reads as a phonetic loan for 義, "propriety." ZLW 99.8 also sees the graph as standing for 化, but reads this here as 貨, "valuable goods." IT 99.11 also notes 化 as a possible reading, but still reads 僞.

[12] 慮: QXG (98.5 and 00.1) sees the phonetic element as 且 and initially reads 詐, "deceit." In line with this interpretation, LXF 99.1 reads 怚, in the sense of "falsification"; ZJW 99.8a and CW 99.10a read 虘, in the sense of "viciousness"; and PH 00.1 reads 衺, as "depravity." PP 99.1a and JXS 98.12, however, both note the seeming pointlessness of a "Laozi" text that would thus advocate the abandonment of such universally recognized negative behaviors as artifice and deception, and instead read 作, "(unnatural) creation," forming a pair with 爲 read as "(purposive) action"; PP points out the similar pairing of 作 and 爲 in strip 17 below: 萬物作而弗始也，爲而弗恃也, as well the denunciations of 爲 in "Yucong 1" strips 53-56 and the related lines of

"Xing zi ming chu" strips 36-38. On reflection, QXG 00.5 sees the intended graph as 慮, "consideration," "deliberation," often graphically confused with 慮; he thus follows a reading already proposed, for similar reasons, by many, including CRY 98.10, YGH 98.12, XKS 99.1, IT 99.11, HLB (HR) 99.8, ZJW 99.8a, and LMC 99.10. QXG 00.5 notes several instances in the *Xunzi* and *Huainanzi* in which 爲/僞 and 慮 are paired together, as in the latter's "Yuan dao" 原道 chapter: "不慮而得，不爲而成" ("Attaining without deliberation; completing without action"), or the former's "Zheng ming" 正名 chapter: "情然而心爲之擇謂之慮；心慮而能爲之動謂之僞" ("The mind selecting among what the affections affirm we call 'deliberation'; one's abilities acting upon what the mind deliberates we call 'artifice'"). PP 00.5b also comes to see the graph as 慮, citing the same "Zheng ming" lines and also pointing to an ostensibly similar pairing in strip 48 of "Xing zi ming chu." However, based on closely similar graphic forms for a 僞詐 pair in the Shanghai Museum strips, LL 02.3 affirms the initial reading; LL is certainly referring to the later-published "San de" 三德 text (for which he did the transcription), strip 2 (see SBCZCZS v. 5, p. 289), where, in the line "毋爲憑慮，上帝將憎之," basically the same two graphs carry a clearly common-sensical negative connotation and strongly suggest a reading of 僞詐 after all. Given the weight of this latter evidence, I choose here to go with QXG's initial reading. If this indeed results, as it seems to, in an inferior philosophical reading, this may in fact point to a scenario where the Guodian text was altered, somewhat carelessly, from an earlier text that may well have had *ren* and *yi* after all; on this point, cf. LXQ 02.1a (p. 6). Despite the "San de" evidence, QXG 06.12 still argues that the graph here is a corruption of 慮, noting that the "San de" graph is slightly different, having 獻 rather than just 虛 as its phonetic.

[13] 季子: GDCMZJ sees this as a graphic error for 孝子(慈), which all other versions of the text have. CRY 98.10, JXS 98.12, and LXF 99.1 instead read the pair as is, in the sense of "infant" or "young child"; QXG 00.5 accepts this reading, arguing that it is a more reasonably relevant outcome of 絕僞棄慮. The term (or the phonetically related 稚子), however, is not an attested compound in pre-Qin received texts (though 稚子 does appear soon after, in the *Shi ji*), nor is it a plausible phonetic loan for the common 赤子; QXG 04.12c (p. 11), however, does note one instance of 季子 in the Mawangdui "Mai fa" 脈法 manuscript, where it may have the sense of a pre–school-aged apprentice (he also tries to argue on tonal grounds that 子 is a better rhyme than its phonetic cousin 慈). Given the graphic similarity of 季 with 孝 and the phonetic equivalence (questions of tonality aside) of 子 with 慈 (commonly written with the 子 element), it would be too much of a coincidence to suggest that one version was not an error for the other, and any changes in the previous phrase could also plausibly be explained as an effort to match it with a misreading or miscopying of the second. It is tempting to go with the majority versions here and explain the GDCJ graph as an aberration. Given, however, the difference in the previous phrase and the related point that QXG raises (regardless of how he ends up reading that phrase), I translate here as is. The phrase would also have partial echoes with chapter 28 of the received *Daodejing*: "復歸於嬰兒" ("Return back to the [state of an] infant"). Most illuminating, however, is how these lines parallel the final lines of passage 17 (R 57) below, where the people become "innocent on their own" 自樸. Note that if 季 is in fact a graphic error for 孝, this suggests, as BW 99 notes, that this manuscript was likely copied from a prior written source (the same may be said of graphic errors elsewhere in these texts).

[14] In All R and MWD, this sentence comes before the previous one; they read, as mentioned above, 絕仁棄義，民復孝慈 (slight variations in MWD and JLB): "Cut off humanity and discard propriety, and the people will return to filial piety and parental affection." The absence of "humanity" (*ren* 仁) and "propriety" (*yi* 義) in the Guodian version of this line is one of the most frequently discussed aspects of the Guodian *Laozi* texts. DYZ 98.9, CGY (98.10 and 99.8a), XKS 99.1, GY 99.1a (pp. 130–31), XHX 99.4 (pp. 405–6), YZH 99.6, WB 99.8b, ZLW 99.8, LMC 99.10, QXG (99.8 and 00.1), PH 00.1, and others all suggest that GDCJ represents the earlier version, before a strong opposition to *ren* and *yi* developed; HR 00 (pp. 14–15) argues that GDCJ is itself still

三言[16]以（1）為叓（吏〔使/事〕）[17]不足[18]，

或（又）命之或（有）虐（所）豆（樹）：[19]■

“anti-Confucian” (reading 㥮 as 化), just “not yet ‘anti-Mencian.’” LC 99.3 (p. 2), conversely, simply assumes the GDCJ version reflects the absorption of Confucian values from a *later* time period. For the view that GDCJ instead represents a purposeful revision, see ZFW 00.5 (p. 60, n. 6). In a similar vein, WR 99a argues that the order of the three lines in the other versions matches up better with their “parallel” counterpart actions in the last two lines below (見素, 抱樸, and 少私寡欲, as matched in the WB commentary), and that (among other possibilities) the GDCJ version would thus appear to have altered the structure as it shifted the target away from the Confucians and over to “cunning sophists.” QXG (99.8 and 06.12 [p. 13]), conversely, suggests that the original order was reversed in these other versions because of the increased importance of the line as altered to denounce *ren* and *yi*.

[15] The rhymes here—伓(倍), 有, and 子(慈)—are all 之-group.

[16] 三言: All R precede this with 此 and all except XE read 者 instead of 言: “these three”; GDCJ agrees with both XE and MWD in reading 言.

[17] 叓: All R and MWD have 文. GDCMZJ, citing LJH’s analysis, interprets the graph as 弁 and here reads 辨. ZGY/YGH 99.1, DYZ 98.9, and ZJW 99.8a read 辯, DYZ taking it in the sense of “orders” or “measures”; HTL 02.2 reads 辯 (and the 文 of other versions) instead in the sense of “gloss over [one’s shortcomings],” reading the preceding 爲 as 僞, “artifice,” and uniquely taking that as the object of 以. WQP 99.8 reads 卞, in the sense of “standards”; GM 98.10 reads 文. Noting how this graph is the same as that read 使 in strip 35 below, LXF 99.1 (citing YGH), ZGG 99.2, and LL 99.8 all interpret instead as 吏 or 史, LL and ZGG both reading 使 here, in the sense of “employ”; LZ 03.12 takes this to refer specifically to the rulership of the people; HR 00 also follows this reading, translating as “mission.” LMC 99.10 and CW 99.10a also follow this interpretation, but both read 史 instead, in the sense of “ornate.” The two graphs for 吏 and 弁 are easily confused, but the weight of evidence from other instances in GDCJ appears to favor the former here over the latter; cf. ZGG 01.9. BW 99 opts instead to interpret the graph both here and in strip 35 as 弁, as a variant of 變, here in the sense of “*shifts* of one [saying] into the next.” I read as more or less equivalent to 事, as does IT 99.11, taking 以爲事 in a sense not too unlike that of lines from the “Jian ai, zhong” 兼愛中 chapter of the *Mozi*: “仁人之所以爲事者，必興天下之利，除去天下之害，以此爲事者也” (“What the humane man takes as his task is to give rise to the world’s benefit and get rid of its sources of harm without fail—this is what he takes as his task”).

[18] 不足: XE, FY, and MWD read 未足; FY precedes this with 而 and follows with 也.

[19] All R and MWD read 故令有所屬: “Thus make them belong to something” (MWD, like GDCJ, also has the 之 after 令/命). QXG 98.5 would punctuate after 之 here and read 虐 as 呼 (GDCMZJ reads 乎); GDCMZJ reads 命 as 令, but QXG would leave as is. GM 98.10 and LL 99.8 read the second 或 as 有; I follow, and tentatively read the first as 又, as does PYS 03.6; LXF 99.1 reads 有 for both. IT reads similarly to GM and LL, but takes 豆 as a loan for 續, “continue,” “extend.” LMC 03.6 reads the first 或 as 故, the second as 有, sees 乎 as phonetically interchangeable with 所 (cf. GM 98.10), and reads 豆 as 囑, “exhort”; he further notes that the “insufficiency” of the first three dictums might lie in terms of their being phrased negatively (“forsake,” etc.), unlike the constructive phrases to follow below (cf. HLB [HR] 99.8, who makes a similar observation about the

視（示）[20]索（素）[21]保[22]僕（樸）[23]，

少厶（私）[24][頁/分]（寡）[25]欲。〔屋部〕■[26]

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passage in general). As LMC notes, the GDCJ text would appear to invalidate previous theories that these two lines, or portions of them, were actually annotations that had crept into the text. 豆 is certainly a plausible phonetic loan for the 屬 of other versions, but there are no attested loans between the two series; a more likely candidate would be 投, which can also have the meaning of “entrust to.” Taking up HLB’s and LMC’s point about “construction,” however, we may instead here read 樹, “plant” or “erect,” which has the same initial as 屬 and is in the same rhyme-group as 豆, with whose phonetic series it frequently interloans. Cf. the “Waichu shuo, zuoxia” 外儲說左下 chapter of the *Han Feizi*: “孔子曰：「善爲吏者樹德，不能爲吏者樹怨」......故君子愼所樹” (“Confucius said: ‘The quality official implants[/constructs] virtue, whereas the incompetent official implants rancor’ . . . thus the noble man is cautious over what he implants”). Another plausible alternative might be to read 虐豆 as 號召, a “call to arms.”

[20] GDCMZJ interprets this graph as 視, noting that its form is slightly different from that of 見, “see,” which appears in all of the received texts. DYZ 98.9 takes 視 in the sense of “observe” or “emulate.” IT 99.11, YZH 99.6, WQP 99.8, and QXG 00.1 (p. 185) read 示, “express,” “reveal” (to those below). Note that the 見 of the other versions could similarly be read 現, or else could simply be a graphic error for 視. LMC 03.6 takes 視 in the sense of “raise” or “attend to”; CW et al. 09.9 take in the sense of “draw near to.” CWZ 06.11 still sees the graph here as 見 and would appear to read it as is.

[21] 索: GDCMZJ reads 素; LMC 03.6 sees as a graphic error rather than phonetic loan for the latter.

[22] 保: LL 99.8 reads 抱, as all other versions of the text have (FY writes 襃); the two are roughly interchangeable.

[23] 僕: YZH 99.6 reads as is, in the sense of the “servant” within.

[24] Note that some early editions and quotations read 思 (“reflection”) for 私; for details, see LMC 03.6.

[25] [頁/分]: GDCMZJ renders 須 and sees as a corruption of the 寡 seen in All R and MWD. LXF 99.1 takes 須 in the sense of “restrain”; YZH 99.6 takes in the sense of “slight,” and HLY/CY 05.6 in the sense of “stop,” “rest.” LL 99.8, LMC 99.10, and YSX 00.1, however, all dispute the rendering and see as an abbreviation of [頁/分](寡); LMC and YSX also argue that the graph rendered 須 in strip 24 below is the same abbreviation, but there should read 顧. LL 02.3 instead sees *both* graphs as 須, though he here still sees it as a corruption of 寡.

[26] The rhymes, all *wu* 屋-group (*-ok), are 足, 屬, 樸, and 欲 (豆 itself is *hou* 侯-group [*-o], of which *wu* is the *rusheng* counterpart). Note also a possible interior rhyme with 索(素), a *rusheng duo* 鐸-group (*-ɑk) rhyme, in *pangzhuan* relationship to the *wu*-group. That the GDCJ passage ends here and R 20 comes elsewhere in “Laozi B” (strips 4-5) would appear to repudiate a longstanding argument that the 絕學無憂 at the beginning of the latter actually belonged at the end of this passage; for details, see LMC 03.6 (see also HR 00, p. 12, and GY 01.2, pp. 103–6). It is also possible, however, that GDCJ might be derived from a version of the *Laozi* in which the order of these passages paralleled that of the received versions and in which the “mistaken” division point between the two passages had already been introduced; see the comments of DC in AS/WC 00 (pp. 139–40). Note, however, that as a *you* 幽-group rhyme, 憂 would not make for a good rhyme with the *wu*-group words of this passage. We might also suspect that the received order resulted from a grouping of the two passages together *because* of their similarity in wording. For further discussion, see the notes to strips 4-5 of “Laozi B.”

Forsake knowledge and abandon discrimination, and the people will benefit a hundred fold.
Forsake skill and abandon profit, and thieves and thugs will cease to exist.
Forsake ingenuity and abandon deception,[27] and the people will once again [become as] young children.[28]

As things to abide by, [these] three phrases are insufficient,
and [so we] further add to them something constructive:
manifest the plain and embrace the unhewn;
lessen self-interest and decrease desires.

2 (R 66)[29]

江海（海）[30]所以為百浴（谷）[31]王，

以其（2）能為百浴（谷）下，[32]

是以[33]能為百浴（谷）王。[34]

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[27] Or, if we see 𢡺 as an error for 慮 after all, perhaps “forsake ingenuity and abandon deliberation”; see the notes to the Chinese text above.

[28] Or, if 季子 is seen as an error for 孝子(慈): “the people will return to filial piety and parental affection”; see the notes to the Chinese text above.

[29] Note that TP 00 offers a fairly detailed collation and evaluation of the various important textual witnesses to this passage.

[30] 江海(海): I take 江 here to refer to great rivers like the Yangtze more generally than necessarily the Yangtze itself.

[31] 浴: CRY 98.10 and LXF 99.1 instead render 渦; LXF suggests this was the name of a river in the area where “Lao Zi” lived, here used as a name for rivers in general. LMC 03.6 disputes their rendering, seeing it as a variation of 浴 after all. HLY/CY 05.6, however, support it, suggesting that 渦 refers generally to small bodies of water. Note that what is likely the same word is more clearly written 浴 in strip 20 below.

[32] MWD and All R read 以其善下之 (or a slight variation thereof): “because they are good at lying below them.”

[33] GDCJ parallels MWD in having 是以 instead of 故.

[34] Among other similar passages, commentators point to one from the “Jing shen” 敬慎 chapter of the *Shuo yuan* that purports to record a similar statement in an inscription on a bronze statue observed by Confucius upon his visit to the Zhou ancestral temple: “夫江河長百谷者，以其卑下也；天道無親，常與善人,” an inscription which also includes the phrase “莫能與之爭” seen below.

聖人之[35]才（在）民前也，以身後之；[36]

其才（在）民上也，以（3）言下之。[37]

其才（在）民上也，民弗𠕋〈厚〉[38]也；[39]

其才（在）民前也，民弗害（害）[40]也。[41]

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[35] In MWD, FY, and HSG, the 聖人 ("sage") is preceded by 是以, "therefore," and MWD, like GDCJ, follows 聖人 with 之; WB and JLB lack the 聖人 altogether.

[36] In MWD and All R, the equivalent to this sentence (beginning with 欲) follows the next one; it reads 欲先民，必以身後之 (slight variations in FY, JLB, and MWD): "when [the sage] wants to go before the people, he must with his self go behind them." TP 00 mentions that the wording of the HSG commentary may suggest it was based on a text in which this (and the next) line more closely resembled GDCJ. As GY 01.2 suggests, GDCJ, lacking the 欲, presents here a less purposefully manipulative tone than the other versions.

[37] In MWD and All R, the sentence corresponding to this one precedes the last one; it reads 欲上民，必以言下之 (slight variations in FY, JLB, and MWD): "when [the sage] wants to go above the people, he must with his words go below them."

[38] 𠕋: GDCMZJ directly renders 厚. ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 𠕋, read 厚; CRY 98.10 renders likewise, and sees it as a separate graph equivalent in meaning to 重, which is what appears in All R and MWD. As LXF 99.1 notes, in the Chu script 厚 and 重 are close in form. LZ 03.12, taking the graph as a variant of 厚, sees 毛 as the phonetic; LSK 02.10 views the lower element instead as an abbreviation of 𩫖, or the ancient form of 墉, serving both signific and phonetic functions; LMC 03.6, on the other hand, views that element as a corruption of 丯. HLY/CY 05.6 see the graph as resulting from a corruption of an early form of 厚. See also the closely related graph rendered 㘒 (read 重) in strip 5 below. Following the lead of the HSG commentary to 重 as 民戴仰而不以爲重 ("the people support him and consider him not oppressive"), many take 厚 in the sense of "regard as heavy" (HR 00), "be oppressed by" (DYZ 98.9, following Gao Heng), etc; LMC 03.6 takes it in the sense of "take as superior," "treat as valued."

[39] In All R, 是以聖人 ("Thus the sage . . .") appears in place of the particle 其, whereas MWD has just 故 ("Thus . . .). For what follows, FY has 處之上而民弗重; WB, HSG, and JLB have 處上而民不重 (the latter gives 人 for the taboo 民; some HSG editions read 處民上而不重); MWD has 居上而民弗重也, but in MWD A the order of this and the following line is reversed (for more on this, see LMC 03.6). The main difference lies in the presence of 而 (instead of 也) and the preceding 故 or 是以 in all other versions, which clarify a logical relationship that in GDCJ remains somewhat unclear. Note also that in both GDCJ and MWD A, the effect of their different line "reversals" is that lines 3 and 4 of this stanza end up mirroring, rather than paralleling, their counterpart lines in 1 and 2—but in opposite ways from one another.

[40] 害: GDCMZJ notes that the graph here consists of 丯 (*jie*) and 目 and renders 害; QXG 98.5 would instead render 害 (according to HLY 98.9 [p. 899], this is perhaps an early form of 瞎), read 害. See also the "Zhu shu" 主術 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: "故百姓載之上，弗重也；錯之前，弗害也." The HSG commentary reads 民親之若父母，無有欲害之心, "the people regard him as their parent and harbor no desire to harm him." DYZ 98.9 takes 害 in the sense of "be obstructed by"; LMC 03.6 takes in the sense of "envy." I think that HR 00,

天下[42]樂進[43]而弗詁（厭）[44]。（4）

以其不靜（爭）也，[45]

古（故）天下莫能與之靜（爭）。〔無韻〕[46]

The reason why the Rivers and Seas rule as kings of the hundred streams
is because they are able to lie below the hundred streams—
this is why they are able to rule as kings of the hundred streams.

That the sage resides before the people is because he places his self behind
them;
that he resides above the people is because he places his words below them.
Residing above the people, the people give no weight to him;
Residing before the people, the people feel no threat in him.

"regard as posing a threat," and RM 01, "feel no threat," are closest to the mark. The phrase 民弗害 also appears in strip 21 of "Yucong 4" (which, however, I translate somewhat differently).

[41] All R read 處前而民不害 (or slight variation thereof); MWD reads 居前而民弗害(也), except that MWD A has the order of this and the preceding line reversed.

[42] All R precede 天下 with 是以 ("Therefore"); MWD does not, but MWD B has 皆, "all," after 天下.

[43] 進: All R read 推; MWD A has 隼 and B has 誰. The Yan Zun 嚴遵 recension follows 推 with three additional characters: 而上之 (see TP 00). DYZ 98.9 finds the idea of the people "advancing" the ruler to be out of character for the *Laozi* and understands 進 in the sense of "draw near"; XKS 99.1, for similar reasons, also takes it to refer to the people in their delight in "advancing to" the ruler.

[44] 詁: All R and MWD have either 厭 or 猒 (Yan Zun also precedes with 知). DYZ 98.9 and LXF 99.1 read 詹, in the sense of "discuss verbosely"; ZGG 99.2 reads 讒, "slander." YSX 00.5 suggests that 詁 and 厭 are phonetically interchangeable. YGH 98.12, however, sees the graph as an abbreviation of 獻, seen in strip 46 of "Ziyi," where it is also read 厭. YSX notes relevant passages in the "Xingshi jie" 形勢解 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "天下推之而不倦，譽之而不猒"; and "Zhu shu" chapter of the *Huainanzi*: "舉之而弗高也，推之而弗猒." LMC 03.6 reads the graph as 怗, in the sense of "cease," similar in meaning to 厭 as "full."

[45] WB, HSG, and JLB read 以其不爭, roughly parallel to what we have here. In FY and MWD we have it framed as a rhetorical question: FY has 不以其不爭: "Is it not because he does not contend?"—which MWD makes even clearer by the presence of the question particle 與 (歟) at the end; MWD has 无靜 (A) or 无爭 (B) for 不爭, and MWD A writes 非 for the initial 不. Yan Zun has simply 非以爭. For discussions of the various rhetorical/non-rhetorical variations, see WZJ 99.1 and LMC 03.6.

[46] Though there may be some interrhyming present—i.e., *yang* 陽-group 王 with *yu* 魚-group 下 (*duizhuan*); or a very loose *pangzhuan* rhyme between *hou* 侯-group 後 (and 厚) and *yu*-group 下—there is not enough consistency to consider this a rhymed passage ([Qing] Jiang Yougao 江有誥 also does not include this among the rhymed passages).

The world delights in advancing him, never tiring of it.
Because he does not contend,
no one in the world can contend with him.

3 (R 46b)[47]

辠（罪）[48]莫㙐（重）[49]虐（乎）甚[50]欲，[51]

咎莫𩫥（險/憯）[52]虐（乎）谷（欲）得[53]，[54]（5）

[47] Note that there is no passage marker separating this passage from the previous one, but whether it was intended here as part of the same passage or not is uncertain. As the work is traditionally divided, chapter 46 of the received versions precedes the passage here with some version of the lines "天下有道，卻走馬以糞；天下無道，戎馬生於郊" ("When the world has the Way, swift horses are returned to fertilize [the fields]; when the world lacks the Way, battle horses are bred in the outskirts"; also in the "Jie Lao" 解老 and "Yu Lao" 喻老 chapters of the *Han Feizi*). In light of the GDCJ text, it seems those lines might better be conceived as a separate passage altogether; as PH 98.10 and IT (99.8 and 03.11) note, MWD A also has a mark that would seem to separate them off as an individual passage, and XKS 99.1 and QXG 99.8 also note how there does not appear to be any thematic connection between them and this passage. LMC 03.6 suggests they may have been a late–Warring States addition.

[48] 辠(罪): the "Jie Lao" (but not "Yu Lao") cites as 禍, "disaster."

[49] 㙐: All other versions with this line here have 大, "great." GDCMZJ renders 厚; CRY 98.10 renders 砫; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 垕, read 厚. LXF 99.1 instead interprets as 重, without explanation; CW 99.10a and LL 02.3 see the lower element as 主 and also interpret as 重; all three of these scholars see this graph as different from the 垕 graph in strip 4. For further references explaining 㙐 as a graph for 重, see the note to this graph in strip 44 of "Ziyi." HLY/CY 05.6 would also render 㙐, but still see as another variant of 厚. LMC 03.6 renders both graphs as 石 over 丰 and likewise sees them as a variant of 厚.

[50] 甚: GDCMZJ suggests this might read 淫 here; all other versions have 可, as do the citations in the "Jie Lao" and "Yu Lao," while the *Han Shi waizhuan* (*juan* 9) has 多, "numerous." LL 99.8 reads 貪, "greed," "avarice." ZJW 99.8a argues that 甚 corresponds lexically to the 可 found in the other versions, which, read 夥, could also have the sense of "copious"; YSX 00.5 follows, citing many similar senses in the 可 phonetic series, and LXF 99.1 notes that the explanation in the "Jie Lao" interprets the 可 here as 甚. Cf. SP 02.11 (pp. 11–16), who also supports this interpretation. CW 99.10a suggests instead that 甚 be read 堪, in the sense, like 可, of "able to"; his 02.12, however, instead reads 歁, "avarice." WQP 99.8 reads 侵, "invasive." ZGG 99.2, on the other hand, would render the graph itself as 苛. LMC 03.6 reaffirms the initial rendering as a variant of the "ancient form" of 甚, but reads like 媅, "pleasurable," "indulgent." HLY/CY 05.6 also concur with the rendering, suggesting that the 可 of the other versions may have resulted from graphic confusion with an early form of this graph.

[51] Note that WB somehow lacks this line altogether.

[52] 𩫥: GDCMZJ renders 僉 and reads 憯, "sorrowful," "tragic," after MWD A and FY, as well as the "Yu Lao" and "Jie Lao"; 憯 has early glosses of 痛, "painful," or 甚, "severe." WB and HSG have 大. The so-called "Dunhuang" 敦煌, Suizhou 遂州, and Gu Huan 顧歡 editions all have 甚, which, as YSX 00.5 and HLY/CY

化（禍）莫大虖（乎）不智（知）足。〔屋職合韻〕[55]

智（知）足之為足，[56]

此亙（恆）[57]足矣。[58]〔屋部〕

There is no crime heavier than excessive desires;
there is no retribution more terrible than desires obtained;
there is no disaster greater than not knowing [when one has] enough.

Knowing when enough is enough
—with this, one will constantly have enough.

4 (R 30)

以衍（道）[59]差（佐）[60]人宔（主）者，

05.6 note, can interloan with 憯. CRY 98.10 renders the graph more explicitly as 朁. DYZ 98.9 reads 僉 as is, in the sense of "numerous." YSX 00.5 and LMC 03.6 both note that 僉 can also have the sense of 甚, "severe" (though 甚 itself already appears in the previous line). ZGG 99.2, LL 99.8, and PH 00.1 all read 險, "dreadful," or "dangerous," as I do here. Note that HSG and JLB repeat 大 in the same place for all three phrases (or both for WB), whereas GDCJ is unique in having three different adjectives.

[53] 得: "Jie Lao" mistakenly cites as 利, "profit." We could alternately take 欲 here as an auxiliary verb, thus "[the] desire to obtain."

[54] In MWD and All R, the order of this and the next line is reversed. GDCJ parallels the Wu Cheng 吳澄 edition. As HR 00 and LMC 03.6 note, the order here flows more naturally into the following lines than does the order of the other versions.

[55] Though Jiang Yougao does not include this among the rhymed passages, there would seem to be a definite *pangzhuan* rhyme between the *rusheng wu* 屋-group 欲 and 足 (*-ok) and *zhi* 職-group 得 (*-ək).

[56] All R read 故知足之足 ("Thus the sufficiency of knowing sufficiency . . ." or perhaps "Thus knowing the sufficiency of sufficiency"). The presence of 爲 in GDCJ makes for a more immediately intelligible sentence. HLB 99.8/HR 00 takes this line in the sense of "the satisfaction of knowing what is sufficient"; LMC 03.6 gives a similar reading. "Yu Lao" cites the line as "知足之爲足矣," which may be an accidental telescoping of this phrase (with 爲) with the next.

[57] 亙: GDCMZJ identifies the graph here as the "ancient script" form of 恆. For more on this graph, see QXG 00.1. Here and throughout, All R have 常, whereas MWD has 恆.

[58] All R lack the 此 and simply read 常足矣 (JLB lacks 矣); MWD A, like GDCJ, has 恆足矣.

[59] 衍 (here and throughout): GDCMZJ and QXG 00.1 note that this is a form of 道 given in the *Hanjian* 汗簡;

不谷（欲）[61]以兵強[62]（6）於天下。[63]〔魚部〕[64]

善者[65]果[66]而已，不[67]以取強[68]。

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for further details, see also LXQ 98.12, LRH 02.3, and WXC 02.7. HZ 00.5 (pp. 489–90) suggests that this graph, here and below, is actually an error for 術, "method," noting that where a metaphysical sense is intended we always find 道 instead—but this claim is roundly countered by LRH. For more on this graph, see also the subsection on "The Chu script" in section C of the general introduction.

[60] 差: MWD and All R have 佐, except JLB, which has 作. CRY 98.10 renders more explicitly as 來 over 左. ZLW 99.8 (p. 141) instead sees the lower element as 右 and reads 佑, also "assist."

[61] 不谷(欲): All other versions lack the 欲, "desire to."

[62] 強: CRY 98.10 interprets instead as 剛, here and below; LXF 99.1 renders 剛, but reads 強. LMC 03.6 reaffirms the graph as an abbreviation of 強.

[63] MWD reads 以道佐人主，不以兵強於天下; All R, like GDCJ, also have 者 after 主. GDCJ alone has the 谷(欲), "want to; should." Following this, All R and MWD (marred by lacunae) have some version of the additional lines: "其事好還。師之所處，荊棘生焉" ("Such matters are prone to cyclicity/revenge. Where the army dwells, brambles will grow"); FY, WB, and HSG also have yet another line: "大軍之後，必有凶年 ("In the wake of a great army, there will invariably be a bad harvest-year"). DYZ 98.9, WQP 99.8, ZJW 99.8a, and GY 01.2 all suggest the last couple of lines (after 還) may have been commentaries to the text that crept in accidentally (cf. XKS 99.1); the last line in particular has long been thus interpreted—see the comments of Lao Jian 勞健 in Zhu Qianzhi, *Laozi jiaoshi*, p. 120; cf. LMC 03.6. GDCJ has none of this, save for having the first three graphs 其事好—plus probably the graph 長—appearing instead at the end of this passage (see below). SE 05 (pp. 452–56) speculates that the twenty characters that appear here in most of the received versions were accidentally moved here from below as the result of a misplaced strip of that length, so that the "其事好還(/長)" does indeed belong at the end of this passage, and the next sixteen graphs (from 師之所處 to 必有凶年) formed the beginning of a passage that was originally sandwiched in between R 30 and R 31, the rest of which passage took the form of something like "夫佳兵者，不祥之器，物或惡之，故有道者不處"—precisely the lines lacking from passage 3 of "Laozi C," which otherwise corresponds to R 31. This theory has great explanatory potential; the one problem with it, however, is that the next implicit strip in such a bamboo text from which all the other versions derived—i.e., running from the characters 善者果而已 to 果而不強—would have had many more graphs than twenty: from between twenty-seven (based on "Laozi A" 4) to thirty-one (based on the received versions). GY 01.2 likewise suggests that both these lines and the additional ones at the end of the passage in the other versions resulted from misplaced strips, but he does not elaborate on the details.

[64] LMC 03.6 would also include the 強 (*yang* 陽-group) of the following line as interrhyming with these *yu*-group endings.

[65] 善者: FY, XE, and JLB precede this with 故, "thus."

[66] 果: elsewhere translated as "resolute," I take here in the sense of "accomplish," "achieve success." Cf. LXF 99.1; WQP 99.8.

[67] 不: MWD reads 毋, the imperative "do not"; FY, WB, and HSG have 不敢, "not dare." GDCJ would seem to support (Qing) Yu Yue's 俞樾 earlier theory that the 敢, "daring," was an interpolation from a gloss on 果.

果而弗⿱癶攴〈發（伐）〉[69]，

果而弗喬（驕），

果而弗矜（矜），[70]〔無韻〕[71]

是胃（謂）[72]果而不[73]強。

其（7）事好[74]▍ 長。[75]〔陽部〕

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[68] FY, WB, and HSG follow this with 焉.

[69] ⿱癶攴: GDCMZJ renders 癹 and reads 伐; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render ⿱癶攴〈發〉, reading likewise. LXF 99.1 instead reads 廢, in the sense of "lay waste"; LMC 03.6 discounts this and reaffirms the reading of 伐.

[70] FY, WB, and HSG have equivalents of these same three phrases (with 勿 for 弗), but in the different order of 矜、伐、驕, followed by an additional phrase 果而不得已 ("achieves success, but as a last resort"); XE, JLB, and other editions have yet a different order of 驕、矜、伐, also followed by the additional phrase. MWD parallels the latter (with orthographic variants), except for having 居 after the final 已. ZJW 99.8a suggests the additional phrase may have resulted from confusion with a similar phrase occurring just below in received chapter 31.

[71] LMC 03.6 suggests that 伐 and 矜 (with its 今 a derivation of a 令 phonetic element) constitute a rhyme; but if this were the case, we should expect 驕 to rhyme as well.

[72] 是謂: only GDCJ and MWD have the 謂; FY, JLB, and XE have just 是, whereas WB and HSG have nothing. As Yu Yue has suggested, these last two appear to be the result of mistakenly taking this line as parallel to the previous three, whereas in fact it resumes the thought of the line that precedes them.

[73] 不: All R read 勿.

[74] 好: WQP 99.8 and ZJW 99.8a both gloss as 宜, "suitable to." An earlier reading of it as a loan for 孔, "very" (Liu Shipei 劉師培, Gao Heng 高亨) would not seem to work in the GDCJ context.

[75] As noted above, the three graphs 其事好, plus 還, appear instead in an earlier phrase of the passage in all other versions of the text (lacunae in MWD aside), which here at the end of the passage, however, also have the additional lines: "物壯則老，是謂不道；不道，早已" ("When things are robust, they turn old; this is called 'off the Way.' Off the way, they perish early on"); the same lines appear at the end of R 55, equivalent to passage 18 below, the latter having only the first eight of the graphs. As ZJW 99.8a and QXG 99.8 both note, GDCJ appears to confirm (Qing) Yao Nai's 姚鼐 earlier suspicion that these lines were superfluous in this passage; but as HR 00 notes, they would not be entirely irrelevant here. GDCMZJ suspects 還, "cycle back," is missing from the text here; QXG 98.5 (p. 199 n. 7) suggests a marker at this point may have served to indicate the accidental omission of this graph. But as GM 98.10, ZGG 99.2, XKS 99.1, LL 99.8, ZJW 99.8a, and HLB 99.8/HR 00 all note, it appears almost certain that the 長 that is placed at the head of the next passage instead belongs at the end here, with the horizontal-stroke passage(?) marker accidentally placed above it. GDCMZJ explains 長古 as equivalent to 上古, "high antiquity," but none of the other versions have this odd locution, and 長 happens to be in the same rhyme group, *yang* 陽, as 強 above. Note that the 還 of the other versions, in its different position therein, could have been conceived to rhyme with the 焉 and 年 of the lines that follow it in

Those who with the Way assist the ruler of the people
desire [him] not to use his soldiers to intimidate the world.

The best thing is to achieve success and then cease, not to take it as an
opportunity for intimidation:
To achieve success and not boast of it;
to achieve success and not swagger in it;
to achieve success and not flaunt it.

—this is what is meant by "to achieve success and not intimidate."
Such matters are amenable to longevity.

5 (R 15)

古[76]之善為士[77]者，

必[78]非（微）[79]溺（妙）[80]玄[81]達[82]，

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some of the received versions (though ZJW suggests those lines destroy the rhyme). LL takes 長 here in the sense of "far"; as he and ZJW note, 還 in the received versions could also have been the result of either graphic confusion or interloaning with 遠, the lexical equivalent of 長. Though DYZ 98.9 does not accept the emendation, he does note lines in R 22 and 24 that would support it: "不自伐故有功；不自矜故長" ("One has merit because he does not boast of himself, is long-lasting because he does not flaunt himself") and "自伐者無功；自矜者不長" ("Those who boast of themselves have no merit; those who flaunt themselves do not last long"); note that in these instances 長 is taken by some in the sense of "to lead." LRH 00.5 accepts the emendation, but suggests the possibility of reading 長 as 償, in a sense, similar to 還, of "repayment" or "retribution." LZ 03.13 takes 好長 in the sense of "splendid and long-lived." HLY/CY 05.6 instead read 好長 as 久長, "long enduring."

[76] On the 長 that precedes this 古, see the previous note.

[77] 士: both FY and MWD (B) have 道, "the Way"; the HSG commentary also implies that HSG originally had 道. Prior to the discovery of GDCJ, there had been much speculation as to whether or not 士 was in error; there has also been much discussion as to whether 士 might refer to the ruler, as some suggest it can in early texts, but it would seem to have much broader applicability in context. LXG 03 notes this as a somewhat unique example that does not imply a lineal development from GDCJ to MWD to FY to the other received versions, given how GDCJ corresponds to the latter but not to MWD and FY here.

[78] 必: all other versions lack this character, "invariably."

[79] 非: LXF 99.1 reads 菲, "meager."

[80] 溺: GDCMZJ suggests this is a loan for the 妙 of the received texts here; CRY 98.10 further suggests an

深不可志（識）[83]，[84]

是以為之頌（容）：[85]〔無韻〕[86]

夜（豫）[87]虐（乎）[88]奴（如）[89]冬涉川，

猷（猶）虐（乎）其（8）奴（如）悁（畏）[90]四哭（鄰）[91]；〔文部〕[92]

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equivalency between 溺 and 尿, read 妙; cf. LMC 03.6. LXF 99.1 reads 弱. DZY 98.9 reads 沕, in the sense of "hidden," "submerged" in obscurity.

[81] 玄: LXF 99.1 instead renders 因, "follow in accord."

[82] 達: GDCMZJ identifies the graph as a form of 達 found in the *Guwen sisheng yun*. For more on this graph and how it is derived in abbreviation from earlier forms of 達, see the analyses of ZPA 01.12 and HLY 02.9. IT 99.11 would instead render the graph as 造, "go to," "reach."

[83] 志: All R have 識, "recognize," though Fan Yingyuan cites an "ancient edition" as having 測, "fathom." GDCMZJ reads 識; as LMC 03.6 notes, 志 is essentially the early form of 識, i.e., 誌, to "record," "note," "demarcate."

[84] All R read 微妙玄通，深不可識; MWD B reads 微眇玄達，深不可志.

[85] MWD and All R read 故強爲之容 ("Thus we forcibly give them a demeanor"; HSG lacks the 之) and precede this with an additional line: "夫唯不可識" ("For only because he cannot be described/recognized . . ."). MWD and FY follow 容 with 曰. 容 is commonly written with its early form 頌 in these texts. LXF 99.1, ZJW 99.8a, and HR 00, however, would take it in the latter's more specific sense of "praise," "eulogy," which makes a certain amount of sense given the especially poetic nature of the following lines.

[86] Note that in the received versions, 通 (in lieu of 達) would—fortuitously, perhaps—rhyme with 容, both *dong* 東-group. Given this loss of rhyme, LMC 03.6 sees this as one occasion in which GDCJ (and MWD B) is in fact not representative of the original text.

[87] 夜: All R but HSG have 豫 (slight variation in XE); HSG and MWD have 與. On the interloaning of these characters, cf. LMC 03.6 and HLY/CY 05.6.

[88] 虐(乎): for most of these next five phrases, WB, FY, and HSG have 兮 (with some exceptions), MWD has 呵, and JLB and XE have nothing in the positions corresponding to this graph.

[89] 奴: GDCMZJ reads 若, which occurs in all other versions, and suggests that a 其, which appears in the next five phrases, has dropped off before it; QXG 98.5 would instead read 如, here and below. MWD has 其 in all its phrases before 若, WB and HSG only when 若 is followed by only two graphs, and FY more inconsistently; JLB and XE lack 其 altogether.

[90] 悁: PP 00.5b (pp. 38–39) suggests the 心 radical in this graph highlights the sense of fear here as a mental state.

[91] 哭: MWD B and All R have 鄰, with slight orthographic variation in MWD. LZ 03.12 and HLY/CY 05.6 all suggest that 哭 is derived from an early form of 鄰 plus an added 文 phonetic.

敢（嚴）[93]䖒（乎）其奴（如）客[94]，
觀（遠）[95]䖒（乎）其奴（如）懌（釋）[96]；〔鐸部〕

屯（純）[97]䖒（乎）其奴（如）樸[98]，
坉（沌）[99]䖒（乎）其奴（如）濁。[100]〔屋部〕

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[92] This rhyme is taking the phonetic reading of 䘮 as equivalent to 吝; if we go by the 鄰, then it is interrhyming between the *wen* 文 and *zhen* 真 groups.

[93] 敢: MWD B has 嚴; All R have 儼. GDCMZJ reads 嚴; CRY 98.10 reads 儼, which is more or less equivalent in sense.

[94] 客: WB, Fang Yingyuan, and various other editions (as well as the "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi*) mistakenly have 容, which does not rhyme. HLY/CY 05.6 read 恪 here, "cautious," "reverent."

[95] 觀: MWD and All R have 渙 ("dispersed," "detached"), except XE, which has 散; GDCMZJ reads 渙. As HLY/CY 05.6 note, all of these are close in sound. LXF 99.1 reads 遠, "treat with distance"; LMC 03.6 also reads 遠, in the sense of simply "distant." GY 01.2 speculates that it meant something like "gazing into the distance from up high."

[96] 懌: All R have some version of 冰(之)將釋 (XE and "Suizhou" have 汮 for 釋), "ice about to melt"; MWD has 淩澤 (淩[/凌] also meaning "ice"); the "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi* quotes as 冰之液. GDCMZJ suggests a 淩 has inadvertently dropped out here; LL 99.8 disputes any need for emendation; LMC 03.6 suspects that the 淩/冰 crept in from other sources, as part of a set phrase with 釋. DYZ 98.9 reads 液 ("seep," "liquefy"), after the *Wenzi* (and Ma Xulun 馬敘倫), in the sense of "submerging." GY 01.2 reads as is, in the sense of "happy," "self-content."

[97] 屯: MWD B has 沌 and All R except XE have 敦; XE has 混 here and 肫 two phrases later, having these two attributes reversed in comparison with the other received texts. GDCMZJ leaves 屯 as is. LL 99.8 suspects it should read 混 here. XKS (cited in AS/WC 00, p. 236) and LMC 03.6 both read 純. DYZ 98.9 and ZJW 99.8a read 沌 or 忳, in the sense of "foolish," "ignorant." As with the received versions, LZ 03.12 reads 敦, "earnest."

[98] 樸: GDCMZJ notes that the upper element is the "ancient script" form of 僕. MWD A has 楃.

[99] 坉: MWD has 湷, and All R except XE have 混 or 渾 as the attribute of the corresponding phrase; XE has 肫 here and 混 two phrases earlier, having these two attributes reversed in comparison with the other received texts. DYZ 98.9 takes 坉 in the sense of "stuck," "clogged." LXF 99.1 reads 蠢, in the sense of "chaotic." LL 99.8 suspects it should read 沌; WQP 99.8 notes the equivalency of 坉 and 沌, in the sense of "rotating waters"; LMC 03.6 also reads 沌, equivalent to 溷 (after Ma Xulun), in the sense of "muddled," "chaotic," "turbid." ZJW 99.8a reads 混; CRY 98.10 renders 昆, read 混, but LMC disputes this rendering.

[100] All R and MWD have some version of an additional phrase 曠兮其若谷, "expansive!—like a valley," either following (MWD and JLB) or preceding (WB, FY, HSG, and XE) this one; MWD B has 湛 for 曠. While this phrase would fit in as a rhyme here (谷 is also *wu* 屋-group), it would disrupt the rhythm of thematic pairs, as many have noted (cf. LMC 03.6).

竺（孰）能[101]濁以朿（靜）[102]（9）者？牆（將）[103]舍（徐）[104]清。■[105]

竺（孰）能厇（庇）[106]以迬（動）[107]者？牆（將）舍（徐）生。

保[108]此衍（道）者，不谷（欲）嘗（尚）呈（盈）[109]。〔耕部〕[110]

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[101] 竺能: WB, FY, and HSG all read 孰能, "who can?" here and below, whereas MWD and XE lack this interrogative altogether; JLB has 熟能 for the first phrase, but leaves it implied in the second. Some had speculated that these graphs were later additions, but GDCJ appears to disprove this. LXF 99.1 instead reads 竺 as 篤, "earnestly."

[102] 朿: MWD and All R have 靜/竫 in the corresponding position (情 in MWD A), but FY and some HSG editions precede it with another graph, 澄 or 止, respectively (and perhaps implying a different parsing; the Cheng Jingyuan 陳景元 edition has 澂 for 澄); other editions have further such variations (see Zhu Qianzhi or LMC 03.6 for details). GDCMZJ reads 朿 as 靜, without explanation, presumably as a phonetic loan. CRY 98.10 leaves 朿 as is, interpreting it elsewhere as equivalent to 刺. LXF 99.1 reads 湜, in the sense of "clear." ZGG 99.2 reads 次, to "halt," "stop over."

[103] 牆(將): all other versions of the text lack this particle, here and below; FY alone has 而 in the corresponding positions; the Guangming 廣明 edition has 以.

[104] 舍 (here and below): GDCMZJ reads as a loan for the 徐 seen in all other versions (MWD A has simply 余, also graphically close to 舍). DYZ 98.9 reads as is, in the sense of "rest" or "lodge" in.

[105] A marker larger than any other in this passage appears here; LL 99.8 suggests it is a misplaced passage marker, and HR 00 that it belongs at the end of the previous line.

[106] 厇: GDCMZJ suggests this is a corruption of the 安 ("secure") found in All R; WQP 99.8 supports this; MWD has 女. LZ 03.12 sees as a variant form of 安. CRY 98.10 renders 厇 and interprets as equivalent to 庇, but suggests a possible equivalence in meaning to 安; ZGG 99.2 sees likewise; YSX 00.5 renders 庀, read as 宓 and equivalent to 密, in a similar sense of "settled." IT 99.11 reads as is, in the sense of "ordered" or "complete." YGH 98.12 notes that the graph closely resembles 匹 in form; YGH 03.3 elaborates on this, and reads 匹 as 宓, in the sense of "tranquil." LXF 99.1 sees as a variant of 牝, "female"; LMC 03.6 supports this, suggesting the 女 of MWD also had this sense. I follow CRY in reading 庇 here, "sheltered," but would suggest 閉, "shut off," as another possibility. ZJW 99.8a suggests the possibility of seeing the graph as a corruption of 橐 and reading 橐, "[like a] bellows"; HTL 02.2 echoes this interpretation, taking "bellows" in the sense of "empty."

[107] 迬: All R have 動, while MWD has 重; FY, WB, and HSG precede 動 with 久, but the nature of the WB commentary suggests that WB originally lacked it, and some speculate that it was added later on the basis of HSG (see LMC 03.6 for details). QXG 98.5 notes that 主 and 重 can interloan phonetically; HLY 99.12 affirms this. ZGG 99.2 reads 駐, to "halt" or "maintain." LXF 99.1 reads 種, "follow after." WQP 99.8 reads 注, in the sense of "gather together." ZJW 99.8a suggests possibly reading 主, in the sense of "maintain"; LMC 03.6 also reads 主, but in the sense of "master." IT 99.11 reads 逗 or 住, "remain." CRY 98.10 instead renders 迲, equivalent to 迂, in the sense of "far" or "long."

Those of old skilled at being men of service
were invariably subtle and profound,
deep and indescribable.
Thus we create a demeanor for them:

Tentative—as though crossing a stream in winter.
Hesitant—as though in fear of surrounding neighbors.

Austere—as if a guest.
Distant—as if breaking away.

Genuine—like uncarved wood.
Turbid—like muddy water.

Whoever can be muddy with tranquility will slowly become clear;
whoever can be sheltered with movement will slowly enliven.
Those who preserve this way desire not to overfill.

[108] 保: quotations of this line in the "Jiu shou" 九守 chapter of the *Wenzi* and some editions of the "Dao ying" 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi* have 服 instead (or 復 in one edition of the latter).

[109] [illegible]呈: GDCMZJ renders 竘呈 and reads 尙盈; All R and MWD simply have 盈. As CRY 98.10 notes, 呈 is interchangeable with 浧, which often corresponds to 盈 in Chu manuscripts. DYZ 98.9 takes 尙 in the sense of "emphasize" and reads 呈 as is, in the sense of "external manifestation." LXF 99.1 reads 堂廷, "halls and courts." LZ 03.12 suspects that [illegible] is a variant of 堂, but still reads 尙.

[110] Whereas GDCJ ends here, all other versions have some form of the additional line: 夫惟不盈，是以能敝而不成 ("For only because they do not overfill, thus can they grow worn and not complete"), though with some variation between them; most significantly, MWD B has only the second phrase, and WB and HSG have 不新成 ("not complete anew") for 而不成, whereas JLB and XE, more logically, have only 復成 ("become complete again") without the negative 不. Note that 成 is also a *geng* 耕-group rhyme. IT 03.11 argues that the line is not in keeping with the rest of the passage and must represent a later interpolation; GY 01.2 suggests that it was a commentarial line that accidentally crept into the text.

6 (R 64b)[111]

為之[112]者敗之，

執之者遠〈遊（失）〉[113]（10）之。[114]

是以[115]聖人

亡為，古（故）亡敗；

亡執，古（故）亡遊（失）[116]。〔月質合韻〕[117]

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[111] A version of this passage also occurs in “Laozi C” (passage 4)—the only passage repeated among the three Guodian “Laozi” manuscripts. In all non-Guodian versions of the text, the passage is preceded by the lines that form passage 15 (R 64a) below. Naturally, the division of R 64 into two passages here suggests that they may have originally been separate; as PH 98.10, XKS 99.1, QXG 99.8, and IT 99.8 all note, they do not seem to address a common theme, IT (pp. 175–77) arguing that they in fact exhibit oppositional attitudes toward “action” (for the opposite view, however, see GCY 99.3, p. 81). QXG further notes how the “Yu Lao” chapter of the *Han Feizi* clearly separated them into two distinct passages, with intervening ones in between; as for MWD A, lacunae prevent us from knowing whether or not a marker stood to separate the two. The different themes addressed by the two portions have, in fact, long caused commentators to suspect something was amiss in R 64; for the different theories proposed, see Zhu Qianzhi or LMC 03.6.

[112] This and the corresponding 之 in the next phrase occur only in the two GDCJ versions and MWD B.

[113] 遠: “Laozi C” has 遊(失); all other versions have 失. CRY 98.10, DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, LL 99.8, and others thus see or suspect this 遠 to be a mistake for 遊 (失; though LXF reads 亡). As WR 99a (p. 37) notes, the “interlocking” parallelism would imply that this graph be the same as that (遊[失]) at the end of the last line of this stanza, which it resembles in form. WQP 99.8, PH 00.1, GY 01.2, LMC 03.6, and LZ 03.12 all read 遠 as is, in the sense of “contravene,” “estrange,” “go astray from,” etc.

[114] Cf. passage 29 of the received *Daodejing*: “天下神器，不可爲也。爲者敗之，執者失之” (“The world is a spiritual vessel, and cannot be acted upon with purpose. Those who act with purpose upon it will ruin it; those who cling to it will lose it”). Passages related to this and the next pair of lines may also be found in the “Shang ren” and “Fuyan” 符言 chapters of the *Wenzi*, the “Beizhi” 備知 chapter of the *Heguanzi*, and the “Yuan Dao” chapter of the *Huainanzi*.

[115] 是以: “Laozi C” and HSG lack this “therefore”; all other versions have it.

[116] 遊: This graph corresponds to 失 both here and in other Guodian texts. HDK/XZG 98.12 see the lower right element as a corruption of 矢 rather than as 羊 and interpret the graph as a corrupt elaboration of 迭, read 失, whereas LJH 99.1 interprets as a corruption of 迭, also read 失. LMC 98.12 sees as a variant of 達, or 達, in turn a graphic error for 迭, and thus also reads 失; YWL 03.3 (p. 72) supports this, but argues that the confusion between 達 and 迭 may have resulted from their phonetic proximity in the Chu dialect. HLY 99.12, taking 羊 as the graph’s phonetic element, sees this as purely a phonetic loan for 失, though the finals could hardly be more distant; LXF 99.1 (p. 72) instead reads the graph as 亡. ZJW 99.8a (p. 264) sees the graph as a variant of 逸; ZPA 00.7, analyzing the graph as 辵 plus a main element of 羍, also sees it as an early form of 逸, to “escape,” here (and elsewhere in these manuscripts) read 失.

臨事之紀[118]，

誓（慎）[119]冬（終）女（如）忖（始）[120]，

此亡敗事矣。〔之部〕[121]

聖人[122]谷（欲）（11）不谷（欲），不貴難得之貨[123]；

斈（學）不斈（學）[124]，復[125]眾[126]之所=[127]化（過）[128]。

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[117] Note that if we read 遠 as is above, as *yuan* 元-group, it is also in close *tongzhuan* relationship with the *yue* 月-group 敗. HR 00 instead sees the rhyme as coming internally in the first two lines between 爲 and 敗 and between 執 and 失. WR 99a gives this stanza as an example of "open interlocking parallel" structure.

[118] 臨事之紀: In place of these four graphs, all non-Guodian versions of the text have some version of "民之從事，常於其幾成而敗之" ("When performing tasks, the people constantly fail in them just at the point of success"; MWD has 恆 for 常 and 成 or 成事 for 幾成), which might be seen as clarification on an originally more obscure text; the MWD texts even follow this with 故 or 故曰. "Laozi C" also has a version of those lines, but they come after the next two phrases rather than before them: 人之敗也，亙於其叡(且)成也敗之. IT 99.8 sees MWD and the received versions as deriving from a revision of the lines found in GDCJ C; ZJW 99.8a suggests they represent a kind of compromise of GDCJ A and C; and LMC 03.6 follows IT, further noting how GDCJ C may have derived from an attempt to clarify the wording found in GDCJ A. GY 01.2 argues that GDCJ C (and consequently the other versions) resulted from the mistaken insertion of a line of commentary, which in turn necessitated other changes to avoid redundancies and other forms of confusion.

[119] 誓: GDCMZJ interprets as 誓, read 慎. QXG 98.5 suggests this should be equivalent to the graph 新, read 塵 in strip 27 below, and is uncertain if 誓 is the correct interpretation. ZGY/YGH 99.1 instead render 誓. Both HLY 99.12 and XZG 01.9 see the upper left element as 土 rather than 十; XZG would thus interpret the graph itself as 塵, with 訢 as the phonetic element. Accepting the rendering of ZGY/YGH, CWW 00.7 sees the graph and its related forms all as variations of 訢 (/忻), with 折 as the phonetic element; CJ 01.9 similarly sees the graph, and its related forms, as deriving from 誓 or 悊, possibly ancient forms of 慎. For further phonological support of this reading, see also YWL 02.2, p. 17. QXG 03.11 suspects that the element resembling 十 in this graph may be a form of the graph 丨 seen in strip 17 of the Guodian "Ziyi" manuscript, which he would identify as an early pictograph for 針 and see here as the phonetic.

[120] 忖: QXG 98.5 would render the phonetic element of this graph to contain 厶 as well, here and below; cf. LMC 03.6. For variations on 慎終如始 in other texts, see LXF 99.1 (p. 72), WQP 99.8 (pp. 11, 65), or CWW 00.7 (pp. 254–55); see also the Shanghai Museum text "Dizi wen" 弟子問, strip 11, SBCZCZS v. 5, p. 274.

[121] Either 事 or the particle 矣 could be considered the rhyme here, both *zhi* 之-group.

[122] All other versions, including "Laozi C," precede 聖人 with 是以, "therefore." As LMC 03.6 notes, this 是以 seems redundant given the 是故 below.

[123] The valuation of "hard-to-obtain goods" as the source of unnatural desires appears also in received passages

是古（故）聖人能[129]専（輔）[130]萬勿（物）之自肰（然），而弗（12）能[131]
爲。〔歌部〕[132]

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3 and 12.

[124] 斈不斈: All other versions of the text, including "Laozi C," have 學不學. GDCMZJ interprets the graph in question here as 教, "teaching," noting that it is also read that way in strip 17 below, but also noting that the forms of 學 and 教 are easily confused and that the graph is interpreted both ways in various entries in the *Guwen sishengyun* and *Hanjian* (PH 00.1, for one, sees 斈 here as a mistake for 學); cf. LXF 99.1 on the common origin of these graphs. With CRY 98.10, I read 學; see also the note to this graph in strip 17 below. The *Shuowen* glosses 斈 as 放, "emulate"; both LXF and WQP 99.8 read along these lines, WQP taking the line here to mean "emulate [that which others] do not emulate." Reading 教不教, ZJW 99.8a takes it in the sense of "treating non-teaching as one's teaching"; HR 00 translates "teaches without teaching" (HLB[HR] 99.8 relates it to the 行不言之教 of "Laozi A" 9 [R2], strip 17); LMC 03.6 also prefers 教, arguing that the other editions with 學 all follow a common error.

[125] 復: Suizhou and one of the Dunhuang editions have 備; "Yu Lao" has 復歸. LXF 99.1 takes 復 in the sense of to "rectify" an error; WQP 99.8 as "return to"; ZJW 99.8a as "follow in accord with." LMC 03.6, following Ma Xulun, takes in the sense of "follow" a path, "carry out." LZ 03.12 takes it to mean "be forgiving of." HR 00 translates as "backs away from." I similarly translate here as "turn back from"; we might alternatively take it in the sense of "restore," or "set straight."

[126] 眔: all non-Guodian versions of the text have 眾人.

[127] As GDCMZJ notes, this repetition mark would appear to be in error. LXF 99.1 (and XW, cited in AS/WC 00, p. 235) suggests that is actually a combined-graph mark, accidentally included when the scribe copied from a manuscript in which 之所 was written as a combined graph; on this point, cf. JL 02.11, p. 472.

[128] 华: MWD and All R have 過; "Laozi C" has 泚. ZJW 99.8a would instead read 化, equating it with the people's "self-transformation" in passage 17 (R 57) below. LMC 03.6, following Ma Xulun, takes 所過 in the sense of "the path already crossed" by the masses.

[129] 是古(故)聖人能: MWD and All R lack these five graphs, instead having simply 以, "so as to"; "Laozi C" has only 是以能, "therefore [he] can."

[130] 専: "Laozi C" has 楠; MWD and All R have 輔; "Yu Lao" has 恃, "rely on." DYZ 98.9 reads 敷, "apply," "unfurl," taking the 輔/楠 of the other versions as the loan; ZJW 99.8a reads 傅, in the sense of "accord with." LMC 03.6 reads 専 as is, with a gloss of 本, "take one's roots in," "base oneself upon," and sees 輔 and 恃 respectively as phonetic and lexical loans.

[131] 弗能: "Laozi C" and MWD have 弗敢, "dare not," while All R have 不敢. CRY 98.10 actually supplies 敢爲 as missing characters here and places 能爲 instead at the head of the passage that follows it in strip 13 below (which he moves elsewhere), despite the fact that no other version of that passage (R 37) has those additional characters at the beginning. LL 99.8, on the other hand, sees this and the next passage as a single passage, given their common theme of "acting to no purpose" (無爲). HR 00 translates 弗能爲 as "cannot do it," the "it" seemingly referring back to the "assist/help" from earlier in the line; I instead understand 輔 and 爲 as two different types of conduct altogether. Note also the similar line 天地弗敢臣 in passage 10 (R 32A), strip 18, below.

He who acts with purpose upon it will ruin it;
he who clings to it will lose it.
Thus the sage
acts to no purpose, so brings no ruin;
clings to nothing, so has no loss.

The essentials of overseeing a task
[lie in] treating the end as cautiously as the beginning
—with this, one will bring ruin to no task.

The sage desires not to desire, placing no value on hard-to-obtain goods;
learns not to learn (/emulate), turning back from the excesses of the masses.
Thus the sage can assist (/join) in the spontaneity of the myriad things, but he cannot act upon them.

7 (R 37)

衍（道）亙（恆）亡為也；[133]
侯王[134]能守[135]之，[136]而萬勿（物）牆（將）自憍（化）[137]。〔歌部〕

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[132] The *rusheng* words 欲 and 學 could also perhaps be considered internal rhymes with each other (屋覺合韻), if the first two of these three lines are considered separately. LMC 03.6 would also divide lines after 自然, considering that 然 (*yuan* 元-group) can interrhyme (*tongyun*) with the three *ge* 歌-group words, with which it shares the same main vowel.

[133] MWD instead reads 道恆亡名, “The Way constantly has no name”; as ZJW 99.8a notes, this may have derived from confusion with the same phrase in the equivalent of R 32, where 名, unlike here, fits the rhyme context (see passage 10 [R 32a] below; cf. the remarks of GY 01.2). All other versions of the text lack the 也; All R have 常 for taboo-avoided 恆 and follow this line with the additional phrase 而無不爲, “and yet has nothing it does not act upon,” a phrase seen elsewhere in R 48 (“Laozi B” 2). For more on this line, see LMC 99.1b, pp. 149–50; see also the notes to passage 2 of “Laozi B.”

[134] 侯王: FY, XE, Fan Yingyuan, and some other versions have 王侯.

[135] 守: HLY 99.12 and LTH 00.7 (p. 265) both note how this graph as written is a variant of its more common form.

[136] All other versions precede 能 with 若, “if,” but lack the 而 at the beginning of the next phrase (which I understand to have similar conditional force here; MWD A lacks the 能). As HR 00 notes, passage 10 (R 32a) below has the conditional 女(如) in a similar context. FY, JLB, and Fan Yingyuan lack the object pronoun 之.

愚（化）而雒（欲）复（作），[138]

牺（將）[139]貞[140]之以亡名之𣪠（樸）[141]，

夫[142]（13）亦[143]牺（將）智（知）足。〔鐸屋合韻〕[144]

智（知）〔足〕[145]以朿（靜）[146]，

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[137] 愚: All other versions have 化 (slight variation in MWD A). For more on the graph, which may elsewhere also be read 僞, see the note on it in strip 1 above. LMC 03.6 reads 爲, but sees 自爲 as more or less equivalent in both sound and meaning to 自化.

[138] All other versions have the phrase written as 化而欲作 (lacuna in MWD A). It is also possible to read 雒(欲) as a noun here, as does D. C. Lau (LD 82): "should desire raise its head." GR 05 (pp. 255–56) sees the unusual variant 雒 here as orthographically indicating "a desirous person (or being)" rather than "desire to" or "desire" per se, and would thus read "should desirous persons/beings arise." As LZ 03.12 notes, the graph itself is probably a variant of 鵒, "mynah bird."

[139] 牺(將): All other versions read 吾將, "I/we shall." GY 01.2 suggests that the subject should actually be the 侯王 above.

[140] 貞: MWD A has 闐; all other versions read 鎮, to which 貞 is phonetically close. LXF 99.1 reads 正; I read 貞 here in a similar sense.

[141] 𣪠: MWD A has 楃; all other versions have 樸 or 朴. All R repeat the 無名之樸; MWD (B) also repeats the 闐之以—the effect of this repetition yields four, rather than three, rhymes for this stanza. It is unclear whether GDCJ represents the original or might have accidentally omitted a set of repetition marks. ZJW 99.8a argues that the tail-to-head repetition of the other lines of this passage (with 化 and 知足 repeated) suggests a repetition here as well. Some scholars, however, have long suspected the repetition here may be erroneous, as it makes the passage more incomprehensible, and the Guodian text appears to confirm their suspicions; for details, see GY 01.2 and LMC 03.6. A quotation of the preceding two lines in the "Dao ying" 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi* simply ends with 也.

[142] 夫: LMC 03.6 takes this as a subject pronoun, "they." GY 01.2 suggests that it actually stands for a repetition of the last seven characters of the previous line, in lieu of their literal repetition here (see previous note).

[143] MWD lacks the 亦.

[144] 作 is *duo* 鐸-group, 樸 and 足 are *wu* 屋-group, as are the 辱 and 欲 of the other versions (see next note).

[145] The repetition of 智(知)足 is indicated by a repetition mark after 智; as GDCMZJ suggests, another such mark was likely inadvertently omitted after 足. For 智足，智足, MWD has 不辱，不辱 ("not [be] disgrace[d]" . . .) overlapping the two phrases, whereas JLB has 不欲，不欲 ("not desire" . . .), WB has 無欲，不欲, and FY and HSG have the non-repetition 不欲，不辱 (note, however, that 欲 and 辱 were practically homophonous; ZJW 99.8a suggests that 不辱 may have originated as a "note" on 知足, after the phrase 知足不辱 in the equivalent of R 44). LXF 99.1 tries to avoid the repetition problem by reading 智 as 癡, "ignorant,"

萬勿（物）[147]牆（將）自定[148]。〔錫耕通韻〕■[149]

The Way constantly acts to no purpose;
should lords and kings be able to uphold it, the myriad things will transform of themselves.

If, transforming, [things] should desire to originate,
they shall be steadied with the nameless unhewn,
and so, too, shall they be made to know what is enough.[150]

Knowing what is enough, and thus tranquil,
the myriad things shall become settled of themselves.

8 (R 63)

為亡為，事亡事，[151]

未（味）[152]亡未（味），大少（小）之。[153]〔之部〕

"oblivious." LMC 03.6 notes that if we treat 智 (*zhi* 支-group) as the final character of the last line, it could interrhyme with the *geng* 耕-group rhymes of the final stanza.

[146] 朿: MWD A has 情; all other versions have 靜 or 靖. CRY 98.10 interprets the graph as equivalent to 刺. LFX 99.1 reads 諟, in the sense of "order" or "rectify." LMC 03.6 sees as a loan for 帝, read 諦, in the sense of "thoroughly examine." This graph appears already in strip 9 above, where we also read 靜.

[147] 萬勿(物): MWD has 天地, "Heaven and Earth"; All R have 天下, "all in the world."

[148] 定: WB and some HSG editions also have 定, whereas all other versions have 正, "rectified," "proper."

[149] 朿 is itself a *xi* 錫-group rhyme; 靜, like 定/正, is *geng* 耕-group.

[150] The subject of 知足, "knowing what is enough," is not entirely clear. HR 00 supplies "you," i.e., the ruler to whom the passage is addressed, whereas I take the subject to be the "myriad things."

[151] On 無爲 and 無事, see also passage 17 (R 57) below.

[152] 未: all other versions have 味, "flavor." The "Dao yuan" 道原 chapter of the *Wenzi*, however, cites this line as "知不知也," formerly leading both Gao Heng 高亨 and Zhu Qianzhi to suspect that 味 was somehow a corruption of 知, "knowing." DYZ 98.9 takes 味 as representative of human affections.

[153] 大少(小)之: all other versions read 大小多少, "treat the small as great and the few as many," followed by 報怨以德, "requite rancor with virtue" (a line with interesting parallels in the "Xian wen" 憲問 chapter of the *Lunyu* [14.34]; on the possible significance of its absence here, see GY [99.1a (p. 131) and 01.2], YJ 99.8 [p. 41], and HR 00 [pp. 16–17]), and then some version of several additional lines—圖難於易，爲大於細。天下

多惕（易）[154]必多難（難），

是以聖人（14）猷（猶）[155]難（難）之，

古（故）終亡難（難）。〔無韻〕■

In acting, act to no purpose; in serving, serve no ends;
savor that with no flavor; what is major, make it minor.

Much ease invariably [leads to] much trouble.
Thus the sage remains troubled by it,[156]

難事，必作於易；天下大事，必作於細。是以聖人終不爲大，故能成其大。夫輕諾必寡信 ("Plan for the difficult while it is easy; act upon the great while it is slight. Difficult undertakings in the world must be generated from the easy; great undertakings in the world must be generated from the slight. Thus the sage never acts upon the great, and thus can he accomplish the great. For promises easily given invariably garner little trust")—before continuing with 多易必多難 (the so-called "Dunhuang" and Suizhou editions lack the two phrases from 是以 to 成其大). Scholars have long been puzzled by the phrase 大小多少 and suspected omissions in the text (see GY 01.2 and LMC 03.6 for details); the GDCJ text fuels such suspicions, but creates its own difficulties. GDCMZJ sentence-punctuates before 大少之, taking these three graphs as the beginning of the next line continuing with 多 and straight through to 多難 (HR 00 translates according to such parsing); based on rhyme and rhythmic considerations, I instead punctuate after these three, taking them as a continuation of the previous three three-character phrases. CRY 98.10 also punctuates after 之, but without explanation; LMC 98.11, LXF 99.1, and NZQ/LD 03.5 punctuate likewise, all understanding the line in a sense similar to how I render it here. LRH 99.10 also punctuates in this way, but takes the line negatively, leading to the troubles of the next line, in the sense of "treating important matters lightly." GY 01.2, on the other hand, simply assumes that 之 is misplaced, instead reading 大小多易之，必多難 ("If one often treats things, great or small, lightly, he will often have difficulties"); he also speculates that such a misplacement may have been the ultimate source of all the changes and interpolations in the other versions. DYZ 98.9 punctuates after 之多, taking the phrase as a kind of topic for the following one; WQP 99.8 also punctuates after 之多, and ZJW 99.8a suggests a similar possibility. As for all the lines not found in GDCJ, some of them could be seen as an attempt to clarify an earlier text; GDCMZJ suggests that the other versions may have gotten them from another source, and previous scholars have long speculated about the possibility of commentarial interpolations in this passage (though the additional lines are already present in *Han Feizi* quotations of the passage). IT 03.11 argues that the additional lines run counter to the original emphasis of the passage and represent a strong Xunzian influence on the text. TP (quoted in AS/WC 00, pp. 132–33) suggests instead that the lines may be missing from the GDCJ text as the result of a copyist's "eye skip," accidentally omitting the lines of two strips of text by copying to the 多 of 大小多少 and then mistakenly resuming after the 多 of 多易必多難 (this, however, does not seem to account for the 之, as HR 00 [p. 16] has already noted); LXF entertains a similar possibility.

[154] 惕: All R have 易. PP 00.5b suggests that the 心 radical highlights the sense of "ease" here as a mental state.

[155] 猷: LMC 03.6 reads 謀, "plan for."

[156] Or, if we follow Wang Bi in attributing 猶 to 聖人: "Even the sage is troubled by it" (cf. HR 00).

and so has no trouble in the end.

9 (R 2)

天下皆智（知）敚（美）[157]之為敚（美）也，[158]亞（惡）已；

皆智（知）善[159]，此其[160]不善已。[161]〔無韻〕

又（有）亡之[162]相[163]生也[164]，（15）

懽（難）惕（易）[165]之相城（成）[166]也，

長耑（短）之相型（形）[167]也，

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[157] 敚: equivalent to 媺; as GDCMZJ notes, it is a variation on the ancient form of 美, which appears in its customary guise in all other versions. Note that GR 00.5 attaches special significance to this form of orthographic variation.

[158] All other versions of the text lack the final 也; All R begin the next phrase with 斯, “this,” “then.”

[159] All R add 之爲善 here, repeating the full structure of the previous, corresponding line. The “Dao ying” 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi* along with Fan Yingyuan and a few other editions also repeat the 天下 at the beginning of the line.

[160] 此其: all other versions simply read 斯 (訛 in MWD A); LMC 03.6 sees 其 as a loan for 斯. ZJW 99.8a would punctuate after 此, treating it as equivalent to 也, noting a possibly similar phrase-end use of 此 in strips 4-5 of “Zhongxin zhi dao.”

[161] 已: MWD B alone writes 矣 for this second 已 (a few editions write 矣 for both 已; see Zhu Qianzhi). All R resume the next sentence with 故.

[162] 之 (here and below): MWD and FY also have the 之 in these phrases, while WB, HSG, and JLB lack them. The 之 should have the effect of turning them into dependent clauses, but only MWD has the 恆也 at the end that would complete the sentence; see, however, PH 99.8 (p. 20), who describes this as a superfluous addition.

[163] Whereas 相 is usually taken in the more obvious sense of “mutual,” GR 05 (p. 248) would take it here (and throughout these lines) instead as “to judge (by),” i.e., “is decided with reference to the act of procreation” (presumably deriving this sense from 相 as the act of physignomizing or divining through physical or structural appearances).

[164] 也 (here and below): only GDCJ and MWD have the 也 in these phrases. LXG 03 (p. 353) notes how the effect of the “deletion” of the particles 之 and 也 by later editors may have been to achieve consistency with the four-character-line norm of much of the text.

[165] 懽惕: PP 00.5b argues that the 心 radicals here suggest the sense of “difficulty” and “ease” as mental states.

[166] 城 (here and below): GDCMZJ renders 成; following CRY 98.10, I render 城, read 成.

高下之相浧（盈）[168]也，〔耕部〕

音聖（聲）[169]之相和也，

先後[170]之相墮（隨）[171]也。[172]〔歌部〕

是（16）以聖人居[173]亡為之事，行不言之孥（教）[174]。

萬勿（物）作（作）[175]而弗忖（始）也[176]，[177]

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[167] 型: MWD has 刑; WB has 較, and the other versions have 形.

[168] 浧: MWD has 盈; All R have 傾. As MWDHMBS points out, 盈 was likely changed to 傾 due to taboo avoidance of Han Emperor Hui's 漢惠帝 given name; they read 盈 as 呈, in the sense of "emerge."

[169] 音聖: MWD A has 意聲; all other versions have 音聲. The distinction here may be between *yin* as musically ordered tones and *sheng* as ordinary sounds or voices.

[170] 先後: All R read 前後, except Yanzun, Suizhou, the so-called "Dunhuang" edition, and a few other versions, which also have 先後. Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌 had previously noted how 先後 is the customary pair throughout other *Daodejing* passages.

[171] 墮(隨): HDK/XZG 98.12 affirm the rendering of 墮; for more on this graph, cf. LTH 02.3a (pp. 378–80). MWD has 隋; All R have 隨.

[172] Given all the 之 above, we would expect some concluding thought here to a series of what read as dependent clauses; however, only MWD here has 恆也, "[these] are constancies," to complete the sentence. In absence of this, we can only take them as "explanations" of what is stated in the first two sentences. Most scholars argue that the 恆也 disrupts the rhyme and rhythm and thus must represent a later addition.

[173] 居: All R have 處. The Suizhou, "Dunhuang," and a few other versions precede 處 with 治.

[174] 孥: see the note to this graph in strip 12 above. All R and MWD have 教. CRY 98.10 suggests that the graph itself is normally read 學, but still reads 教 here. For more on the dual readings of 孥 and related forms, see also the subsection on "The Chu script" in section C of the general introduction.

[175] 作: MWD B has 昔; All R have 作, which WB and HSG also follow with 焉.

[176] 弗忖也: MWD B has 弗始; FY, Fan Yingyuan, Suizhou, and "Dunhuang" have 不爲始; WB, HSG, and JLB have 不辭, "do not decline." WB may originally have read 不爲始 as well; see Zhu Qianzhi. The merits of 始 versus 辭 have long been debated (see LMC 03.6 for references). DYZ 98.9 (presumably following Gao Heng) reads 忖 instead as 司, "oversee." LMC 03.6, following Ishida Yōichirō 石田羊一郎, reads 治, "order."

[177] All R follow this with an additional phrase: 生而不有, "gives birth but does not possess," except that the so-called "Dunhuang" and Suizhou versions lack this line as well. Note that 有 is also a *zhi* 之-group rhyme. As GM 96.5 notes, the line was probably added later so as to achieve consistency with R 10 and R 51, where it appears in tandem with 爲而不恃; but in both of those passages, it appears in the context of the "mysterious

為[178]而弗志（恃）也[179]，〔之部〕[180]

成[181]而弗居[182]。

天〈夫〉[183]唯（17）弗居也[184]，

是以弗去也。[185]〔魚部〕■ [186]

When everyone in the world knows the beautiful as beautiful, it turns ugly.[187]
When they all know the good [as such], it turns to no good.

virtue” 玄德 of Heaven’s way, to which the additional phrase clearly applies in a way that it cannot here (cf. DYZ 98.9, ZJW 99.8a, and LXG 03). WR 99a shows how the insertion of this phrase is complemented by other differences below in the received texts in such a way as to preserve structural parallelism in the passage.

[178] Some would take the subject of this 爲 to revert back to the sage-ruler rather than the myriad things.

[179] 弗志也: MWD A parallels GDCJ; MWD B has 弗侍也; All R read 不恃. DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, YZH 99.6, and LMC 03.6 all read 志 here as is, in the sense, respectively, of “express intent,” “establish markers,” “expect”/“memorialize,” or “demand/command.”

[180] Jiang Yougao and others would include the previous 事 (*zhi* 之-group) and 教 (*xiao* 宵-group) with these two lines, making it as *zhi-xiao heyun* form of interrhyme.

[181] 成: MWD and JLB have 成功, “accomplishes works”; FY, WB, and HSG have 功成; GDCMZJ suggests the 功 has inadvertently dropped out here. The rhythm, however, is more even without the 功. LXF 99.1 takes the subject of 成, along with 作 and 爲 above, to still be the myriad things; along with the switch in rhyme, I assume a switch in subject here.

[182] 弗居: WB has 不處. DYZ 98.9 and LXF 99.1 take 居 in the stronger sense of “occupy,” “take possession of.” Despite the near parallelism of this line with the previous two, rhyme suggests it belongs instead with the following stanza. As WR 99a argues, moreover, the presence of 也 in the previous two lines may have served to mark them off as not forming a triad with this one.

[183] 天: as GDCMZJ notes, this is likely a graphic error for 夫, which all other versions have. LXF 99.1 instead sees 夫 as the error.

[184] 弗居也: only GDCJ has this and the next 也. MWD A lacks the negative 弗.

[185] Like most, I take “accomplishment” as the implied topic here. DYZ 98.9 takes this phrase instead in the sense that the sage does not depart from the true nature of things.

[186] There is blank space equivalent to about three graphs on the strip in between this passage and the next. DYZ 98.9 suggests this marks the beginning of an entirely new section. HLB 99.8/HR 00 suggests the next passage was taken up by a new scribal hand, or perhaps copied from a different source.

[187] Or, as HR 00 translates and as many understand it, “ugliness comes into being” (likewise for the next sentence).

Such is
the mutual generation of presence and absence,
the mutual completion of the difficult and easy,
the mutual formation of the long and short,
the mutual fulfillment of the high and low,
the mutual harmonizing of tones and voices,
the mutual pursuit of what precedes and what follows.

Thus the sage
engages in matters that act to no purpose,
carries out teachings that utter no words.

The myriad things
arise, but [he] does not originate them;
act, but [he] does not rely upon them.[188]

[He] accomplishes, but does not dwell in this.
For only because he does not dwell in it,
does it not go away.

10 (R 32A)[189]

道[190]亙（恆）亡名，

[188] Cf. HR 00: "He does things for them, but he does not make them dependent."

[189] Passages 10 and 11 are combined in the received *Daodejing* (R 32); even though they are found together here as well, they are clearly separated by a passage marker. I thus divide them into two separate passages. Other commentators (with the exception of LL [99.8 and 02.3] and GY 01.2) largely ignore or otherwise discount this marker, and thus my passage numbering from this point forward differs from that given by others. HR 00 [or HLB 99.8] acknowledges the marker and the fact that the connection between the content of the two portions is in some ways unclear, but still finds grounds to treat them as a single unit; QXG 99.8 also sees a thematic relationship. Certainly a thematic connection exists, as the myriad things of R 32a bring themselves into line with the nameless lords and kings in a way akin to how the named streams of the world in R 32b flow down at their limits into the boundless Way (as HR implies), but they could still be conceived as two separate passages based on a common theme. Compare also the language of this passage to that of passage 7 (R 37) above. LMC 03.6 suggests that the marker is a kind of stanza marker rather than passage marker per se.

[190] 道: JXS 99.12 takes the 道 here to refer to "individuated *dao*s" rather than a monolithic one.

僕（樸）[191]唯（雖）妻（細）[192]，天陛（地）[193]弗敢[194]臣。

侯王[195]女（如）能（18）獸（守）之，萬勿（物）牆（將）自賓（賓）[196]。

〔耕真合韻〕[197]■

The Way is constantly without name;

though negligible in its unhewn state, Heaven and Earth dare not take it as their vassal.

Should lords and kings be able to uphold it, the myriad things will bring themselves in line.

11 (R 32B)[198]

天陛（地）相會（合）[199]也[200]，

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[191] 僕: GDCMZJ renders this directly as 僕; I render more literally here. MWD A has 樸; all other versions have 樸 or 朴 (except WB, which lacks this phrase). Cf. the phrase "無名之樸" in passage 7 (R 37) above (in line with which some would read the 樸 here as part of the preceding phrase, with 無名 as its attribute; for various suggested parsings, see LMC 03.6). LXF 99.1 reads 僕, "servant," as is.

[192] 妻: All other versions (WB aside) read 小. GDCMZJ reads 微. CW 98.4 suggests the possibility of rendering 婁(姑) instead, understood in the sense of "young and weak." LL 99.8 reads 細; HLB 99.8/HR 00 reads likewise, but also suggests the possibility of reading 底, "low." ZJW 99.8a, WQP 99.8, and HLY 99.10 all read 稺, or 稚, "small," "young." YSX 00.5 reads 癠, as a Chu-dialect term for "small" (along with some others variations having the interloanable 齊 or 此 phonetics). LXF 99.1 reads as is, taking 僕唯妻 literally in the sense of "[as] a servant assents to his wife," as some kind of metaphor for the limitations of naming.

[193] 天陛(地): all other versions have 天下, "all in the world."

[194] 弗敢: FY and WB have 莫能, "none can"; HSG, JLB, and XE have 不敢.

[195] 侯王: FY, JLB, and XE have 王侯.

[196] 賓(賓): DYZ 98.9 would take this in the sense of to "display"; it is more commonly taken in the sense of "submit," "pay allegiance." HLY/CY 05.6 explain 賓 as 賓 written with an abbreviated phonetic.

[197] This is including the *geng*-group 名 along with the other two *zhen*-group rhymes (after the similarly structured 爲/化 rhyme of 7 [R 37] above). Jiang Yougao and others would also include the *geng*-group 均 and 名 of R 32B below.

[198] On the division of R 32 into two passages, see the note to the head of passage 10 just above.

[199] 會 (here and throughout): GDCMZJ renders 合; QXG 98.5 suggests the graph might instead be an abbreviation of 會. LL 99.8 notes that the graph should instead be interpreted as 答, but here read 合 (cf. CRY 98.10, n. 203). I render the graph more literally as 會.

以逾[201]甘[202]霝（露）[203]。〔緝鐸合韻〕[204]

民莫之命[205]天〈而〉[206]自均，

安（焉）[207]訂〈始〉折（制）又（有）名。[208]〔真耕合韻〕[209]

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[200] All other versions lack this 也.

[201] 逾: All R have 降; MWD has 俞, which GM 96.5 reads 雨. GDCMZJ, following MWDHMBS, would read 揄 or 輸; LL 02.3 notes that both can have the sense of "fall down" or "pour out," and reads 輸. CW 98.4 takes 逾 in the sense of "descend," more literally "go downstream," here in the causative sense of "send down"; LRH 99.10 affirms this reading, seeing the graph as phonetically interchangeable with 窬, which has the related sense of "lowly." ZJW 99.8a reads 濡, "moisten [with]." LXF 99.1 reads 霣, "pour down." GY 01.2, following GM, reads 雨. LZ (00.5 [p. 76] and 03.12) argues that 逾 can be read phonetically as 降, and MPS 02.11 also provides a variety of phonological evidence to support such a reading; HLY/CY 05.6, however, dispute this possibility.

[202] 甘: LL 02.3 notes that the graph more closely resembles 昌, but still takes it as a corruption of 甘.

[203] 霝: MWD writes 洛; All R write 露.

[204] This is by no means a close rhyme, as both the main vowel and category of *rusheng* ending appear to be different; note, however, that if we see 合 as 會 instead (after QXG), the rhyme would be much closer. Note also that the particle 也 (*yu* 魚-group), however, does form a nearly perfect rhyme with *duo*-group 露, which may account for its presence here in the GDCJ version. None of the traditional scholars include this among the rhymes; if we do not, however, it is hard to see how the rest of the passage could rhyme either, given the disruption of rhythm this would create. As LCS 99.1a notes (p. 200), Hu Shi 胡適 once argued that these two lines, which do not fit the R 32 rhyme as a whole, represented a later addition.

[205] 命: GDCMZJ reads 令, as all other versions have it.

[206] 天: All other versions have 而; GDCMZJ sees 天 as a graphic mistake for 而, a common error in the Guodian texts. LXF 99.1 reads as is.

[207] 安: MWD and FY have 焉; all other versions lack any graph here. GDCMZJ places 安/焉 at the end of the previous phrase, in which case we would translate "therein"; LL 99.8 reads 安 in that location as is, i.e., "secure." Based on considerations of probable rhyme, I instead place 焉 at the beginning of this phrase; 焉始, while not a common locution, does occur as kind of a compound conjunction in pre-Qin texts.

[208] All other versions write 始制有名 (MWD and FY also preceding this with 焉). LXF 99.1 reads 折 as is, in the sense of "break apart" (akin to the original sense of 制). As LMC 03.6 notes, 制名 is a kind of set phrase in early writings, found in such texts as the "Zheng ming" 正名 chapter of the *Xunzi*.

[209] Under the assumption that this passage was part of R 32A, Jiang Yougao and others see the 均 and 名 here as interrhyming with the rhymes of those lines—with some disregard, we should add, of the rhythm of the passage as it was originally parsed. Note that if we did read 天 as is, we would also consider the preceding 命 to be part of this rhyme.

名（19）亦既又（有），

夫[210]亦牆（將）智（知）㞢（止）[211]。

智（知）㞢（止），所以[212]不訂（殆）[213]。

卑（譬）[214]道之才（在）天下也，猷（猶）少（小）[215]浴（谷）之與江海（海）。[216]〔之部〕■ （20）[217]

Heaven and Earth join together,
so as to send down sweet dew.

The people, under mandate from no one, balance themselves out[218]

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[210] 夫: HSG and JLB have the graphically similar 天 instead.

[211] 㞢: All R have 止, except HSG, which has the object pronoun 之 instead; MWD also has 止. JXS 99.12 notes that the graph is read either 之 or 止 elsewhere, but argues that in this instance it should be read 之, with its referent being the principle of unity underlying the diversity of names (going back also to what I have here as the beginning of the previous passage). LMC 03.6 also reads 之, understanding *dao* as its referent. LXF 99.1 takes 止 in the sense of the content or conceptual domain of each "name" (concept). I understand 止 here more literally along the lines of where the names "stop," i.e., their "limits."

[212] JLB and XE lack this 所以, and some WB editions instead have 可以.

[213] 不訂: all other versions write 不殆. As DYZ 98.9 notes, this 訂 is the same graph read 始 just above, but the separate contexts demand that they be read differently, as the received versions have it. Note especially the similar phrase in R 45: 知止不殆, as well as a number of other *Daodejing* passages ending in 不殆 (cf. the comments of Jiang Xichang).

[214] 卑: All R have 譬; MWD A has 俾 and MWD B 卑.

[215] 少: MWD B has 小; All R have 川. Either 小 or 川 could be seen as either a semantic substitute or a graphic error for the other.

[216] The "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi* quotes a pair of similar lines as simply: "道之在於天下也，譬猶江海也." This led Jiang Xichang to suggest that the second phrase of the original text should have come in reverse order, reading "譬猶江海之與川谷," so that the Way corresponds implicitly to the Rivers and Seas (just as the sage does, we should note, in passage 2 [R 66] above), rather than to the smaller streams. WQP 99.8 suggests that the intent to have *hai* 海 rhyme with the other *zhi*-group rhymes above was responsible for what otherwise might appear to be an inversion. GY 01.2, on the other hand, suggests that *dao* is in fact being compared to the small streams, whose waters permeate everywhere once they enter the "world" of the rivers or seas.

[217] The black-square passage marker here is followed by three characters-worth of blank space at the end of the strip.

[218] HR 00 translates "No one causes this to be so; of itself it falls equally on them," apparently taking the 民, "people," as both the non-causing subject and recipient of Heaven's dew. LMC 03.6 and LZ 03.12 interpret

—only at this are names produced.[219]

Once names are present,
so too shall their limits be known.
It is by knowing their limits that peril is shunned.
Thus may the Way's existence in the world be compared: to small streams
[flowing in]to a River or Sea.

12 (R 25)[220]

又（有）䭬（狀）[221]蟲〈蚰〔混〕〉[222]成，

先天陸（地）生：[223]〔耕部〕

similarly (note that these readings assume 焉 at the end of this phrase).

[219] Compare again HR 00, who logically (but against the subsequent rhyme) groups this line (minus the 焉) with the next stanza: "When we start to 'regulate' or 'put into order' there will be names." See also LD 82: "Only when it is cut are there names"; RM 01: "But the advent of rule brought names"; and AR/HDL 03: "When we start to regulate the world, we introduce names." This is a relatively standard interpretation; among others, both GY 01.2 and LZ 03.12 offer similar readings of this line.

[220] CRY 98.10 views the "Taiyi sheng shui" strips (seen as part of "Laozi C") as a kind of elaboration upon this passage. Note that if we follow the ordering of blocks suggested by Li Ling, Wang Bo, and others, this would be placed as the first passage of "Laozi A."

[221] 䭬: all other versions have 物; GDCMZJ suggests the graph here should read 道. CRY 98.10 instead equates with 將; ZGY/YGH 99.1 read 壯. QXG (99.8 and 00.1) and LL 99.8 both read 狀, pointing out that the same graph is read 莊 in strip 36 of "Wu xing," and noting the 無狀之狀 ("the form without form") of received chapter 14 (WB 99.8c also cites ZJW and HD as ones initially identifying the graph as 狀). WH 01.9 makes much the same argument, seeing the graph as a variant form of 狀, with the right-side component of 首 (head) indicative of an origin in human (rather than canine) appearance (cf. LMC 03.6), and suggesting that the 物 of the other versions could be a corruption of the more common form of 狀. Both ZJW 99.8a and HXQ 00.5 note the 無物之象 of that same passage (R 14) and other associations of 道 with 象 in other passages of the work to suggest that the graph here could also read 象, "image" (even though that word is written in its usual form in "Laozi" B and C); LMC 03.6 concurs. LXF 99.1 reads 將, in the sense of "by means of" (taking 有 nominally as "existence" and reading 蟲 as 同). Note that the same graph appears to stand for 狀 also in the Shanghai Museum texts "Rongcheng shi" 容成氏, strips 39 and 49, and "Rong shi Youcheng shi" 融師有成氏, strip 5; see SBCZCZS v. 2, pp. 280 and 289, and v. 5, p. 322.

[222] 蟲: MWD has 昆; All R have 混. GDCMZJ interprets the graph as a form of 蚰, equivalent to 昆, read 混. LXF 99.1 instead reads 蟲 as 同, in the sense of "in combination." LMC 03.6 reads 昆, but in a similar sense of "combined," "amalgamated." YZS 01.12 reads 融, in the sense of "[turbulently] steaming up."

[223] An equivalent set of lines, followed by a somewhat similar description of the Way, appears also in the "Dao

敚（脫）繆（寥）[224]，

蜀（獨）立不亥（改）[225]，[226]

可以為天下[227]母。

未[228]智（知）其名，孶（字）[229]之曰道。〔之幽合韻〕[230]

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yuan" chapter of the *Wenzi*. For a similar description, see also chapter 14 of the received *Daodejing*.

[224] 敚繆: MWD has 繡呵繆呵 (A) or 蕭呵漻呵 (B); WB and HSG have 寂兮寥兮; FY has 寂兮寞兮; JLB has 寂漠; XE has 家家漠. HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version has simply 肅覺. GDCMZJ reads the second graph as 穆; CRY 98.10 equates the first graph with the ancient form of 奪 and the second with 綉 and reads 寞寥. LL 99.8 suspects the first is a corruption of 祝 and equates the second with 繆 (cf. PH 00.1) and reads 寂寥. ZJW 99.8a reads 娧穆, in the sense of "fine and majestic." WQP 99.8 reads 悅穆, in the sense of "reverent and solemn," as a kind of exclamation of admiration toward the Way, and notes a related description of the Way in the "Jingcheng" 精誠 chapter of the *Wenzi*: "靜漠恬惔，悅穆胸中，廓然無形，寂然無聲." BYL 01.2 supports the reading of 悅穆 with further references, taking it in the sense of "content and harmonious." LMC 03.6 reads 涚寥, seeing the first graph in turn as a variant upon an original 清, "clear," "pure." I read the first graph as 脫 or 釋, in the sense of "removed" or "detached." The variants all bear close phonetic relationships with each other, for more on which see HLY/CY 05.6.

[225] 蜀立不亥: MWD (B) reads 獨立而不玹; WB, JLB, and XE read 獨立不改; FY and HSG read 獨立而不改. HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version writes the final graph as 犭+亥. For 不亥, DYZ 98.9 reads 不垓, in the sense of "limitless"; LXF 99.1 reads 不該, in the sense of "not dual." HD reads 不晐, in the sense of "unique," "without pair," and AR suggests that this could also be taken in the sense of "never complete," contending, moreover, that the 不改 of the received versions carries the sense of "not open to reform" rather than simply "not change" (both cited in AS/WC 00, p. 239). LMC 03.6 reads 不亥 as is, in the sense of "non-reliant." LRH 99.10 avers that 蜀 is both the ancient and local form of 獨. Note that GY 01.2 would punctuate after 蜀立 and read 寂寥, 獨立, and 不改 as three parallel characteristics; I maintain the original punctuation here mainly because of the rhyme.

[226] All R follow this with an additional phrase: 周行(而)不殆, "it moves in cycles without termination." XKS 99.1 tries to argue that this phrase, which is also not in MWD, cannot be considered an appropriate attribute of the Way. HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version has an equivalent line, "偏(遍)行而不殆," proving that the line had appeared in the text by at least the middle of the Western Han. Note that 殆 is also a *zhi* 之-group rhyme.

[227] 天下: MWD reads 天地; All R parallel GDCJ, but the Fan Yingyuan and Sima Guang 司馬光 versions parallel MWD. HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version also parallels MWD. QXG 99.8 singles this out as an instance of textual variants that likely already existed in pre-imperial times. PH 00.1 would instead amend this 天下 to 天地, primarily on the basis of the latter's occurrence in passage 10 (R 32A) above. The reading of 天地 has a long history of support going back to Fan Yingyuan's "ancient text" version; for details, see GY 01.2 and LMC 03.6.

[228] All other versions precede this phrase with 吾, "I," which in GDCJ does not appear until two phrases later.

[229] 孶: All other versions write 字; FY and JLB both have an extra 彊, "forcibly," here, and FY also has a 故,

虐（吾）[231]（21）弜（強）為之名曰大[232]。

大曰灊（逝）[233]，

"thus," before that. "Jie Lao" also has 強 before 字之, and WB may originally have as well (see Zhu Qianzhi; for the long history of debate over whether the 彊 belongs here, see also LMC 03.6). For Wang Bi, the distinction between *ming* and *zi* lies primarily in self-appellation as opposed to the appellations we give to things.

[230] 亥(改) and 母 are *zhi* 之-group; 寥 and 道 are *you* 幽-group. Note that in the absence of the metric 兮, we are free to take the 繆 (寥) as part of the intended rhyme; strictly speaking, while 繆/寥 is *you*-group, 穆 (and thus presumably 繆) is in its *rusheng* equivalent *jue* 覺-group.

[231] 虐(吾): All R except JLB and XE (and other Dunhuang editions) lack the 吾 at this point. MWD, along with those latter editions, has it both here and above.

[232] Cf. the "Da Yue" 大樂 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*: "道也者，不可爲形，不可爲名，彊爲之，謂之太一," where the "great unity" appears to be equivalent to this "great." There are also close connections between these last two lines and strips 10-12 of "Taiyi sheng shui"; for more on this point, see XW 99.1a, pp. 175–76. See also the introduction to "Taiyi sheng shui" in this volume.

[233] 灊: MWD has 筮; All R have 逝; HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version writes 帶 over 心. CRY 98.10 reads 逝, as does LL 99.8, tentatively. HLY 99.12 would render this graph and its variants as 澼, which he suspects should read 殺, "diminish," in the Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙 bell inscriptions, and should here read 逝. A nearly equivalent graph, 𩠤, appears in strip 19 of "Yucong 4," minus what looks to be a water radical in the middle, and for which QXG 98.5 notes 臽 (*tan* 談-group) as a possible phonetic element (the editors suspect a 自 [*wei* 微-group] phonetic and read 憒). On the basis of that and considerations of rhyme, HD (as quoted in LL 99.8) suggests reading 遣 here. OK 00.3 also reads 遣, in the sense of "go forth," but disputes the possibility of a 臽 phonetic and sees the phonetic elements instead as 𦥑 plus a secondary abbreviated phonetic of 次 (*yuan* 元-group, whereas 欠 itself is *tan* 談-group; OK cites the input of CWW for this explanation). LL 02.3 roughly follows OK's interpretation, but reads 羨, in the sense of "surpassing." Cf. the discussion of the graph 欿 in strip 62 of "Xing zi ming chu." QXG himself (99.8) reads 衍, based on his and LJH's own reading of the Zeng Hou Yi graph, in the sense of "augment," "expand"; LXF 99.1 also reads 衍, on the same basis; ZFW 02.4 (p. 15) follows, but takes 衍 as a semantic substitute for 逝, with a similar sense of "flow forth"; HD 01 also reads 衍, translated as "surging." LZ 03.12 also reads 羨 or 衍, in the sense of "overflowing," suggesting the graph actually includes all three of the phonetics 𦥑, 次, and 臽. Note that 遣, 衍, and 羨 are also all *yuan* 元-group rhymes. Following QXG's identification of the phonetic element as 臽, ZJW 99.8a reads 濫 (also *tan*-group), "flooding." Following the editors' analysis of the phonetic, HR 00 reads 潰, translated "overflowing," but suggests the possibilities of 涵 ("all-embracing"'), if 臽 is the phonetic, or 源 ("the source"), if 𦥑 is the phonetic. LMC 03.6 takes 辥 as the phonetic (cf. MPS 02.7, pp. 406–7), but sees both it and 逝 as variants upon an original 折, "break," "ruin" (taking 曰 in the sense of 則). I (GSK 05.11) follow LL's earlier reading and take this graph to be a variant of 逝; this is based on my adoption of LL's initial reading of the "Yucong" graph as 噬, phonetically equivalent to 逝, given considerations of both rhyme and meaning in that passage; cf. the earlier discussions of these graphs by MPS 02.7 and CJ 03.11, who also discuss how 𦥑 can phonetically loan for 噬 and 逝. See also AA 05 (pp. 279–82), who draws much the same conclusions from all this evidence as

灊（逝）曰連（轉）[234]，

連（轉）曰反（返）[235]。

天大，陸（地）大，道大，[236]王[237]亦大。〔月元通韻〕[238]

國（域）[239]中又（有）四大安（焉）[240]，

MPS, CJ, and I, specifically suggesting (as with MPS) that the graph is a variant form of or loan for 罶, in turn a loan here for 逝. From the standpoint of the sound glosses here (more relevant in this case than rhyme per se), 逝 is phonetically closer to the previous 大, in terms of both initials and finals, but 遣 is closer in its final to the subsequent 轉 (or in both initial and final if the latter is seen as 遠); as HR 00 notes, however, the first character of such chains in the *Daodejing* (here 大) is not necessarily included in the phonetic wordplay.

[234] 連: GDCMZJ sees this as a corruption of 遠, which all other versions have. LXF 99.1 sees it instead as a variant of 傳, read 遠, but in the sense of its phonetic relative 還, "return"; LL 02.3 (p. 11) also suggests it might be equivalent to 傳, but here read 斷 or 轉. WQP 99.8 reads the graph as 遭, the Chu equivalent to 轉, "revolve." LMC 03.6 reads 轉, in the sense of "transform."

[235] 反: FY and JLB write 返; GDCMZJ reads 返 here, though the distinction between the two forms is negligible.

[236] In all other versions (except for Beida), 道大 comes first, prior to Heaven and Earth; WB and HSG also precede these phrases with 故, "thus." ZJW 99.8a suspects this order was later changed to conform to that of the final lines (in reverse order) below; QXG 99.8, on the other hand, suggests that the Guodian text here does not represent the original wording. As PH 00.1 notes, however, the "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* has these lines in the same order as GDCJ. HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version also uniquely conforms to the Guodian order.

[237] For 王, FY and Fan Yingyuan here have 人, "mankind," but resume with 王 in the next sentence below; XE has 生, "life," in both positions. For the long history of debate over which character is correct here, see LMC 03.6.

[238] 大 and 逝 are both *yue* 月-group, while 轉(/遠) and 反 are both *yuan* 元-group. Even if we do not include the two end-rhyme 大's as part of the rhyme here, it is clear that 大曰逝 and the next two phrases all take the form of sound glosses. Jiang Yougao treats the *yue*- and *yuan*-group rhymes separately; Xi Tong 奚侗 and others combine them.

[239] 國: All R have 域; MWD parallels GDCJ. Both MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ render 國. QXG 99.8 sees the graph instead as a variant of 囿 (右 inside 囗) and would read both the MWD and GDCJ graphs as 域. LTH 00.5 sees the element within 囗 as 厷, but still reads 國; cf. OK 00.3 (p. 75) and HLY/CY 05.6. LL 02.3 suggests the 厷 is in fact a variant of 或, and that the graph could read either 國 or 域. Many have noted how 國/域 as a delimited territory or state would scarcely be able to encompass Heaven, Earth, and the Way. Chen Zhu 陳柱 (quoted in LMC 03.6) has even suggested that 域 be taken in the sense of "universe"; with HR 00, I would opt for the translation of "realm." HW 11.6 notes that the Beida version writes 國 here, but he reads this as 域, in that latter sense, noting that the 國 of this particular passage is not the result of taboo avoidance with 邦 (as evidenced by MWD A also having it) and contending that it was likely distinct from 邦 in meaning.

王凥（處）[241]一安（焉）[242]。

人（22）法陸（地），[243]陸（地）法天，

天法道，道法自肰（然）[244]。〔元真合韻〕[245]■

There is a form, turbulently formed,
that prior to Heaven and Earth was born.

Detached and isolated,
it stands alone and unalterable,
able to serve as the mother of the world;
not knowing its name, we label it "*dao*" ("Way").

We force a name upon it, calling it "great";
its greatness, we call "flowing forth";
its flowing forth we call "changing course";
its changing course we call "returning."
Heaven is great; Earth is great; the Way is great; the king is also great.

Within the realm, the great number four,

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[240] 安: All other versions lack this graph in this position and instead have 而. GDCMZJ renders 安; ZGY/YGH 99.1 read 焉, here and below. LL (99.8 and 02.3) notes how this graph (here and below) is written differently from the more customary 安, and in such cases is usually equivalent to 焉; he thus transcribes it directly as 焉. CRY 98.10 (p. 49 n. 38) sees all such graphs as variant abbreviations of 安. LMC 03.6 takes this first 安/焉 as a conjunction beginning the next phrase, equivalent to the coordinative conjunction 而.

[241] 凥: GDCMZJ renders 凥 and reads 居; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 処. CRY 98.10 also renders 凥, but sees as equivalent to 處; LXF 99.1 interprets likewise. LL has also interpreted the graph as 處 (quoted in DYZ 98.9 and QXG 99.8), though his 99.8 renders 居; QXG 99.8 supports the interpretation of 處. MWD, WB, and HSG have 居; FY, JLB, and XE have 處.

[242] 一安(焉): FY instead has 一尊, "singular honor"; JLB and XE simply have 一.

[243] Li Yue 李約 (quoted in LMC 03.6) and others would parse differently, as 人法地地，法天天, etc., with "mankind" thus as the subject throughout; this, however, seems especially contrived.

[244] GY 01.2 argues at some length for an interpretation of 自然 as "original state," rather than "self-so" or "naturally so."

[245] 天 is *zhen* 真-group; 安/焉 and 然 are *yuan* 元-group. Note that this rhyme is present in all four lines only in the Guodian version of the text (taking the particle 焉 as the rhyme word of the first line, which previous scholars did not have cause to do).

one of which includes the king.
Man emulates Earth; Earth emulates Heaven;
Heaven emulates the Way; the Way emulates that which is so of itself.

13 (R 5b)[246]

天隍（地）之勿（間）[247]，
其猷（猶）囨（橐）[248]籊（管）[249]與[250]？〔元部〕[251]

虛而不屈[252]，

[246] In all other versions, the following lines are preceded by the lines “天地不仁，以萬物爲芻狗；聖人不仁，以百姓爲芻狗,” “Heaven and Earth are not humane, treating the myriad things as straw dogs; the sage is not humane, treating the people of the hundred surnames as straw dogs.” As PH 98.10 points out, all early quotations of R 5 quote from only one portion or another, strongly suggesting they were originally two distinct passages (or three, including a final pair of phrases not found here; see below); XKS 99.1, QXG 99.8, and ZJW 99.8a also note their thematic inconsistency. WB 99.8b (p. 160) suggests instead that the portions of the original passage not focusing on the “Way of Heaven” were excised here so as to concentrate on thematic consistency with the previous passage of the GDCJ selection. WQP 99.8 would actually combine this short passage with the previous one (12 [R 25]), due to the lack of any space following the passage marker; PH 00.1 also suspects they might be treated as a single passage here. LMC 03.6, on the other hand, treats this, for thematic reasons, together with the passage (R 16a; strip 24) that follows it in the editors’ arrangement, despite the fact that the present passage is followed by blank space for the rest of the strip (strip 23) and that the order of the two passages is thus uncertain to begin with; at the same time, however, he also suggests that rhyme may link this passage with the previous one after all.

[247] 勿: GDCMZJ reads 間, noting that the same graph written with the 門 radical, read 間, occurs in other Chu texts. For more on this graph, see LMC 03.6 and LZ 03.12.

[248] 囨: GDCMZJ reads 橐. CRY 98.10 instead renders 四; CW 02.12 would render the inner component as 卜 instead of 乇, thus interpreting the graph as a 咎 but still reading 橐. LMC 03.6 reaffirms the initial rendering.

[249] 籊: GDCMZJ sees this as an error for 籥; LZ 03.12 seconds this possibility. (Song/Yuan) Wu Cheng 吳澄 takes 橐籥 as two different components of the bellows, an implement for taking in and then blowing out air to stoke fires. For more on its construction, see Yang Kuan, *Zhanguo shi (zengdingben)*, pp. 23–24. LXF 99.1 reads the graph here as 管, taking it as an alternative name for 籥, the pipe portion of the bellows; HD (quoted in HR 00) makes the same suggestion. On the implications of this for the rhyme, see below.

[250] 與: MWD writes 輿; FY, WB, and HSG have 乎; JLB and XE lack any particle.

[251] Following LMC 03.6, I treat 間 and 管 as rhymes here. Note that no rhyme is present with the 籥 of the other versions in place of 籊(管).

[252] 屈: MWD has 淈; FY has 詘; all others parallel GDCJ. Following Wang Bi’s gloss as 竭, I take it in the sense of “exhaust”; HR 00 translates as “collapse.”

違（動）[253]而愈[254]出。〔物部〕■[255]　（23）

The space between Heaven and Earth
—is it not like a bellows?

Emptied, it is not exhausted;
set in motion, it produces all the more.

14 (R 16a)[256]

至虛[257]，亙〈亟（極）〉[258]也[259]；

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[253] 違(動): LMC 03.6 would instead read 沖, in the sense of "empty," suggesting that it should parallel the 虛 of the previous phrase.

[254] 愈: MWD, FY, and JLB have simply 俞.

[255] All other versions follow with some version of two additional lines: "多言數窮，不如守中," "Verbosity is frequently impoverished; it is better to hold onto the middle." MWD and XE have 多聞, "wide learning," for 多言; MWD also has 於 before 中. Note that 窮 and 中 are both *dong* 冬-group rhymes. QXG 99.8 suspects this pair of lines was originally either an independent passage or else lines from another passage that later crept into this one. ZJW 99.8a, on the other hand, suspects they may have been excised here because their key terms already separately appear in "Laozi A" 14 (R 16a) and (with his emendations) "Laozi B" 2 (R 48). The black-square passage marker here is followed by three characters-worth of blank space at the end of the strip.

[256] Note that this passage is self-contained on a single strip, and thus its place in the overall order is uncertain.

[257] 至虛: FY, WB, JLB, and XE have 致虛, "bring forth emptiness"; HSG and MWD parallel GDCJ. ZJW 99.8a suspects 至 should read 執, "hold onto." PH 00.1 takes 至 in the sense of "ultimate." CXY 05.9, reading 致虛, suggests that the term is equivalent to the term 集虛 found in the "Renjian shi" 人間世 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

[258] 亙: GDCMZJ renders 亙 and reads 恆, "constant," but notes that MWD and All R all have 極 and that 亙 and 亟 were easily confused graphically. 亟(極), however, works much better as a rhyme here, if we choose to include this graph and 作 as part of the rhyme; cf. HR 00, who also reads 極 with this in mind. LL 99.8 argues that the common confusion of the two graphs was actually a kind of "accepted" graphic mixing based on writing habits of the time, similar to the way, for example, 叚 was often written for 段 during the Tang. Note that the vast majority of Chinese commentaries on GDCJ here read 恆. The same graph also appears in passage 1 (strip 2) of "Laozi B," where it also corresponds to 極, though there are many other instances in which it most likely reads 恆, as in strips 6, 13, and 18 above.

[259] All R lack this and the next two 也; MWD parallels GDCJ. Zhu Qianzhi notes a certain Shiding 室町 edition that also has 也 after 極 and 篤. In contrast to one possible interpretation of the received versions, the presence of 也 here suggests a syntactic structure in which 虛極 and 中篤 are most likely not to be taken as double objects of the preceding verbs. LXF 99.1 takes this line in the sense of "the constant can attain to emptiness"; WQP 99.8 as something like "attaining emptiness is the true constancy"; HR 00 translates "take emptiness to

獸（守）中[260]，筥（篤）[261]也。

萬勿（物）方复（作）[262]，

居以[263]㝵（顧）[264]復也。[265]〔職覺鐸合韻〕[266]

天道員（云）員（云）[267]，

the limit"; and LMC 03.6 suggests that "constancy" is the result of attaining emptiness (he takes this as a restatement of the "虛而不屈" of strip 23 above). Like HR, I take 極也 to have imperative force.

[260] 獸中: MWD B and All R have 守靜 or 守靖; MWD A has 守情. RH 00 (p. 86) translates as "guarding one's core." Following Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰 and CGY, WQP 99.8 reads 盅(/沖), "void," "empty," for 中; IT 99.11, HR 00, LMC 03.6, LZ 03.12, and CXY 05.9 read likewise; DYZ 98.9 also suggests this possibility, but opts for reading 中 as "center," the "fundamental," as does LXF 99.1. WZJ 99.1 takes 中 in the sense of "harmony," as against the alternative sense of "moderation"; cf. PH 00.1. CGY 99.8a (pp. 75–76) similarly argues that it refers to a kind of inner stillness or tranquility, in distinction to the Confucian 中 with its greater emphasis on moderation and social harmony. Cf. R 5: "多言數窮，不如守中."

[261] 筥: All R have 篤; MWD A has 表 (possibly a mistake for 裻); MWD B has 督. DYZ 98.9 (apparently following Zheng Liangshu's 鄭良樹 commentary to MWD) suspects the GDCJ graph should read 裻, the central stitching on the back of garments, or by extension, the "central." HR 00 translates as "cautiously." LMC 03.6 suggests that 筥 carries the extended sense of "long enduring," like 恆 would in the parallel position above; he takes this line to be a restatement of the "違而俞出" (reading 違 as 沖, "empty") of strip 23 above.

[262] 方复: MWD reads 旁作; All R read 並作. GDCMZJ reads 旁 for 方, but LL 99.8 argues that both are loans for 並. 方 itself can also have the sense of "paired," "in tandem"; GY 99.1a and LXF 99.1 take it in the sense of "just begun to."

[263] 居以: All other versions read 吾以, "I thereby." ZJW 99.8a and HR 00 suggest that this is the result of phonetic confusion.

[264] 㝵: MWD and All R have 觀. GDCMZJ renders 須, "await"; however, LMC 99.10, YSX 00.1, and BYL 00.6 dispute the rendering, arguing that both this and the same graph in strip 2 above are simply abbreviations of 㝵(寡), which should here be read 顧; ZJW 99.8a also makes note of this graphic (and phonetic) similarity. LRH 99.10, conversely, suggests that the received reading of 觀 resulted from a phonetic reading of 寡, in turn a graphic misreading of an original 須. GY 01.2 and LZ 03.12 also see the graph here as 須. MWD and All R except WB (as well as quotations in the "Dao yuan" chapter of the *Wenzi* and the "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi*) follow with 其 before 復; while this is probably implied here, its presence would have disrupted the four-character rhythm of the GDCJ stanza (discounting the final extra 也).

[265] These lines are quoted as a recipe for the ideal rulership of the world in the "Dao yuan" chapter of the *Wenzi*.

[266] These are all -k ending *rusheng pangzhuan* rhymes: 極 is *zhi* 職-group, 作 is *duo* 鐸-group, and 篤 and 復 are *jue* 覺-group. Jiang Yougao, however, includes only 篤 and 復 as rhymes here.

[267] 天道員員: MWD A has 天物雲雲; MWD B has 天物袪袪; WB and HSG have 夫物芸芸; JLB and XE have 夫物云云; FY has 凡物䟰䟰. Note that the 夫 in most received versions could easily be a graphic error for

各復[268]其堇（根）[269]。[270]〔文部〕■[271]　（24）

In attaining emptiness, be absolute;
in upholding the middle, be steadfast.
As the myriad things arise together,
stay put and look back on their return.

Heaven's Way is ever boisterous;
yet everything returns to its roots.

天. GY 01.2, however, suspects that 天物 was a graphic error for 天道, and that 天 was thus later purposefully emended to 夫 because 天物 was an odd locution. CRY 98.10, LL 99.8, and others all read 云云 for 員員. GY 99.1a, Wang Bo (quoted in HR 00), and LXF 99.1 all read 圓圓, "circulating," taking this as a more appropriate predicate for "Heaven's Way"; cf. PH 00.5, p. 540. DYZ 98.9 also suggests 員 may have the sense of "revolving," and ZJW 99.8a similarly reads 運運. 員 and 云 are used interchangeably throughout the Guodian texts; given the 各 of the next line, 云云 still seems the better choice; as LMC 03.6 notes, moreover, 圓圓, as opposed to 云云 and its many variants, is an unattested reduplicative. HR 00 opts to take 天道 as graphic errors for 夫脜(狀), translating the line: "Now, the forms come forth in great numbers."

[268] 復: MWD, WB, and HSG have 復歸 (followed by 於 in MWD); FY, JLB, and XE have just 歸. For the long history of debate as to which is the correct graph here, see LMC 03.6.

[269] 堇: all other versions have 根 (lacuna in MWD A).

[270] All other versions follow these lines with some version of the following (here according to WB and HSG): "歸根曰靜，是謂復命，復命曰常，知常曰明。不知常，妄作凶。知常容，容乃公，公乃王，王乃天，天乃道，道乃久，沒身不殆" ("Returning to the root is called 'tranquility,' and this is what is meant by 'restoring the mandate.' 'Restoring the mandate' is called 'constancy'; knowing constancy is called 'enlightened.' Not knowing constancy, one recklessly creates misfortune. Knowing constancy is to be accepting; accepting, one is communal; communal, one is kingly; kingly, one is heavenly; heavenly, one [accords with] the Way; [according with] the Way, one is enduring, in no peril through the end of his life"). Note that MWD has some not insignificant variations; for a translation, see HR 00, p. 61. QXG 99.8 (pp. 40) contends that these lines must represent either an excision from or a later elaboration upon the original passage. ZJW 99.8a suggests the further possibility, aside from the two just mentioned, that they may be evidence of a kind of "commentarial" (*shuo* 說) portion to the work, of which GDCJ represents only the "canonical" (*jing* 經) portion; cf. LXF 02.3a (p. 50). GY 01.2 similarly sees them as lines of commentary that somehow crept into the text proper.

[271] The black-square passage marker here is followed by about six characters-worth of blank space at the end of the strip.

15 (R 64a)[272]

其安也[273]，易桼（持）[274]也。
其未莍（兆）也，易悔（謀）[275]也。〔之部〕

其霍（膬）[276]也，易畔（判）[277]也。
其幾[278]也，易後（踐）[279]也。〔元部〕

為之於其[280]（25）亡又（有）也；〔之部〕

[272] In all non-Guodian versions of the text, this passage is followed by the lines that form passage 6 (R 64b) above, which also has an equivalent in passage 4 of "Laozi C." Both MWD A and B have significant lacunae for most of this passage. See also the note to passage 6 above.

[273] All R lack the 也 in both halves of this and the subsequent few phrases; MWD, though largely marred by lacunae, appears to parallel GDCJ.

[274] 桼 (之 over 木): MWD A and All R have 持; GDCMZJ reads 持. CWW 02.7 suggests that this graph is a variant form of 植. LXF 99.1 sees the graph instead as 止 over 木, the *Shuowen*'s "ancient form" of 困, "become entrapped"; WQP 99.8 also notes this possibility, but would here read it as 群, "assemble"—note that both words have *wen* 文-group finals. LMC 03.6 reaffirms the reading of it as a variant of 持. This same graph appears again in strip 37 below, where we also read 持.

[275] 悔: MWD A and All R have 謀. LXF 99.1 reads 悔, "regret," but in the sense of "reform," "make amends."

[276] 霍: All R have 脆, but (Tang) Lu Deming's 陸德明 *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 cites Heshang Gong as having 膬, and the so-called "Dunhuang" and Suizhou editions have 毳, while Fan Yingyuan has 胞; Zhu Qianzhi sees 脆 as a vulgarization of the latter, equivalent to 膬, "soft and brittle." LMC 03.6 reads 膬, suggesting an extended sense of "young and weak." DYZ 98.9 reads 毳, the "fine hair" of an animal, in the extended sense of the "slight" or "delicate." LXF 99.1 reads 叕, in the sense of what is "connected." Given the radical, I suspect the intended word here could also mean something like "light rain" or "drizzle," perhaps an early form of 霎, with a similar extended sense of "slight" or "delicate."

[277] 畔: FY has 判; WB has 泮; HSG, JLB, and a number of others have 破 ("break"), which also bears a close phonetic connection with 判. GDCMZJ reads 判, "divide," "break apart"; LL 99.8 reads 泮, "disperse"; the two are more or less interchangeable. DYZ 98.9 takes 畔 in the sense of to "distinguish."

[278] 幾: All R have 微, also "incipience." LL 99.8 reads 微.

[279] 後: All R have 散, "fall apart." IT 99.11 understands 後 in the sense of to "follow." As DYZ 98.9 notes (following [Qing] Duan Yucai 段玉裁), the graph is probably equivalent to 踐, "put into practice," but LMC 03.6 notes how 踐 can also have the sense of "crush," "destroy." LXF 99.1 and PH 00.1 read 殘, "damage," "break apart." LZ 03.12, with All R, reads 散, which is also close phonetically.

絧（治）[281]之於其未亂。〔元部〕[282]

倉（合）【抱之木，生於毫】末[283]；

九城（成）[284]之壼（臺），甲〈乍（作）〉[285]【於蔂土；

百仞之高，始於】[286]（26）足下。〔月魚合韻〕[287]▌ [288]

When secure, [things] are easily maintained;
not yet manifest, they are easily planned.

When delicate, [things] are easily broken apart;

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[280] MWD, WB, HSG, and JLB lack both this and the next 其.

[281] 絧: All R have 治.

[282] I suspect the rhyme here actually reflects what WR would call the “interlocking parallel structure” of this stanza, each of these last two lines thus respectively grouping itself with the first or second of the initial two couplets. Bernhard Karlgren (see Zhu Qianzhi; also quoted in HR 00) has already made note of this rhyme pattern.

[283] Given the position of the tying mark in the second of the two strip fragments that make up strip 26, the missing space here between the bottom of the top fragment and the remnant 末 that begins the lower fragment would not easily allow for more than five graphs, but parallelism would strongly suggest six. GDCMZJ, on the basis of MWD and the received texts, suggests “抱之木生於毫”; this is how WB, HSG, and JLB have it, whereas MWD B had 作 for 生.

[284] 成: WB, HSG, and JLB have 層; the Suizhou and Yan Zun editions have 重; MWD and FY parallel Guodian.

[285] 甲: MWD has 作; All R have 起. GDCMZJ renders 甲, but suggests it is an error for 作; LXF 99.1, PH 00.1, LMC 03.6, and ZJ 03.6 all see it as an error for 乍, read 作. WQP 99.8 reads 甲 as 狎, in turn equivalent to 疊, “overlay,” “pile up”; LL 99.8 suggests an alternate possibility of reading 甲 as 蓋, “build.” CRY 98.10 renders 甲, which carries a gloss of 取物, “grab things.”

[286] Based on comparison with other strips, the missing space here below the tying mark likely allows for either eight or nine graphs; GDCMZJ assumes nine, and on the basis of MWD A would supply “於羸土百仁(仞)之高台(始)於.” All R write 累 for 羸; and All R have 千里之行, “a thousand-*li* journey,” for 百仞之高 (LL 99.8 supplies the former instead), save for Yan Zun, Suizhou, and a few other versions, which also have the latter. Gao Heng (quoted in Zhu Qianzhi) argues that the 累 of the received texts should read 蔂, a kind of basket for carrying dirt; MWD B has 虆, which may be a variant of this.

[287] 末 is *yue* 月-group (*-at); 土 and 下 are *yu* 魚-group (*-ɑ). Jiang Yougao, Karlgren, and others do not include 月 in this rhyme. For another possible example of *yu/yue* interrhyme, however, see the end of the next passage.

[288] The short, horizontal-stroke marker that appears at the end of this passage would appear to hold the same function as the black-square markers that indicate the end of passages elsewhere in the manuscript.

when incipient, they are easily trampled.

Act upon things prior to their existence;
bring order to things before they grow chaotic.

A tree of full 【embrace is born from the smallest】 sprout;
A tower of nine stories is built up【of basketfuls of earth;
An ascent of a hundred *ren* begins】 beneath one's feet.

16 (R 56)[289]

智（知）之者弗言[290]，言之者弗智（知）。

閔〈閟（閉）〉[291]其逸（兌/遂）[292]，賽（塞）[293]其門；

[289] For an interpretation of this passage as a description of mystical self-cultivation, see RH's reading in AS/WC 00, pp. 155–56.

[290] All other versions lack the object pronoun 之 and All R have 不 for 弗, here and in the next phrase; thus in the received versions the statements appear more as general denunciations of knowledge and speech without any object per se. Quotations of the lines in the "Tian dao" 天道 and "Zhi beiyou" 知北遊 chapters of the *Zhuangzi* parallel the received versions.

[291] 閔: GDCMZJ sees this as a corruption of 閉; LL 99.8 sees it instead as a corruption of 閟, read 閉; WQP 99.8 sees it as a variant form of 閉. LXF 99.1 reads 磔, "exorcise [through animal slaughter]." HLY 99.12 sees the graph as a corruption of 闃, read like 縣, in the sense of "empty." In MWD and All R, the positions of 閉 and the 塞 of the second half of this phrase-pair are reversed. Compare the similar lines of "Laozi B" 6 (R 52b), strip 13 (which has 閟 for 閉), where the entire phrases rather than simply the objects are reversed vis-à-vis the received versions. Given that 閉 and 門 seem to make for a more natural verb-object pair and the fact that they are so paired in "Laozi B" 6, GY 01.2 plausibly suggests that the pairings here are simply the result of a copyist's error.

[292] 逸: All R have 兌, and GDCMZJ reads accordingly; MWD A has 悶 (perhaps corresponding to 門, or else an abbreviated form/corruption of 閱; cf. GM 96.5), and MWD B has 垸. Commenting on R 52, (Qing) Yu Yue 俞越 reads 兌 as 穴, "hollow," "cave"; HLY 99.12 here reads 閱, in a similar sense. (Qing) Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 reads 兌 as 遂, "paths," "channels"; DYZ 98.9 and LXF 99.1 follow such a reading here. Xi Tong 奚侗 and Zhu Qianzhi take 兌 in the sense of bodily "apertures," a reading that derives from Gao You's 高誘 gloss to the term in the "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi*, defining it as the "ears, eyes, nose, and mouth" 耳目鼻口也. WQP 99.8 follows this reading; LMC 03.6 takes specifically as "mouth."

[293] 賽: LXF 99.1 would read as is, in the sense of making sacrificial "reward" to the spirits. BYL 00.6 (p. 89) suggests that the graph here is actually written 寶, but sees this as a miswriting of 賽.

和其光[294]，迵（通）其訢（塵）＝[295]；[296]

剾（屠）其齎（嬰）[297]，解其紛[298]；（27）〔文真合韻〕[299]

[294] 光: LXF 99.1 takes this in the sense of "glory." LMC 03.6 reads 廣, in the sense of "multitude."

[295] 迵其訢=: All R read 同其塵 for the corresponding phrase, and GDCMZJ reads accordingly; MWD A has 軫 for 塵. As GDCMZJ notes, the repetition mark following 訢—a graph which usually reads 慎 (see the notes to strip 11 above)—would appear to be in error; LMC 03.6, however, suggests it is part of the graph itself, an abbreviation for the 心 element that often appears below 斤 in the graph. LXF 99.1 explains 塵 (or its phonetic relatives) in the sense of "endurance" and suggests reading 迵 as 通, as it is sometimes read elsewhere in the Guodian texts. CWW 00.7, following an early reading of LMC, takes 訢 here in the sense of "joy," "delight." Most commentators see 訢(慎) as a loan for 塵.

[296] In All R, this phrase-pair follows, rather than precedes, the next one; MWD parallels GDCJ. The lines "挫其銳，解其忿，和其光，同其塵" (or variations thereof) also appear in R 4, and some earlier commentators had suspected they may have been accidentally duplicated in this passage; for details, see GY 01.2 and LMC 03.6. GY accounts for the repetitions by suggesting that these four lines and the two that precede them here may have come from some ancient maxim.

[297] 剾其齎: all other versions have 挫其銳 (with the orthographic variants 閱 and 兌 in MWD) for the corresponding phrase-half. CRY 98.10 sees 剾 as interchangeable with 劉, "kill," and interprets 齎 as a necklace of stringed shells, read like 縈 (but he interprets no further). HDK/XZG 98.12 suspect that the 剾 graph should be rendered 剆 and read 挫; they also suspect 齎 should be interpreted with 賏 (read like 閱) as the phonetic element, read 銳. HXQ 00.5 makes a similar argument to suggest that the first graph may be a phonetic variant of 剉, or, conversely, that the 挫 of the other versions might be a loan for an original 蓄, "conceal," and he suspects the latter graph to be an abbreviation of 賸, as a loan for 銳 "sharp edges" (the phonology for both is dubious). LMC 03.6 follows a similar reading, but would render the latter graph as 龣, equivalent to 鑫 and thus an elaborate form of 銳. LXF 99.1 also reads 剾 as 挫, in the sense of "break" (but without accounting for the loan), and reads 齎 as 嬰, in the sense of "encirclement," "entanglement." DYZ 98.9 suggests reading 齎 as 攖, "disturbance." IT 99.11 reads 剾 as 副, in the sense of "cut," "sever." HR 00 similarly reads 刨纓, "severs the bonds." ZJW 99.8a reads 剾 as either 逐, in the sense of "eliminate," or 肅, in the sense of "rein in," and reads 齎 as either 贔, "aggression," or, following IT and DYZ, as 攖. WQP 99.8 reads 剾 like 斲, "chop up," and sees 齎 as a variant of 賏, read 邇, in the sense of "advancement." LL 02.3 suspects the first graph might be a corruption of 剒, read 錯, or some other graph similar in meaning, and that the second graph might be read 穎 (賏 as phonetic), "sharp points." LZ 03.12 reads 剾 as 抽, "pull out," and follows LL's reading of 穎 for the latter graph. HLY/CY 05.6 take 剾 as a loan for 撤, "withdraw"; they also note that the *Guwen sishengyun* cites a form of 閱 found in an "ancient *Laozi*" 古老子 that is written 賏 over 心. CJ 12.1c suggests that the left side of the first graph may be equivalent to the left side of the graph that we render as 䜭 and read 轍 in strip 10 of "Yucong 4" (though he would render the upper left component as 幺 instead of 呂), i.e., the left side of 散, in which case we could view the graph directly as a variant form of 剉. I tentatively read 剾 as 屠, as a *huiyi* graph with a possible phonetic connection to it (just as the common interloaning of 蓄 [*xǐǒuk] with 儲 [*ďiɑ] may have a phonetic basis, though the finals are not especially close), parallel in meaning to 解 below; 屠 (*dɑ) and 挫 (*tsua) could, in turn, plausibly interloan as well.

[298] 紛: WB has 分; JLB, Yan Zun, and others have 忿, "anger. LXF 99.1 explains 紛 as "silk ribbons," here with

是胃（謂）玄[300]同。

古（故）[301]不可得天〈而〉新（親），亦不可得而疋（疏）[302]；
不可得而利，亦不可得而害；（28）
不可得而貴，亦｛可｝[303]不可得而戔（賤）。〔魚月元合韻〕[304]

古（故）為天下貴。■

Those who know it do not speak of it;
those who speak of it do not know it.

Close off the channels and bar the doors;
blend with the light and join with the dust;
slay the bindings and dismember the entanglements
—this is called “merging in obscurity.”

Thus will it be
impossible to either hold you dear or hold you distant;
impossible to either profit you or harm you;
impossible to either esteem you or disparage you.

---

the extended sense of “bindings.” HR 00 similarly translates “[unties the] knots.” LMC 03.6 still reads 忿.

[299] 門 and 紛 are *wen* 文-group; 釿/塵 is *zhen* 真-group.

[300] 玄: LXF 99.1 instead renders 因, “in mutual reliance.”

[301] 古(故): LMC 03.6 appears to take this not as the connective “thus,” but rather as the object of all the 得 that follow. LZ 03.12, on the other hand, takes 玄同 as the object of those 得.

[302] 疋: MWD A, FY, and JLB have 疏; WB writes 疎; HSG writes 踈. CRY 98.10 renders 足.

[303] As GDCMZJ suggests, this extra 可 is likely in error.

[304] This rhyme, if present, is very loose, with the *yu* 魚-group (*-ɑ) in *tongzhuan* relationship to the *yue* 月- (*-at) and *yuan* 元- (*-an) groups. Earlier analyses do not include this among the rhymed passages. However, for another possible interrhyming between *yu*- and *yue*- groups see the final stanza of the previous passage 15 (R 64a).

And thus will you hold the world's esteem.

17 (R 57)[305]

以正之邦[306]，

以戟（奇）甬（用）兵[307]，

以亡事（29）取[308]天下。

虗（吾）可（何）以[309]智（知）[310]其肰（然）也[311]？[312]〔無韻〕

夫天[313]多昇（忌）韋（諱）[314]，而民[315]爾（彌）畔（叛）[316]。

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[305] As many have noted, this is one of two places in the Guodian "Laozi" texts where the order of passages parallels that of the received versions (R 56-57). IT 99.8 suggests that the order of the two passages here formed the basis for later orderings.

[306] 以正之邦: For 之, All R have 治; GDCMZJ reads 治. QXG 99.8 notes that the "Suizhou" 遂州 and some of the Dunhuang versions also have 之, as perhaps did originally the HSG commentary. LXF 99.1 reads 之 as is, "head toward"; DYZ 98.9 takes in the general sense of "deal with"; LMC 03.6 in the sense of "employ"; cf. BW 05b (pp. 224-25), who also suggests "approach." Note that 執, "uphold," "maintain," is also a close phonetic cousin to 之. FY reads 政 for 正, as does the quotation of these lines in the "Da Dao, xia" 大道下 chapter of the *Yin Wenzi* 尹文子, where they are given a particularly "legalist" interpretation. Note that 正 makes for neat opposition to 奇, as we see in military treatises; as LMC 03.6 notes, the opposition may in some ways be similar to the left/right contrast seen in "Laozi C" 3 (R 31). ZLW 99.8 (p. 137) takes 正 as a kind of "method for resolving conflicts." All R and MWD B have 國 for the taboo-avoided 邦.

[307] 以戟甬兵: All R read 以奇用兵; MWD has 畸 for 奇. For 戟, LXF 99.1 instead reads 果, in the sense of "accomplishment." A somewhat more militaristic interpretation of this and the previous line may be found in the "Shang li" 上禮 chapter of the *Wenzi* or the "Bing lüe" 兵略 chapter of the *Huainanzi*. BW 05b suggests that the form of 戟 may have specifically marked such a more technical sense of the term.

[308] 取: WQP 99.8 reads 聚, "gather together." LZ 03.12 and CXY 05.9 both understand this 取 in the sense of "rule," "govern."

[309] 可以: LXF 99.1 reads as is, "can," rather than as the interrogative 何以; BW 05b (p. 227) also suggests this possibility.

[310] FY follows 知 with and extra 天下; it also has 奚 for 何.

[311] 也: MWD and All R except JLB have either 也哉 or just 哉; JLB lacks any particle at all here.

[312] All R follow this question with the two graphs 以此, "by this: . . ." (except for Yan Zun and a few other versions; see Zhu Qianzhi, p. 231); MWD parallels GDCJ. As Yu Yue has noted, these two graphs occur elsewhere in the work only at the end of passages.

民多利器[317]，而[318]邦[319]慈（滋）[320]昏。〔元文合韻〕

人多（30）智（知）[321]天〈而〉[322]戓（奇）勿（物）[323]慈（滋）迟（起）。[324]

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[313] 天: all other versions have 天下; given the context, it appears the 下 might have inadvertently dropped out, as GDCMZJ suggests. LXF 99.1, QXG 99.8, LL 99.8, and LRH 99.10 on the other hand, all suggest 天 alone may have been the original, QXG initially arguing that later editors changed it to 天下 because of a misreading of its predicate as 忌諱 (cf., however, QXG's revised 00.6 reading of this latter below). LMC 98.12 takes 天 in the sense of "ruler"; YSX 00.5 suggests that either 天 or 天下 could refer to the ruler of a state; and HR 00 similarly suggests that 天 itself might refer to the world or the ruler. LRH 99.10 takes 天 as the *object* of the people's rebelling.

[314] 昇韋: GDCMZJ renders the first graph directly as 期 and reads the pair as 忌諱, as all other versions have it (lacuna in MWD A). WQP 98.9, ZJW 99.8a, LMC 98.12, and YSX 00.5 all explain the term in the sense of strict commands or governmental restrictions rather than taboos per se. LXF 99.1 takes it in the sense of calendrical prohibitions, the subject being 天. QXG 99.8 instead reads 期違, in the sense of "seasonal violation," the subject again 天; cf. BW 05b. QXG 00.6 (pp. 122), however, reads 諰諱, in the sense of "admonish" by way of sending down portents. While readings with 天 are more faithful to the excavated text, it is difficult to imagine how Heaven's whims fit into the notion of the ruler's setting the example of non-action for the people, which is the overall theme of this passage.

[315] 民: All R have 人; MWD has 民.

[316] 爾畔: all other versions have 彌貧, "increasingly poor" (with minor orthographic variations; note that 貧 is *wen* 文-group, the same as 昏 below). GDCMZJ reads 叛, "rebel," for 畔. QXG 99.8 initially doubts that 彌 could be an adverb for 叛 and suspects it is a phonetic loan for 貧 after all; LXF 99.1 also reads 貧. QXG 00.6 (p. 122), however, accepts the reading of 叛. HLY 99.12 reads the pair as 離叛, "dissent and rebel," rendering the first graph as 㐭, read 離, and suggesting the 尔 from which the other versions derived resulted from graphic or perhaps phonetic confusion with this graph. YSX 00.5 suggests that the 貧 of other versions should be read 分 (as the graph is commonly read elsewhere), but with a sense of to "dissent" or "rebel," more or less equivalent to 畔/叛; or, alternatively, following LMC 98.12, that it be directly read as the latter; cf. ZJW 99.8a and CYD 00.8b.

[317] 民多利器: DYZ 98.9 takes this in the sense of governmental measures directed *toward* the people. LMC 03.6 takes it in the sense of having "advanced tools," and LZ 03.12 in the sense of "strategy."

[318] All R lack this 而 and subsequent ones in the next two sentences.

[319] 邦: MWD A has the compound 邦家; All R have 國家.

[320] 慈: MWD A has 茲 while All R have 滋, here and in the next two sentences.

[321] 智: FY has 知慧; WB, HSG, and JLB instead have 伎巧, "skills" (Suizhou and a Dunhuang edition have 知巧; other editions have 技巧). GDCMZJ reads 知. LGS 00.5 reads 智, in the sense of "cunning," and suggests that the received variants may have been glosses on 智 that crept into the main text by mistake.

[322] Context would suggest that 天 here is a graphic error for 而, as MWD (A) has it (and as just seen in strip 28

法勿（物）[325]慈（滋）章（彰）[326]，覜（盜）[327]惻（賊）多又（有）。〔之部〕

above). LXF 99.1 reads 智(知)天 as a unit, referring to knowledge of the seasons. The "Dao yuan" 道原 chapter of the *Wenzi* has instead the common compound 智能, "knowledge and talents," suggesting the further possibility that 而 could be read as the phonetically interloanable 能.

[323] 戓勿: GDCMZJ renders 戠 for the first, but here the graph is actually written 戓. MWD A has 何物; All R have 奇物, except for the FY and Fan Yingyuan versions, which have 衺事; the nature of the WB commentary also suggests that its original text read 邪事 ("decadent things"). DYZ 98.9 takes 奇物 in the sense of "absurd doctrines"; ZJW 99.8a takes as "strange machines." LXF 99.1 reads 課物, as measuring or predictive devices, such as sundials or divinatory media; QXG 99.8 reads 苛物, in the sense of "tyrannical measures." With GDCMZJ, WQP 99.8 and LGS 00.5 read 奇物, in the sense of "abnormal" or "decadent" things. LL 02.3 (pp. 18–21) also affirms the initial reading of 奇物, taking it in the sense of "rare goods."

[324] Rather than taking this whole line and the next one as two related conditional sentences, QXG 99.8 and LGS 00.5 both suggest that this and the next two phrases are all consequences of the first ("When people have much knowledge"), with 而 as the pivot, and would punctuate the last three enumeratively; LL 02.3 follows. As LGS argues, 智 is closely related with 巧 ("skill/cunning") and 利 ("profit") throughout the *Laozi*, and these latter two are given as the source of "robbers and thugs" in the second line of the first passage (strip 1; R 19) above; thus 民多智 should be their source as well, and thus carry over through all three of its following phrases (QXG and LGS also both argue that 法物滋 does not fit the grammatical pattern of 天多, 民多, and 人多 in the ostensibly parallel positions above). If, however, 法物 is indeed "fine goods" (see below), we can also easily see a link between it and "skill and profit"; as Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌 notes, moreover, "rare" or "abundant" "treasures" are also given as the direct cause of thievery in received chapters 3 and 53. Note that the QXG/LGS reading would work well with *both* paragraphs in the FY version, in both of which 而 follows only the first phrase; in GDCJ however, we would have to assume a different structure for the two paragraphs or else interpret the 而 preceding 邦慈昏 differently; MWD (and Fan Yingyuan, which parallels it) would also have to be interpreted differently than GDCJ. Based on that fact and considering how the rhymes may be suggestive of parallelism, I retain the original reading here. Note that whether or not 而 occurs in each GDCJ phrase may be purely a matter of rhythm, as every phrase (excluding the initial 夫 and reading the 天 that follows it as is) turns out to be exactly four characters in length; cf. HR 00 for other stylistic considerations. Note also the possibility that 知天〈而〉 could read 智能, as in the "Dao yuan" quotation noted above, and that further quotations from the "Weiming" 微明 chapter of the *Wenzi* and "Dao ying" 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi* quote only the final two phrases, with the implication that 法令 are indeed the cause of 盜賊.

[325] 法勿(物): FY and WB have 法令. DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, and QXG 99.8 all take 法物 in the sense of "regulations," "statutory objects," "legal matters," etc.; LXF points to a possibly similar use of the term in the Mawangdui "Er san zi wen" 二三子問 text. CYD 00.8a would broaden the sense to include jails, implements of punishment, and the like. The Heshang Gong commentary takes 法物 in the sense of "fine goods," and Jiang Xichang links this to the 難得之貨, "hard-to-obtain treasures," of received chapter 3; ZJW 99.8a, CGY 99.8a (pp. 77–78), and WQP 99.8 thus take as "fine treasures," WQP in the more specific sense of "legal coinage." HR 00 opts for the rendering of "exemplary goods"; my rendering here follows a similar tact. CGY suggests that the 法物 reading makes it more amenable to the "rule of law" philosophy that would later develop in Huang-Lao texts. LGS 00.5 reads 廢物, "shoddy things." LL 02.3 (pp. 18–21) reads 乏物, in the sense of "rare

是以聖人之言曰[328]：

我無事

而民自禧（富）[329]。[330]（31）〔之職通韻〕

我亡（無）為

而民自爲（化）[331]。〔歌部〕

我好青（静）[332]

而民自正。〔耕部〕

我谷（欲）不谷（欲）[333]

goods.” As ZJW notes, the 法令 of FY and WB may well have resulted from a misunderstanding of the term 法物; the reverse move would be more difficult to account for; cf. SE 06 (pp. 43–44).

[326] 章: LXF 99.1 takes instead as a noun, in the sense of legal statute, thus taking 滋 verbally, to “proliferate.”

[327] 覜: QXG 98.5 reads 盜.

[328] 聖人之言曰: All R simply read 聖人云.

[329] 禧: all other versions have 富; GDCMZJ reads 富. DYZ 98.9 reads 備, “complete”; HR 00 reads 福, to have “good fortune,” connecting it with the taboos/prohibitions above.

[330] In MWD and All R, this sentence follows, rather than precedes, the next two; in Yan Zun, Suizhou, and other editions and citations in various works, the order of the second and third sentences is reversed from that of the other received versions (see Zhu Qianzhi). The GDCJ order for these four sentences is unique. HR 00 suggests that the GDCJ order links them better, line for line, with the four lines of the second and third stanza above. ZJW 99.8a notes how the order in R 63 (passage 8 above) puts 無爲 before 無事; LXG 03 suggests that later editors reversed the order here so as to highlight 無爲 as the more important concept. GY 01.2 observes that the first two of the statements in the GDCJ order are framed negatively, and the second two positively.

[331] 爲: all other versions have 化. CW 99.10a disputes the rendering, seeing the top part as a combination of 甘〈日〉 and 凡 instead, and interprets as 風, in a similar sense of “transform.” LMC 03.6 reaffirms the initial rendering, but would opt to read as 爲.

[332] 青: all other versions read 靜 or 靖.

[333] 谷不谷: MWD B has 欲不欲; All R simply read 無欲, “have no desires,” though the “Yan Zun” and WB commentaries also seem to imply an original text that read 欲不欲 or 欲無欲. ZJW 99.8a suggests that, given how the three parallel terms above are all two characters, 無欲 may be the original here—though it is just as

而民自樸（樸）。[334]〔屋部〕∠[335]　（32）

Manage the state with conventional means,
employ soldiers with extraordinary ones,
[but] capture the world through absence of intent.

How do I know that this is so?

The more restrictions and prohibitions in the land, the more the people will rebel.
The more sharp implements the people have, the more the state will be in turmoil.[336]

The more knowledge the people have, the more outlandish things will arise.
If ideal goods are displayed in abundance, thieves and thugs will be many.

Thus the words of the sage state:

"I serve no end
and the people prosper on their own.

I act to no purpose
and the people transform of themselves.

I am fond of tranquility
and the people of themselves are rectified.

---

easy to imagine that 欲不欲 was later changed *to* 無欲 for that very reason.

[334] 樸: GDCMZJ renders this directly as 樸, but I render here more literally. Some editions of HSG and the "Dunhuang" version follow this with an extra line: 我無情而民自清 ("I have no affections and the people become pure of themselves"). A version of these last four lines is also quoted in the "Dao yuan" chapter of the *Wenzi* and "Yuan dao" 原道 chapter of the *Huainanzi*.

[335] There is a hook-shaped "section/text-end" marker here, followed by about six-graphs worth of blank space at the end of the strip, likely indicating either a major division in the text or perhaps the end of it. Note that in LL's order, this passage does indeed come at the end of "Laozi A." Another such marker, however, also appears at the end of strip 39.

[336] HR 00 suggests that these two lines might refer back, respectively, to the first two lines of this passage.

I desire the lack of desire
and the people of themselves become innocent."

18 (R 55)[337]

酓（含）[338]悳（德）之䢔〈厚〉[339]者，比於赤子：

蟲（虺）蠆虫（蟲）它（蛇）[340]弗蠚（蠚）[341]，
攫鳥猷（猛）獸[342]弗哺（搏）[343]，[344]

[337] For an interpretation of this passage in terms of mystical inner cultivation, see that of RH in AS/WC 00, pp. 156–57.

[338] 酓: MWD (B) and All R have 含. GDCMZJ reads 含. DYZ 98.9 reads as is (i.e., as an early form of 飲), but takes this in the sense of "hide away," "conceal." LRH 99.10 explains the original sense of 酓 as an alcoholic beverage being "strong" or "full," and suggests that the graphs 酓, 含, and 飲 can all have the sense of "deep" or "full."

[339] 䢔: LMC 03.6 would instead render 石 over 丰, but still sees it as a variant of 厚. Cf. the note to this graph in strip 4 above.

[340] 蟲蠆虫它: GDCMZJ reads 蟲 as 螅; QXG 98.5 suspects it should be interpreted as 蝟, "hedgehog." CRY 98.10 sees this graph as equivalent to 蜂, "wasps"; LGS 99.5 sees the phonetic as 囟 and also reads 蜂, as does HXQ 00.5, who instead sees the phonetic as 甶 (both phonological arguments seem dubious); LMC 03.6 also sees as a variant of 蜂, but with 甶 as a pictographic representation of its head. The middle two graphs are actually written as a combined graph, which GDCMZJ renders into 蠆蟲; QXG 98.5 would render the second as 虫 and read 虺, thus according with WB, which has 蜂蠆虺蛇, and which MWD B parallels with minor orthographic variation. LL (99.8 and 02.3) instead reads 蟲 as 虺 and leaves the combined graph as 蠆蟲; LXF 99.1, WQP 99.8, and HTL 02.2 also read the first graph as 虺. MWD A has 逢㾐蜾地; FY has only 蜂蠆, while HSG instead has simply 毒蟲, "poisonous bugs," and JLB has a variant of 毒虿; Fan Yingyuan has the four graphs 毒蟲虺蛇.

[341] 蠚: GDCMZJ sees this as a variant of 蓋, equivalent to 蠚, to "sting" or "poison"; cf. the comments of (Qing) Bi Yuan 畢沅 in Zhu Qianzhi. MWD A and All R have 螫; MWD B has 赫.

[342] 猷獸: MWD and All R have 猛獸 for the equivalent term (孟獸 in MWD B). For the first graph, LXF 99.1 sees the left side instead as an abbreviation of 雨 over 谷 and reads 獳, also "savage."

[343] 哺: GDCMZJ renders 扣 and suspects it should read 敂, "attack." HDK/XZG 98.12 suspect the graph is instead an error for 拍, which, like the 搏 in MWD and the received versions, is in the *duo* 鐸-group and would rhyme more directly with 蓋(蠚) (also *duo*-group; 螫 of the received versions is also *duo*-group) and would also interrhyme with 固 and 怒 below (敂, on the other hand, is *wu* 屋-group). CRY 98.10 renders 哺, read 搏, as

骨溺（弱）[345]菫（筋）稅（柔）[346]而捉[347]（33）固。

未智（知）北（牝）[348]戊（牡）之會（合）廌（蔫〔朘〕）[349]惹（怒）[350]，

精之至也。

does HTL 02.2; LMC 03.6 also follows this.

[344] MWD, with some orthographic variations, parallels GDCJ (though with 搏 for the final graph); All R, however, have this expanded as two phrases: 猛獸不據，攫鳥不搏 ("Ferocious beasts do not seize it; birds of prey do not attack it"). "Dunhuang" and Suizhou roughly parallel GDCJ and MWD, with 攫鳥猛狩(/獸)不搏, while Fan Yingyuan has 猛獸攫鳥不搏. Note that the rhyming and line-length throughout the stanza are more even in the excavated texts (and Fan Yingyuan) than in most of the received texts; the rhythm of WB is especially skewed.

[345] 溺: LMC 03.6 explains both 弱 and 溺 as early forms of 尿, and the former's meaning of "soft," "pliant" as derivative.

[346] 菫稅: MWD and All R have 筋柔 (JLB writes 葝 for the former graph), though MWD B has the positions of 弱 and 筋 reversed. MPS 02.7 suggests that 稅 was a kind of three-pronged spear, and shows how with its 求 phonetic it could loan for 柔; cf. LZ 03.12.

[347] 捉: All other versions have 握. LL 99.8 reads 捉 as 握, the two being close in both sound and meaning. CRY 98.10 renders 踊, also read 握; HTL 02.2 interprets likewise.

[348] 北: GDCMZJ directly renders 牝; LL 99.8 renders 北, elsewhere read 必, here read 牝. YGH 03.3 (pp. 20–21) also argues that the graph is actually 北, serving as a phonetic loan here for 牝.

[349] 廌: GDCMZJ renders 然, seeing the graph as an abbreviation of the ancient form of that character; QXG 98.5 disputes this and suggests that the graph should be equivalent in meaning to the 朘 of MWD. ZJW 99.8a suspects the 而 that should precede 朘 dropped off after that graph became corrupted to 然, a close semantic equivalent to the former. FY and Fan Yingyuan also have 朘; HSG writes 峻; WB has 全. HDK/XZG 98.12 affirm QXG's suggestion, analyzing the graph as 士 over 勿, with 勿 the phonetic element; the initials of 朘 and 勿, however, are somewhat distant. CRY 98.10 renders 岉, in the sense of "erect." LXF 99.1 renders as a variant of 昜 (上 substituting for 日) and reads 陽; HR 00 makes the same argument; LMC 03.6 explains similarly, but sees the upper element instead as a pictographic representation of the male member. Following the interpretation of the graph as 然, WQP 99.8 reads 勢, as another term for the male reproductive organ. PH 00.1 reads 然 directly as 朘; GY 01.2, on the other hand, sees the received 朘 as a corruption of 然. LL 02.3 suspects the graph might be related to the phonetic element in 遂, possibly indicative of a boar's reproductive organ, and reads 朘. WH 01.9, disputing LXF's rendering, sees the graph more likely as a corruption of 侌 (陰), referring in this case to the male member; he thus sees WB's 全 as a corruption of 金, a phonetic equivalent to 侌. GYB 08.12 sees the graph instead as a slight variant of a form of 廌(薦) seen also in strip 19 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 7) manuscript "Fan wu liu xing" B 〈凡物流形〉乙本, phonetically interchangeable with 朘.

[350] 惹: MWD B has 怒; All R have 作.

終日啓（號）[351]而不悳〈夏（嗄）〉[352]，〔鐸魚通韻〕[353]

和之至也。

和曰県〈祟（常）〉[354]，

智（知）和曰明。[355]（34）

賹（益）生[356]曰羕（祥）[357]，

[351] 啓: GDCMZJ reads 乎; ZGH/YGH 99.1 and LL 99.8 read 號, as all other versions have it (Yan Zun writes 嘷). PH 00.1 reads 嘑.

[352] 悳: All R except FY have some variation of 嗄 or 啞, while MWD and FY have 嚘, defined as "reflux of *qi*," or a variant thereof (FY and others also precede 不 with 嗌, in accord with how the line reads in the "Gengsang Chu" 庚桑楚 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*). The GDCJ graph is considered a variant of 憂, "worry," and GDCMZJ reads accordingly. LL 99.8 sees it as a graphic error for 夏, read 嗄. Note that 嗄/啞 would continue the *yu*-group rhyme of the previous lines, whereas 憂/嚘 (*you* 幽-group) would not; cf. the long discussion in Zhu Qianzhi. DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, WQP 99.8, and LMC 03.6 all read 嚘; IT 98.11, and HR 00 read 嗄.

[353] 蓋(蠚) and 搏 (or 拍) are *duo* 鐸-group; 固, 怒, and 嗄 are *yu* 魚-group (*duo*-group is the *rusheng* counterpart of *yu*-group). Note that the received texts, with the extra phrase ending in 據, would have an additional *yu*-group rhyme in between the two *duo*-group endings.

[354] 県: GDCMZJ sees this as an error for 祟, read 常; as YSX 00.5 notes, the forms of 同 and 尙 are easily confused in the Chu script (cf. HLY/CY 05.6). LXF 99.1 and WQP 99.8, however, read 同, even though the rhyme would not work out as well (同 is *dong* 東-group); LXF points to the phrase 和則同 in "Wu xing" (strips 31-32), whereas WQP takes 同 in the sense of a kind of mystical unification with the way.

[355] For these two lines, All R have 知和曰常，知常曰明 ("To know harmony is called 'constancy'; to know constancy is called 'perspicacity'"); Jingfu 景福 and a couple of other editions have 日, "daily," for these two and the next two 曰; HSG has 日 only for the next two, though its commentary implies a 日 in the second phrase as well. MWD A alone parallels GDCJ in lacking the initial 知 and having 知和 for 知常 in the second phrase; MWD B (with lacunae) parallels the received versions. XKS 99.1 argues that the initial 知 would not seem to belong here. For the second phrase, however, cf. R 16: 復命曰常，知常曰明 ("'Restoring the mandate' is called 'constancy'; knowing constancy is called 'enlightened'"; not found in the Guodian equivalent passage "Laozi A" 14 above). For more on the notion of 和, "harmony," here and elsewhere, cf. ZLW 99.8, pp. 146–48.

[356] 賹(益)生: cf. the "Dechongfu" 德充符 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "吾所謂無情者，言人之不以好惡內傷其身，常因自然而不益生也" ("What I mean by 'lacking affections' describes when people do not internally harm themselves with likes and dislikes, constantly relying upon what is natural and not augmenting their lives"). The term would thus carry the sense of pursuing unnatural or manufactured desires. ZJW 99.8a points instead to strip 9 of "Taiyi sheng shui": "天道貴溺(弱)，雀(削/截)成(盛)者以益生者" ("The way of Heaven values the weak, paring down the mature (/flourishing) to augment the [newly] born"), taking the phrase here as "augmenting the newly born" and thus giving it a positive connotation. LMC 03.6 reads 益 in the sense of 隘,

心叓（使）[358]㷖（氣）曰弜（強）[359]。[360]〔陽部〕

勿（物）壓（壯）[361]則老，

是胃（謂）不道。[362]〔幽部〕■ [363]

One who harbors an abundance of virtue may be compared to an infant boy:

Vipers, scorpions, insects, and snakes will not bite or sting him;
birds of prey and ferocious beasts will not attack and seize him.
His bones are weak and his sinews soft, yet his grip is firm;
he knows not yet of the union between female and male, [yet] his phallus
rouses
—this is the height of vitality.

"obstruct."

[357] 羕: GDCMZJ reads 祥, as All R have it. Suizhou and one Dunhuang edition have 詳; Takeuchi Yoshio 武內義雄 reads 牂, equivalent to 壯, "robust." Xi Tong, Yi Shunding 易順鼎, and others see 祥 as equivalent to 眚 or 殃, "disaster," 不祥, "inauspicious," or the like; for details, see Zhu Qianzhi or LMC 03.6. Note that 不祥 is the normal term for negative omens elsewhere in the *Laozi*. DYZ 98.9 and LXF 99.1 read the GDCJ graph as is, in the sense of "long," "extended." ZJW 99.8a takes 祥 in the sense of "favorable."

[358] 叓: MWD (A) and All R have 使; GDCMZJ reads 使. The same graph appears in strip 2 above, where GDCMZJ interprets instead as 弁 and reads 辯, though others see as 吏/史 and read 使 (see the notes to strip 2). BW 99 (pp. 602–3) opts to interpret both instances as 弁, as a variant of 變, taken here in the sense of "shift" in form.

[359] 弜(強): DYZ 98.9 and WQP 99.8 take this in the sense of "flaunting strength," LXF 99.1 in the sense of "forcing," and LZ 03.12 in the sense of "obstinacy." ZJW 99.8a understands it in the sense of "adverse," "unfavorable." LMC 03.6, following Ma Xulun and Gu Di 古棣, reads in the sense of 僵, "lifeless," or 戕, "kill," "injure."

[360] The "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* follows the quotation of these lines with "是故用其光，復歸其明也" ("Thus make use of its light, and return again to the bright"; see also the "Xia de" 下德 chapter of the *Wenzi*), lines which (minus 是故) otherwise appear in R 52. Yu Yue thus suspected they belonged here as well, but the excavated texts suggest otherwise.

[361] 壓: All R have 壯. HLY/CY 05.6 see 壓 as a variant form of 壯.

[362] In MWD and All R, these last two lines are followed by the line 不道，早已 ("off the Way, they perish early on"); as PH 98.10 notes, commentators have long suspected these lines to have been an interpolation here. All three lines are also found at the end of R 30, but not in its GDCJ equivalent, passage 4 above. Note that the *zhi*-group 已 could also interrhyme with *you*-group 老 and 道.

[363] There is a blank space equivalent to about two graphs on the strip in between this passage and the next.

He cries all day, yet does not grow hoarse
—this is the height of harmony.

Harmony, we call "constancy";
knowing harmony, we call "perspicacity."
Augmenting life we call "[ill?] augury";
the mind directing the vital energy we call "forced[?] potency."[364]

When things become robust, they age;
this is what we mean by "off the Way."

19 (R 44)[365]

名與身，
箮（孰）[366]新（親）？〔真部〕

身與貨，（35）
箮（孰）多？〔歌部〕

貴（得）[367]與貢（亡）[368]，

[364] Given the ambiguities of 祥 and 強, it is also possible to read these two lines positively: "Augmenting life we call 'good augury'; the mind directing the vital energy we call 'potency'"—but this would be hard to reconcile with the final two lines and would seem out of character with the work's treatment of "mind," *qi*, and "strength" more generally. But cf. RM 01: "Enhancing life means good fortune; Mind controlling spirit means inner strength."

[365] For a formal analysis of this passage as an example of "closed interlocking parallel style," see WR 99a.

[366] 箮: MWD and All R have 孰 (熟 in JLB), here and below. Note that the graph itself is an early form of 篤, as it is read in strip 24 above.

[367] 貴: GDCMZJ reads 得, which we find in MWD (A) and All R. CW 98.4 instead reads 持, in the sense of "preserve"; LL 02.3 also reads 持. LXF 99.1 notes how both this graph and 貢 are written with the cowry-shell radical, emphasizing the notion of value, and sees the graph as phonetically related to 値; on the significance of the 貝 radical, cf. YSX 03.12, who, however, still reads 得. CRY 98.10 instead renders as 止 over 見, understood in the sense of to "await"; close inspection, however, clearly shows the lower component of these graphs as 貝.

筥（孰）疠（病）[369]？〔陽部〕

甚炁（愛）[370]，

必大躓（費）[371]；〔物部〕

厚（厚）𧷢（藏）[372]，

必多貢（亡）[373]。〔陽部〕[374]

古（故）[375]智（知）足，

不辱；〔屋部〕

智（知）歨（止），

不怠（殆）[376]；〔之部〕

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[368] 貢: MWD (A) and All R have 亡. CRY 98.10 instead renders as 亡 over 見, seen as equivalent to a variant of 覓, to "seek."

[369] 疠: CRY 98.10 reads like 妨, in the sense of "harmful," as some have identified the same graph in the Baoshan texts. ZFW (quoted in LMC 03.6) argues convincingly that the graph is indeed equivalent to 病.

[370] 甚炁(愛): FY, WB, and JLB precede this phrase with 是故, "Therefore." As GY 01.2 notes, this "therefore" seems out of place here and logically belongs two couplets later, where the excavated texts (and some other versions) indeed have 故. For 甚, ZGG 99.2 instead renders 苛.

[371] 躓: For details on the interpretation of this graph, see LSK 01.9.

[372] 厚𧷢: All R have 多藏 (JLB has 蔵 for 藏); GDCMZJ reads 厚藏. As LMC 03.6 notes, 𧷢 is structurally equivalent to 贓, "booty," "to steal."

[373] 多貢: All R have 厚亡. The places of 多 and 厚 are thus reversed vis-à-vis their places in All R; ZJW 99.8a argues that the parallel oppositions of 甚 with 多 and 厚 with 大 in All R are the more natural ones; GY 99.1a and LMC 03.6 argue instead that 多亡 is a more natural term-pair than 厚亡.

[374] Note that this rhyme also connects back to the last of the three initial couplets (ending in 孰病), making for a larger structural rhyme highlighting the relation between the two different syntactic structures. WR 99a argues instead that the rhyme here is fortuitous because it does not reflect the structural parallelism, as he analyzes it; following Fan Yingyuan, he links 愛 back to 名 and 藏 back to 貨 as their implicit objects, and these pairs in turn to 知止 and 知足, respectively, in reverse order, below.

[375] 古(故): All R except JLB lack this 故; Yan Zun, "Dunhuang," and Suizhou also have it.

可（36）以長舊（久）。〔之部〕■

Your name or your self
—which is dearer?

Your self or your possessions
—which is more considerable?

Gain or loss
—which is more debilitating?

Extreme cherishing
inevitably leads to great expense;

Profuse hoarding
inevitably leads to considerable loss.

Thus,
If you know [what is] enough,
you will suffer no disgrace;

If you know your limits,
you will meet with no peril;

Thereby can you long endure.

20 (R 40)

返也[377]者，道僮（動）[378]也。

溺（弱）也者，道之甬（用）也。〔東部〕[379]

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[376] 怠: MWD (A) and All R have 殆. Cf. R 32: “知止可以不殆,” and R 16 and R 52: “沒身不殆.”

[377] 返也: All R write 反 and lack this and the next three 也. CRY 98.10, LL 99.8, and others read 反 for 返. Cf. the phrase “連(轉)曰反” in passage 12 (R 25) above.

[378] 僮: MWD and All R have 之動.

天下[380]之勿（物）[381]生於又（有），〔有〕[382]生於亡。■

Reversion is the movement [of the] Way;
weakness is the application of the Way.

The things of this world are born of presence,〔which in turn〕is born of
absence.

21 (R 9)[383]

桼（持）[384]而涅（盈）[385]（37）之，不｛不｝若已[386]。

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[379] Jiang Yougao and some others do not recognize this rhyme; Karlgren and others do.

[380] 天下: "Dunhuang" and Yan Zun have 天地.

[381] 之勿(物): HSG, WB, and JLB all read 萬(/万)物, but Wang Bi's commentary suggests that his edition may have originally read 之物.

[382] All other versions have this second 有 here; as GDCMZJ notes, a repetition mark appears to have been omitted. DYZ 98.9, however, argues that it does not belong here, that the text is in fact stating that things are born of both presence and absence; CGY 99.8a (pp. 78–79) argues likewise, noting how presence and absence are parallel, and not temporally prioritized, attributes of the Dao in R 1; WZJ 99.1 also argues similarly, as does ZJW 99.8a, who suggests that the repetition of 有 is the result of a later purposeful alteration (cf. GY 01.2, who sees it as resulting from a subsequent philosophical elevation of the notions of 有 and 無). LRH 00.5 disputes this, arguing that the origin of things is not the focus here, but eschews the omitted-mark idea, attempting instead to view this as an example of Yu Yue's theory of certain characters in early texts that are to be read twice on their own. Without the second 有, the sentence would be syntactically awkward, and we would expect a particle like 亦 or 又 ("also") in its stead; I thus follow the editors in assuming the 有 was meant to be repeated. LCS 99.1a (p. 198) suggests that the "道生一" of R 42 (which follows this passage in MWD) was added later under the influence of this notion of "有生於無."

[383] WR (cited in AS/WC 00, pp. 147–49) gives this passage as an example of "closed interlocking parallel" structure.

[384] 桼: GDCMZJ suspect this should read 殖, in the sense of "accumulate"; MWD has 植, and Yan Zun has 殖. CRY 98.10, ZGY/YGH 99.1, ZJW 99.8a, and LL (99.8 and 02.3) all read 持, as All R have it. In line with Ma Xulun, who reads the received 持 as 庤, to "store up," LMC 03.6 takes 持 itself in the sense of "store up." Note that 桼 also appears in strip 25 above, where we likewise read 持. CWW 02.7 suggests that this graph is a variant form of 植; LXF 99.1 sees the graph instead as the ancient form of 困, understood in the sense of "exhaust."

[385] 涅: ZJW 99.8a reads 呈, "display," "flaunt."

[386] The second 不 here appears to be excrescent; all other versions lack it, but precede 已 with 其 (JLB has 以

湍（溥）而羣之[387]，不可長保也。

金玉浧（盈）室[388]，莫能獸（守）也[389]。

貴福（富）〔而〕[390]喬（驕）[391]，自遺咎（38）也[392]。

攻（功）述（遂）身退[393]，天之道也。〔之幽合韻〕[394]∠[395]（39）

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for 已). LXF 99.1 instead reads 丕丕 or 伾伾, in the sense of "large" or "numerous," implausibly taking the following 若已 in the sense of "and then cease."

[387] 湍而羣之: All R have 揣而銳之, with slight orthographic variations (FY and most WB editions have 梲, but the nature of Wang Bi's commentary suggests that it originally had 銳 [as the Daozang 道藏 WB has it]); MWD B has 掜而允之. 揣 has the sense of to "measure," but in line with Wang Bi's commentary, (Qing) Sun Yirang suggests that 揣 reads like 捶, to (metallurgically) "hammer" to a sharp point. CRY 98.10 reads 湍 as 揣 and 群 as 允 (after MWD B). LL 99.8 reads either 揣而羣之, in the sense of "maintain and accumulate," or 揣而捃之, in the sense of "evaluate and gather"; along with LXF 99.1 and ZJW 99.8a, he also suggests that the MWD 允 was a phonetic misreading of 羣, and 兑, from which 銳/梲 ultimately derived, in turn a graphic error for 允. DYZ 99.8 and LXF 99.1 both read 揣而羣之 in the sense of "evaluate and accumulate." WQP 99.8 and ZJW 99.8a both read 摶而羣之, in the sense of "gather together and assemble"; for WQP, the objects here are human followers. LMC 03.6 sees both 羣 and 允 as borrowings for 銳, arguing that 允 and 兑 are interchangeable forms. PH 00.1 reads 湍 as is, "rapid waters"; HR 00 reads likewise, translating the line as "When swift flowing waters gather against it, it cannot hold out very long." I read the first graph as 溥, which has the sense of "abundant," "copious," as of fallen dew (which is also intrinsically ephemeral).

[388] 浧(盈)室: FY and XE have 滿室; WB, HSG, and JLB have 滿堂; MWD parallels GDCJ. 滿 likely replaced 盈 due to taboo avoidance with Han Emperor Hui's 惠帝 given name.

[389] 莫能獸(守)也: MWD A reads 莫之守也; All R read 莫之能守.

[390] 貴福: All R read 富貴, while MWD reads 貴富; all follow with 而, which GDCMZJ sees has having dropped out accidentally. GY 01.2 tries to argue that the 而 is not original to the text and that 貴, 富, and 驕 were intended as three strictly parallel concepts.

[391] 喬: LXF 99.1 reads as is, in the sense of "high."

[392] 自遺咎也: All R have 自遺其咎 (no 其 in XE). GDCMZJ sees the third graph as close to the "ancient script" form of 咎; QXG 98.5 sees it as a corruption.

[393]攻述身退: WB and MWD B have 功遂身退; MWD A has 功述(/遂)身芮. The other received versions have two terms preceding 身退: 名成、功遂, with varying combinations and orders of those four graphs; citations in the "Shang de" 上德 chapter of the *Wenzi* and "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* parallel the order of HSG and JLB, i.e., 功成、名遂、身退.

[394] 已 is *zhi* 之-group, while the others (excluding the various 也) are all *you* 幽-group. Zhu Qianzhi would also include the internal 之 of the first two lines in this rhyme.

[395] There is a hook-shaped "section/text-end" marker here, followed by blank space to the end of the strip, indicating either the end of the text or a major division therein. Another such marker also appears at the end of strip 32.

Rather than filling it to the brim while propping it up, it is better to desist.
If you amass things in profusion, you cannot for long preserve them.
When bronzes and jades fill your chamber, you will not be able to maintain them.
To be arrogant in nobility and wealth is to bequeath yourself with retribution.
To recede in the wake of successful accomplishments, that is the Way of Heaven.

"Laozi B"
老子乙
Text and Translation

1 (R 59)

絧（治）[1]人事天[2]，莫若嗇[3]。

夫唯嗇，｛是以棗（早）｝[4]是以[5]棗（早）備[6]。

〔早備，〕是胃（謂）[7]【重＝積＝德＝（重積德。

重積德）則無＝】[8]（1）不＝克■[9]（無不克。

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[1] 絧: GDCMZJ renders 紿 and reads 治, as all other versions have it. I here follow the rendering of ZGY/YGH 99.1.

[2] Xi Tong 奚侗 and others take this 天 not as "Heaven" per se, but as "nature" in the sense of the ruler's self or body, which would resonate well with the theme of "longevity" at the end of the passage.

[3] 嗇: this term derives from a meaning of "harvesting" and "storing up," and thus, by extension, "conservation" or "frugality." It can also be taken in the sense of "farming" in general, equivalent to 穡, as both LXF 99.1 and YZH 99.6 read it. Suizhou and the so-called "Dunhuang" edition instead have 式, "model," here and below.

[4] GDCMZJ suggests that 備 (read 服) has inadvertently dropped out here, but it appears more likely, as LL 99.8 and WQP 99.8 suggest, that the graphs 是以棗(早) have been accidentally repeated. LXF 99.1 reads the two phrases as is. GDCMZJ sees 棗 as an abbreviated variation of 棗 and reads 早; HDK/XZG 98.12 affirm this. For more on this graph, cf. PHr 09, pp. 879–80.

[5] 是以: WB, HSG, and JLB have 是謂; MWD, FY, and the "Jie Lao" 解老 chapter of the *Han Feizi* have 是以.

[6] 備: All R have 服, "submit," but "Dunhuang" and Suizhou write 伏, and yet other post-Han versions have 復, "return"; for details on the longstanding debate over 服 versus 復, see Zhu Qianzhi and LMC 03.6. GDCMZJ reads 服. DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, YZH 99.6, and WQP 99.8 all read 備 as is, "prepared." This is based solely on context (see WQP for similar textual examples), as 服 is virtually always written as 備 throughout the Guodian texts. LMC 03.6 reads 服/備 in the sense of "obtain" or "possess." ZJW 99.8a reads 復, in the sense of "restore [one's original nature]."

[7] 是胃(謂): MWD (B) repeats 早服 before this; All R have 早服謂之; "Jie Lao" parallels MWD (B). Given the corruption of the text above, it is possible that the 早服 was meant for repetition in GDCJ as well; given also the repetitions of the parallel lines, and considering the rhythm wherein all other lines of this rhymed stanza are seven to eight graphs in length, it seems safe to assume the accidental omission of repetition marks here.

[8] Space remains at the missing bottom portion of this strip for about 5 to 6 graphs, or more likely 4 to 5 with

無不克）則莫智（知）其亙〈亟（極）〉[10]。

莫智（知）其亙〈亟（極）〉，可以又（有）或（國）[11]。〔職部〕

又（有）或（國）之母[12]，可以長【舊（舊〔久〕）。

是胃（謂）深根固柢】[13]，（2）長生舊（舊〔久〕）視[14]之道也。〔之幽合韻〕

[15]■

In putting people in order and serving [one's own] nature, there is nothing better than storing up.

For only by storing up can you be prepared in advance.

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repetition markers. On the basis of parallelism and comparison with other versions of the text, GDCMZJ suggests 重=積=德=則無=, read as given here. LMC 03.6 takes 重 in the verbal sense of "emphasize" rather than as the adverbial "heavily"/"repeatedly" or taking 重積 together as a compound verb meaning "accumulate."

[9] The black-square marker here would appear to be a mistake for a "=" repetition mark, as LL 99.8 notes.

[10] On the confusion of 亙 and 亟, see the note to strip 24 of "Laozi A." As GDCMZJ notes, the rhyme here strongly suggests reading 極, as All R have it. Both LXF 99.1 and WQP 99.8, however, read 亙 (or 極), noting that this term itself can have the sense of "limits"; and as WQP notes, as a *zheng* 蒸-group word, it could still plausibly interrhyme with the foregoing *zhi* 職-group endings.

[11] 或: GDCMZJ reads 國, as all other versions have it. LXF 99.1 suggests the sense here may be closer what we now write as 域, "realm," which he takes in the sense of "fields" or "territory"; LMC 03.6 disputes this. HR 00 also argues for 域, translating it as "the whole world." Gao Heng and others had previously suspected that the graphs 之母 had accidentally dropped out of this line; for details, see LMC 03.6.

[12] Most commentators take this "mother" 母 as a metaphor for the "Way," the "basis," the "essentials," etc. LMC 03.6 reads 之母 as 志母, in the sense of "set one's intentions upon the basis."

[13] Space remains at the missing bottom portion of this strip for seven to nine graphs; as GDCMZJ notes, comparison with other texts suggests "久是謂深根固柢" (HSG and JLB have 蔕 for 柢). LL 99.8 thinks nine graphs more likely and adds "之法" ("method of") to the end. "Jie Lao" describes the distinction between 根 and 柢 as, respectively, that between the branch roots 曼根 and the main "straight roots" 直根 of trees.

[14] 長生久視 is an idiom found in other early texts as well, with most commentators taking 視 also to stand for "living"; LMC 03.6 takes it here instead in the sense of "oversee," i.e., to "rule," obliquely referring back to the 治人 at the beginning of the passage, with 生, in turn, referring back to the 事天. CWZ 06.11 would actually see the 視 graph as 見—despite the fact that All R also read 視—and read it here as 現, in the sense of to "be prominent."

[15] (Qing) Jiang Yougao 江有誥 would group the rhymes of these lines together with all the foregoing; my division roughly follows that of (Qing) Yao Wentian 姚文田 and (Qing) Deng Tingzhen 鄧廷楨. Note that 母 (*zhi* 之-group) also forms part of this last rhyme, but I treat it as an internal rhyme on the basis of the overall rhythm of these lines.

〔Advanced preparation〕 is what is known as 【“heavily accumulating virtue.”
If you heavily accumulate virtue, there will be nothing】 you will not overcome.
If there is nothing you do not overcome, no one will know your limits.
If no one knows your limits, you may possess the realm.

Possessing the “mother” of the realm, you can long endure.
This is what is known as “deep roots and a solid base,” the way to long life and enduring awareness.

2 (R 48a)

學者[16]日益，

為道者[17]日員（損）[18]。

員（損）之或（又）員（損）[19]，

以至[20]亡為（3）也。▎[21]

亡為而[22]亡不為[23]。[24]〔無韻〕[25]▎[26]

[16] 學者: MWD, FY, and Fan Yingyuan have 爲學者 (lacuna in MWD A); WB, HSG, and JLB have 爲學, though, as Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌 has argued, WB probably originally had the 者 as well (see PH 00.1). LL 99.8 supplies a missing 爲, as would DYZ 98.9 and PH 00.1, whereas LXF 99.1 and GY 01.2 suggest that it was a later addition to the text. ZJW 99.8a argues that it is instead 聞 that has dropped off here and that 爲 and 聞 are mistakenly inverted in MWD (see next note); he would read this as 問, in the sense of “seek [learning].”

[17] 爲道者: MWD (B) has 聞道者, which Gao Ming had previously argued is the correct wording here; GDCJ, however, parallels the received versions.

[18] 員: this graph (here and in the next line) is unusually written, and both CRY 98.10 and LXF 99.1 instead render 異: “different,” “at odds.” Note that this would make for a near-rhyme between the two *rusheng* words 益 (*xi* 錫-group) and 異 (*zhi* 職-group). LMC 03.6 reaffirms the initial identification, equating the graph with the *zhouwen* 籀文 form of 員 given in the *Shuowen* (cf. LMC 99.1b, pp. 151–52).

[19] 員之或員: FY, JLB, and the “Zhi beiyou” 知北遊 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* have 損之又損之; WB, MWD, and most HSG editions also lack the second 之. LXF 99.1 reads 或 like 惑, “lost in,” “perplexed by.”

[20] All other versions follow 至 with 於 (lacuna in MWD A).

[21] As HR 00 notes, there is a line marker here that may serve the purpose of demarcating these four lines as a stanza separate from the concluding line.

[22] 而: FY and Fan Yingyuan have 則; JLB lacks any particle.

[23] 亡(無)不爲: Yan Zun instead has 無以爲. As LMC 99.1b, QXG 99.8, and HR 00 all note, the presence of 亡

He who learns augments [himself] daily;
he who acts upon the Way diminishes daily:
Diminishing and diminishing again,
to the point of acting to no purpose.

Acting to no purpose, there is nothing upon which he does not act.

3 (R 20a)

𢇍（絕）[27]學[28]亡𢝊（憂）[29]。[30]〔幽部〕

(無)不爲 here would appear to discount Gao Ming's prior assertion that this phrase, throughout the text, was not original to the *Laozi*, but only added after the time the Mawangdui manuscripts were written; note that for this passage, both MWD texts have lacunae here. The "Yuan dao" 原道 chapter of the *Huainanzi* explains 無爲 as "not preceding things in acting" 不先物爲, and 無不爲 as "relying on the actions of things" 因物之所爲; cf. the "Dao yuan" 道原 chapter of the *Wenzi*.

[24] All other versions follow this with some version of the lines: "(將欲)取天下(者)，常以無事，及其有事，不足以取天下(矣)" ("Those who would take the world always do so without any endeavor; once they have some endeavor, they lack what it takes to take the world"). Given their apparent thematic relation to the foregoing, QXG 99.8 (pp. 39–40) suggests the lines may represent a later elaboration on the passage; LMC 99.1b (p. 153) suspects they originated as a note; cf. LXF 02.3a (pp. 50–51). PH 00.1, on the other hand, argues that they may have constituted an independent passage. WB 99.8b (pp. 160–61) suggests that this portion was part of the original passage, but, as it did not focus on self-cultivation, was excised here to concentrate on thematic consistency with the surrounding passages of the GDCJ selection.

[25] Zhu Qianzhi suggests there may be *zhi* 支(/*xi*- 錫)-group rhyme between the 益 and two of the 爲, though this makes little sense, since 爲 should be classified as *ge* 歌-group, and the position of 益 would also seem to preclude it.

[26] There is what looks like a line marker at this point; as LL 99.8 notes, it may have been intended as a passage marker, or, as LL (02.3 [p. 25]) later suggests, a smaller segment within a larger passage. Some would instead continue to read this passage through to at least the end of the first line of the next; see the note to 絕學無憂 below.

[27] 𢇍(絕): see also the first strip of "Laozi A," where we find a slightly different abbreviation of the same graph.

[28] WQP 99.8 notes that a description given in the "Shu zhen" 俶真 chapter of the *Huainanzi* gives us a good idea of the kind of content of this type of "learning" to be discarded, including such conducts as humanity, propriety, ritual, and music.

[29] 𢝊(憂): ZJW 99.8a reads 擾, "disturbance."

[30] 絕學無憂: As PH 98.10 notes, the presence of this line here might appear to solve the age-old riddle of just where the line belonged. Yi Shunding 易順鼎, Gao Heng 高亨, Ma Xulun 馬敘倫, Jiang Xichang, and others have long suggested that this line in fact belongs with the passage that precedes it in the received versions, R 19,

唯[31]與可（訶）[32]，

相去幾可（何）？〔歌部〕

完（美）[33]與亞（惡），

相去可（何）若[34]？（4）〔鐸部〕[35]

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with which it shares some obvious affinities. The fact that the GDCJ passage here begins with this line and that passage R 19 comes elsewhere in "Laozi A" (strips 1-2), without this line, would appear to repudiate this longstanding argument; for details, see Zhu Qianzhi and LMC 03.6. While it might be possible that GDCJ derived from a version of the *Laozi* in which the order of these passages parallels that of the received versions and in which a "mistaken" division point between the two passages had already been introduced, the rhyme of R 19 argues against this (see the notes to strip 2 of "Laozi A"). XKS 99.1 suggests that it forms a kind of summary statement to the lines that follow, "learning" representing the beginning of oppositional thinking. This somewhat forced reading is perhaps the only explanation linking this line to the rest of the passage, which otherwise appears to stand on its own. Wang Tao and TP have noted the close thematic relationship of this passage with the previous one (R 48a) and that, despite the short stroke that ends the latter, would read them together as a single passage; see the discussions in AS/WC (pp. 139–40, 241–42), and that of HR 00. LXF 99.1, WQP 99.8, and PH 00.1 also read them as a single unit or as interrelated passages. GY (99.1a, pp. 126–28; 01.2, pp. 103–6) more explicitly sees this line as properly coming at the end of the previous passage, serving as a conclusion to its opening thought that "he who learns (unnaturally) augments himself daily," and he further suggests that it is on the basis of such an original succession of passages (as seen in the GDCJ order) that the line mistakenly came to be associated with R 20; he also notes how Wang Bi in fact once noted a thematic connection between this line and R 48 in his commentary. NZQ/LD 03.5 also argue that the line can only fit logically as the conclusion of R 48a, and contend that the horizontal markers in this manuscript, like the one found here, were all added by a reader and thus carry no objective weight in determining the boundaries between passages. GY's arguments make much sense, but we could also imagine a scenario in which the compiler of "Laozi B" selected these two passages and placed them together precisely because of the thematic similarities of their opening lines. On the assumption that the preceding marker was in fact written by the copyist, I tentatively leave this line here at the head of passage 3.

[31] All R follow 唯, and the parallel subjects of 美/善 and 人 below, with 之; MWD parallels GDCJ.

[32] For this first 可, MWD has 訶 (A) or 呵 (B); All R have 阿, except XE, which has 何. LL 99.8 reads 阿. Following an earlier reading of Liu Shipei 劉師培, I (along with many others) read 訶, in the sense of "rebuke." Traditional interpretations take 阿 in the sense of obsequious "acquiescence" as opposed to the proper "assent" marked by 唯.

[33] 完(美): WB, HSG, and JLB instead have 善, "the good" or "approval," though the nature of the Wang Bi commentary suggests that WB originally had 美 as well. With DYZ 98.9 and WQP 99.8, I take the 美 and 惡 here in their putative verbal senses.

[34] 可(何)若: WB has 若何, but the Wang Bi commentary suggests that it, too, originally had 何若, with the inversion necessary to fit the rhyme.

[35] With (Qing) Jiang Yougao, I treat the *ge*- and *duo*-group rhymes separately; Xi Tong has them interrhyming.

人之所褁（畏）[36]，

亦不可以[37]不褁（畏）▎人[38]。[39]〔無韻〕

Forsake learning, and have no concerns:

Assent and rebuke
—how far apart are they?

Glorification and derision
—how great is their distance?

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[36] 褁(畏): PP 00.5b (p. 39) suggests that the unique form of this 畏 graph (with 田 over the 示 radical) is used to highlight a sense of awe held toward the ghosts and spirits, though he does not elaborate upon how that fits in with the overall sense of this passage.

[37] 亦不可以: All R simply have 不可; MWD (B) parallels GDCJ. HR 00 interprets the 以 more strongly here in the sense of "because of this."

[38] 褁人: All R have just 畏. MWD A is marred by a lacuna here, but MWD B also has a 人 after 畏, which MWDHMBS originally thought to be excrescent. Given the placement here of the horizontal line marker before 人, GDCMZJ places 人 instead at the beginning of the next passage, but it is clearly awkward there and no other version of that passage (R 13) has it; based on MWD, GM 98.10 would move it to the end of this passage. Cf. the discussion in AS/WC 00 (pp. 140–41) and LMC 99.1c. D. C. Lau (LD 82, p. 174), commenting on MWD B, argues that 人之所畏 refers to a man in power, "he whom others fear," who in turn "ought also to fear others"; QXG 99.8 and LRH 00.5 both support this reading, and XKS 99.1 offers a similar reading. As WQP 99.8 notes, the reading of "he whom others fear" for the first phrase is already implied by the interpretation of the passage given in the "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* (cf. the "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi*). QXG 99.8 suggests that the marker here was erroneously added by a reader; YSX 03.12 (p. 634) argues that it may have been the copyist's error. As HR 00 has already noted, however, having the 人 at the end of this passage does destroy the rhyme of equivalency between the two 畏 of this final stanza (which could, however, also be an explanation as to why it was later omitted). LXF 99.1, IT (99.8 [pp. 177–78] and 03.11), PH 00.1, GY 01.2, and NZQ/LD 03.5 all argue that it was actually the Mawangdui copyist who mistakenly moved 人 from the head of the next line to the end of this one, prior to "rearranging" the order of passages; LXF also argues that these two phrases properly belong at the head of the next passage rather than the end of this one. HR 00 also raises, but does not adopt, the intriguing possibility that the marker is actually a repetition sign, so that the next passage would begin with 畏人. Note that LZ 03.12 would render 褁 instead as 魂, but still read 畏.

[39] MWD and All R all follow with some version of the lines beginning with "忙兮其未央" and ending with "我獨異於人，而貴食母" ("Indistinct, its never-ending . . ." to "I alone, apart from others, value feeding from the mother"). Noting the similarity of these lines to portions of the "Bu ju" 卜居 and "Yufu" 漁父 poems of the *Chuci*, CRY 98.10 suggests that their presence in the Mawangdui and received texts serves to indicate how these later versions of the *Laozi* drew upon material from a wide variety of sources. As QXG 99.8 notes, they would appear to have little thematic connection with the foregoing and likely constituted a separate passage.

He whom others fear,
must also fear others.

4 (R 13)

⿱龍心（寵）辱[40]若[41]⿱䀠縈（驚）[42]，

貴[43]大患若[44]身。

可（何）胃（謂）⿱龍心（寵）（5）辱[45]？

[40] ⿱龍心(寵)辱: GDCMZJ places the previous 人 at the head of this passage; see the note to 䛇人 just above. WQP 99.8 reads 寵辱 as a compound standing for the sense of 寵 alone; with most commentators, I treat them as a pair of terms. HR 00 attempts to solve the problem of the passage's later focus on 寵 alone by unconventionally treating these two graphs as a kind of semi-independent equational sentence: "favor *is* disgrace." GY 01.2 instead treats the term-pair as a singular philosophical notion, something along the lines of the "disgrace of favor," of which the 寵爲下 below is an equivalent statement. LXF 99.1 reads the first graph instead as 降, "[be] subjugate[d]."

[41] Following an early reading by (fifth century) Gu Huan 顧歡, both LXF 99.1 and WQP 99.8 take this 若 in the sense of 而.

[42] ⿱䀠縈: all other versions have 驚, "alarm," here and below. GDCMZJ renders the graph as 纓, seeing the components as 賏 over 糸, with 賏 as the phonetic; QXG 98.5 would render likewise, but analyze it as 賏 over 縈, both components which could serve as phonetic loans for 驚. ZJW 99.8a argues for both phonetic and semantic connections between 纓, 驚, and 警, "vigilant." WQP 99.8 and IT 99.8 both read 攖, "disturb[ed]," "disturbance." HR 00 takes 纓 at face value, in the sense of "bondage." BYL 06.11 argues persuasively that the upper component is actually 䀠 (i.e., 瞿, "alarmed") and would thus render the graph as ⿱䀠縈, seeing this as either an alternate form of ⿱䀠言, here read 驚, or, more likely, an alternate form of 驚 itself.

[43] 貴: the Heshang Gong commentary glosses this as 畏, "fear." Gao Heng 高亨 and others had earlier argued that the Wang Bi commentary seems (at one point) to assume a text that lacked this 貴, but its presence in both MWD and GDCJ would now seem to assure its place. Post the discovery of MWD, Gao Heng (quoted in LMC 03.6) read this 貴 as 遺, "bequeath," and WQP 99.8 also reads it this way in the GDCJ text. As LMC 03.6 argues, consistency seems to demand that we still read 貴, though he takes it here nominally, in the sense of wealth or nobility; this would in fact appear to accord with Wang Bi's commentary, which here paraphrases 貴大患 with 榮患, "glory and troubles."

[44] 若: the Heshang Gong commentary glosses the 若 of this phrase as 至, "arrive at," and the Wang Bi commentary paraphrases it with 返之於, "come back to." WQP 99.8 similarly takes this 若 in the sense of 及, "reach."

[45] ⿱龍心(寵)辱: MWD, FY, and WB all have four graphs here: 寵辱若驚 (with orthographic variations). LL 99.8 supplies 驚 here, paralleling what is found two lines below, but his 02.3 omits it; LMC 03.6 suspects 若驚 has dropped out. HSG, XE, and JLB all parallel GDCJ as is.

㥨（寵）[46]為下也[47]。

得之若䌢（驚），遊（失）[48]之若䌢（驚），

是胃（謂）㥨（寵）辱▍〔若〕[49]䌢（驚）。

【何謂貴大患】[50]（6）若身？

虗（吾）所以又（有）大患者，為虗（吾）又（有）身。

汲（及）[51]虗（吾）亡身，或（又）[52]可（何）【患？

故貴為身於】[53]（7）為天下，若[54]可以厇（託）[55]天下矣[56]。

[46] 㥨(寵): MWD follows with 之; WB and FY parallel GDCJ; HSG and JLB have 辱 instead of 寵 here; XE lacks the subject altogether, probably failing to repeat it from the end of the previous line. Jingfu 景福 and some other editions (including a different HSG edition) have the two phrases 寵爲上，辱爲下, "taking favor as the highest and disgrace as the lowest," a version much preferred by a number of early commentators (see Zhu Qianzhi). Note that the Wang Bi commentary would seem to suggest a reading that punctuates after 寵: "Favor: whether those below obtain it or lose it, it is as if cause for alarm." As LMC 03.6 notes, the 之 in MWD may serve to give the clause dependent force, calling for explanation in the lines that follow.

[47] All other versions except MWD B lack this 也. GY 01.2 suggests that this 也 serves to indicate that the definition of 寵辱 ends at this point, and that the following two phrases then provide a separate definition for 寵辱若驚 as a whole.

[48] 遊: see the note to this graph in "Laozi A," strip 11.

[49] All other versions follow this 辱 with 若; QXG 98.5 notes that there is a marker at that point that may well have been meant to editorially note the omission of a graph. LL 99.8 suggests it is instead a misplaced line marker that should have come after 驚, and does not supply the 若; his 02.3 suggests instead that the marker may simply have been used to separate 寵辱 and 驚 as distinct terms. LTH 00.5 (and HR 00) proposes a third alternative, taking the marker as a repetition marker, but with the second 辱 read as the phonetically close 若; LMC 03.6 follows.

[50] Space remains at the missing bottom portion of this strip for about five to six graphs; on the basis of other versions, we may supply "何謂貴大患."

[51] 汲(及): FY and WB have 苟, "if," "supposing."

[52] 或: MWD has 有; All R have 吾有, "have I." In context, 或 could read either 又 or 有.

[53] Following the 可(何), of which only the very top strokes remain, there is space at the missing bottom portion of this strip for about five to six graphs; both MWD texts read "患故貴爲身於," even though strict parallelism with the following line would instead suggest "患故貴以身." FY, WB, and HSG have 故貴以身爲天下(者); the "Zai you" 在宥 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* has 故貴以身於爲天下 (and similarly 愛以身於爲天下 below); XE has 故貴以身於天下; and JLB has simply 故貴身於天下. For details on other versions, see Zhu Qianzhi or GM 96.5. Given the lacuna, the GDCJ text here does not help to resolve these variations; like HR 00, I supply

㤅（愛）[57]以身為天下[58]，若[59]可[60]以迲（去/寄）[61]天下矣。〔無韻〕[62]■ [63]（8）

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six graphs here on the basis of MWD. As GM 96.5 notes, the 於 in the MWD reading for this line (not to mention "Zai you") would appear to imply comparison (despite [Qing] Wang Yinzhi's 王引之 glossing of 於 as 爲); note, however, that the second line (with 愛) does not have this 於 (save in "Zai you"), and thus my translation here interprets the second line differently. The "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* (and the "Shang ren" chapter of the *Wenzi*) places these two lines in a context of rulers who succeed because they place greater value on life then on the possession of the state; "Zai you" similarly quotes them in terms of ruling through "acting to no purpose" 無爲 when one has "no choice but" 不得已 to rule. Some commentators, such as (Tang) Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 or Gao Heng, interpret these lines to instead espouse a kind of selfless sacrifice for the state (see LMC 03.6 for details); LMC supports this latter reading, largely on the basis of the advantages of "no self" given in the prior stanza. I view this instead as a kind of paradox, wherein it is precisely through effacing his self that the ruler preserves his self; the more reluctant he is to take control of the world, the longer he will be able to preserve both it and his own person.

[54] 若: FY, HSG, and "Zai you" have 則 here; the "Dao ying" chapter of the *Huainanzi* (here and below) has 焉. As Yi Shunding notes (see LMC 03.6), these likely resulted from an attempt to make better sense of an original 若. I treat 若 here in a sense similar to 如此. Cf. the note on 若 in the parallel line below.

[55] 厇(託): WB and HSG have 寄 or 寄於 here, and 託 or 託於 in the next phrase instead. MWD A writes 迈; MWD B has 橐. ZJW 99.8a sees the graph instead as a corruption of 厇 and reads 庇, "take shelter in."

[56] All R except FY lack the 矣, both here and below.

[57] While most commentators take both 貴, "value," and 愛, "cherish," to be similar in sense, I suspect there is something of a contrast at work here. Note R 72 of the *Daodejing*: "The sage knows himself, but does not display himself; he cherishes himself, but does not value himself" 聖人自知不自見，自愛不自貴. My understanding here is close to that of D. C. Lau (LD 82; MWD translation): "he who grudges using his person for putting the empire in order." GY 01.2 takes this phrase instead in the sense of "ruling the world with [an attitude of] cherishing yourself." ZLW 99.8 (p. 142) renders the *ai* here as 夊 over 心, seen as an abbreviation of 愛.

[58] FY, HSG, and XE add 者 here.

[59] For this 若, HSG has 乃, while MWD has 女 (A) or 如 (B). Following the MWD editors, WXC suggests that 女 should read 安, and CJ suggests that this may have derived from an earlier (pre-GDCJ) text that actually had the variant form of 安 (女 with a vertical stroke at the bottom), seen elsewhere in GDCJ as a graph for the particle 焉 (quoted in LRH 03.11, p. 206). See also the note on 若 in the parallel line above.

[60] For 若可, HSG has 乃可, MWD A has 女何, and MWD B has 如可. After MWD A, GDCMZJ reads 何 for the second graph, but consistency with the parallel line above suggests that we should read 可 here as well.

[61] 迲: all other versions have 寄, except WB and HSG, which have 託 or 託於 here instead. GDCMZJ suggests no reading; CRY 98.10, ZGY/YGH 99.1, and LL 99.8 all read 寄. ZJW 99.8a reads 弆, in the sense of "hide away in"; WQP 99.8 also reads 弆, but taken in the sense of "manage," and LMC 03.6 takes 弆 or 去 in an extended sense of "preserve" or "uphold." PH 00.1 suggests reading 處. Assuming a slight contrast between the lines with 貴 and 愛 above, it seems, as LMC notes, that 厇 and 迲 should also convey different nuances. The term "relinquish" is somewhat less unmitigated than "entrust," and would seem to cover both possible senses of 迲 as either 去 or 寄.

[62] The only possible near-rhyme occurs between the 纓(驚) (*geng* 耕-group) and 身 (*zhen* 真-group) of the first

[Treat both] favor and disgrace as if cause for alarm;
value great troubles as you would your own self.

What do we mean by "favor and disgrace"?
Favor is for the subordinate.
Treating either obtaining or losing it as if cause for alarm
—this is what is meant by "[treating] favor and disgrace〔as if〕cause for alarm."

【What do we mean by "value great troubles】 as you would your own self"?
The reason I have great troubles is because I have a self.
Once I have no self, what 【troubles】 would there be?

【Thus,
If you value acting for your self more than】 acting for the world, the world may then be entrusted to you.
If you are reluctant to employ your self for the sake of the world, the world may then be relinquished to you.

5 (R 41)

上士昏（聞）道，堇（僅）能[64]行於其中[65]。

two lines.

[63] This passage marker is followed by a single graph's worth of blank space. LMC 03.6 suggests that this indicates the end of a major section, beginning from R 59 (passage 1).

[64] 堇能: WB, HSG, and JLB have 勤而; FY has 而勤; Fan Yingyuan has 懃而; one Dunhuang edition has 懃能 (see Zhu Qianzhi); MWD parallels GDCJ. QXG 98.5, following D.C. Lau 劉殿爵, would read 堇 as 僅, "barely," which would work better with a following 能; XKS 99.1 offers a similar reading; BW 00 also leans toward this reading. Lau does note, however, that the graph corresponding to the 勤 of both R 6 and R 52 is also written 堇 in MWD (see LMC 03.6). LXF 99.1 reads 謹, "with circumspection"; ZJW 99.8a reads 堇 either "as is," in the sense of "earnestly," or as 謹, and reads 能 as 而. The choice among all these carries great implications, and a further consideration is just how we understand the distinction between "higher" and "lower" gentlemen: my own suspicion is that the "lower gentleman," who "laughs at" the Way, *might*, ironically, be the truly enlightened one—this, however, is contrary to the customary reading. Given the presence of 能 in this text, I follow Lau's reading of 僅. Cf. HR 00, who reads as 勤能: "with effort can get started on it."

[65] For 於其中, all other versions simply have the object pronoun 之. ZJW 99.8a suspects the 行 of this line was meant to rhyme with 亡 (as Jiang Yougao and others have it) and originally had just the particle 諸 following it,

中士昏（聞）道，若昏（聞）[66]若亡（忘）[67]。

下士昏（聞）道，大[68]芺（笑）[69]之。

弗大（9）芺（笑）[70]，不足以為道矣[71]。〔無韻〕[72]

是以建言[73]又（有）之[74]：

「明道女（如）孛（昧）[75]，

---

but was later changed out of confusion over the rhyme. LMC 03.6 similarly sees 於其中 as a mistake for an original 行之.

[66] 若昏(聞): all other versions have 存 here, "preserve," "exist," in lieu of 聞. ZJW 99.8a argues that the 存 makes the line descriptive of the *dao* rather than the adept himself, and thus GDCJ is more original to the context, but that the change likely occurred prior to such texts as the "Zeyang" 則陽 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, where we have: "知游心於無窮，而反在通達之國，若存若亡乎？" LMC 03.6 argues instead that 昏 is mistakenly duplicated here, in place of 存, from its occurrence above. HR 00, following a suggestion of AS, reads 昏 as is, taking 昏亡(忘) as "lost and confused."

[67] 亡: Gao Heng reads 忘, "forget."

[68] Quotations in the *Mouzi* and *Baopuzi* quote this line with 而 after 大 (whereas FY has 而大); (Qing) Wang Niansun 王念孫 takes this in the sense of "迂而笑之" ("exaggeratedly laugh at it"). See Zhu Qianzhi.

[69] 芺: MWD (B) and All R have 笑 (JLB writes 咲), "laugh." DYZ 98.9 notes that 芺 is given as the ancient form of 疑 in the *Yupian* 玉篇 and accordingly reads in the sense of "[greatly] perplexed [by it]." This would, of course, greatly alter the sense of the passage. 芺, however, stands for 笑 elsewhere in the Guodian manuscripts, whereas 疑 is commonly written with 矣 throughout them. LXF 99.1 initially reads the graph as 譔, to "discourse," but in a postscript admits that it usually stands for 笑 in these texts. On how 笑 is written 芺 in excavated manuscripts more generally, see the comments of Zeng Xiantong 曾憲通 quoted in LMC 03.6.

[70] 弗大芺: MWD (B) has 弗笑; All R have 不笑 (JLB writes 咲).

[71] All other versions lack the 矣.

[72] (Qing) Jiang Yougao sees 行 rhyming with 亡 (*yang* 陽-group) (based on the received versions) and 笑 (*xiao* 宵-group) with 道 (*you* 幽-group). HR 00 sees a possible rhyme between 中 (*dong* 冬-group) and 行.

[73] 建言: both Xi Tong and Gao Heng take this as the name of some ancient text; the interpretation here follows that of Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌.

[74] MWD (B) and FY follow with 曰 here.

[75] 孛: MWD B has 費; All R have 昧. GDCMZJ reads 曹, "poor of sight," after MWDHMBS. CRY 98.10 renders 未, read 昧. HDK/XZG 98.12 affirm the rendering of 孛, but would also read 昧, as with the received versions; LL 99.8 does likewise; PH 00.1 also reads 昧. ZJW 99.8a further relates 曹 or 昧 to 曶, and sees all as "faint," contrasted with 明 throughout the text. XKS (cited in AS/WC 00, p. 236) and WQP 99.8 read 哱, in the sense of "dark," "dim." Commenting on MWD, Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹 reads 費 as 拂, in the sense of 蔽,

遲（夷）[76]道女（如）繢（纇），

【進】（10/殘 20）[77]道若退。〔物部〕

上悳（德）女（如）浴（谷）▎[78]，

大白女（如）辱[79]，

㞷（廣）[80]悳（德）女（如）不足。〔屋部〕

建（健）[81]悳（德）女（如）【偷，

質】[82]貞[83]女（如）愉（渝）[84]。（11）

"blocked, shaded." LMC 03.6 sees 孛 and 茀 as interrelated, both having the sense of to "shade" or "obstruct," the former deriving from the sense of a comet's light eclipsing that of nearby planets. BW 00 instead reads 孛 somewhat like 朏, in the sense of "radiantly exuberant" (though 朏 itself would suggest a fainter form of light). DYZ 98.9 eschews the light metaphor altogether, reading 悖 in the sense of "chaotic." HR 00 follows MWD B, reading 費 as "dispersed." AA 05 (pp. 268–75) examines the relationships among these various graphs and interrelated phonetic series at some length, and suspects, like WQP, that the scribe here may have chosen 孛 to refer to 脖, in the sense of "obscure, covered, shadowy." Given the close phonetic connections among all these graphs, I choose 昧 as the reading here simply insofar as it may represent the eventual orthographic standard for these series of common-origin words and concepts.

[76] 遲: all other versions have 夷 here in the corresponding line. 遲 and 夷 commonly interloan in early texts; see LMC 03.6. LXF 99.1 takes 遲 verbally (as he does 明 and 進 also), in the sense of "come up to."

[77] Space remains at the missing bottom portion of strip 10 for three to four graphs; on the basis of comparison with other versions, GDCMZJ would supply 如類進. WB, however, has 纇, "knotted," "uneven," for 類 (as do the Yuzhu 御注 and Fan Yingyuan versions), and LJH 98.10 points out that fragment 20, consisting of the two graphs 女繢, likely belongs here, read 如纇; I follow him here. CRY 98.10 also includes this fragment here, but without comment; LXF 99.1 reads 如潰. Note that GDCJ parallels FY in the order of lines here, as this and the preceding line are reversed in all other versions of the text.

[78] 浴: All R write 谷, but Suizhou and one Dunhuang edition have 俗, "vulgar." A short horizontal stroke follows here, apparently a line marker.

[79] 辱: FY and Fan Yingyuan write this graph with the 黑 radical, "black stain." ZJW 99.8a notes R 28, where 白 is paired against 黑 and 榮 against 辱, and argues that 白 and 辱 already contrast by association, so that there is no need to read the latter as 黷. LH2 01.10, however, does suggest reading 黷. LXF 99.1 reads 縟, "colorful." Gao Heng and others had long argued that this line is misplaced from its proper position just before the 大方無隅 line below, but GDCJ maintains the same order as the other texts; for details, see LMC 03.6. Rhyme would also seem to argue against any rearrangement.

[80] 㞷: MWD and All R have 廣, but Yan Zun has 盛, as does a similar pair of lines quoted in a dialogue from the "Yu yan" 寓言 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. 㞷, the original form of 往, appears to be a phonetic loan for 廣.

[81] 建: I follow (Qing) Yu Yue in reading 健, "vigorous."

大方亡禺（隅）[85]。〔侯部〕[86]

大器曼（/縵）[87]成[88]，

大音祇（希）聖（聲）[89]，

天象[90]亡垔（形）[91]，

---

[82] Space here between the remnant 女 (如) and the bottom fragment of this strip would accommodate likely two graphs; on the basis of comparison with other versions of the text, GDCMZJ supplies "偷質." FY has 媮 for 偷; some HSG editions have 揄, "pull out"; Fan Yingyuan has 輸. See Zhu Qianzhi for details.

[83] 貞: All R have 真; Liu Shipei 劉師培 sees this as a corruption of 悳, i.e., 德. GDCMZJ reads 真. With WQP 99.8 and GY 01.2, I read as is.

[84] 偷: WB, HSG, and JLB have 渝; FY has 輸. LXF 99.1 takes 偷 in the sense of "carefree." With WQP 99.8, PH 00.1, and GY 01.2, I take 偷 in the sense more customarily written 渝, "fickle," "wavering."

[85] 禺: MWD (B) has 禺; All R have 隅. LXF 99.1 reads 偶, "match," taking the previous 方 in the sense of "pair."

[86] (Qing) Jiang Yougao sees this and the previous stanza as interrhyming; (Qing) Yao Wentian 姚文田 and others divide them.

[87] 曼: MWD (B) has 免; All R have 晚, though DLC 00.5 argues that Yan Zun originally had 免 as well. QXG 98.5 suspects 曼 should read 趨(慢); DYZ 98.9 takes this in the sense of "think little of," and WQP 99.8 in that of "late" or "slowly." After All R, GDCMZJ, ZGY/YGH 99.1, and IT 99.11 all read 晚. GM (cited in AS/WC 00, p. 235) reads 免, taking 免成 in the sense of "incomplete"; this accords with MWD (B) and follows an earlier reading of both Chen Zhu 陳柱 and Lou Yulie 樓宇烈. LMC 99.3a and XKS (cited in AS/WC 00, p. 236) both note that 曼 itself has also traditionally been glossed as 無; cf. CXG 00, JR 00.1, and DLC 00.5, who all further argue that 晚 is a relatively late graph and probably derived from a misreading of 免, itself a variant roughly equivalent in meaning (and sound) to 曼/無 (JR also argues that it is doubtful that 慢 ever meant "slow" in pre-Qin texts). ZJW 99.8a reads 勿, "must not." AA 00.5 (pp. 276–78) examines these and other phonetic equivalents at some length, and notes a close relationship between 曼 and 縵, "unembellished, unadorned," suggesting that 晚 is more likely a later reading resulting from textual "diffraction." Both "Yu Lao" and the "Le cheng" 樂成 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* quote this line with 晚成, the former taking it as an analogy of how great men undertake great things only after a long period of preparation and observation, the latter in the sense that undertakings of great forethought are unappreciated until after their benefits are finally realized.

[88] 成: throughout the text, 成 might more properly be rendered 城, as CRY 98.10 renders it.

[89] 祇聖: all other versions have 希(/稀)聲. QXG 98.5 notes that the first graph is a corruption of the ancient form of 祇, phonetically close to 希. CRY 98.10 and ZGG 99.2 both instead render 奡 (i.e., 傲), "arrogant"; ZGG takes this in the sense of "not frivolously." LMC 03.6 renders the graph as the top half of 事 over 而 and sees it as a variant of 耑, itself graphically interchangeable with 黹, which in turn is phonetically equivalent to 希. HR 00 gives a reading of 細.

[90] 天象: All R have 大象, whereas MWD (B) also has 天象. WZJ 99.1 and others argue that, despite the loss of parallelism, 天象 is indeed the original, whereas PH 00.1 argues the reverse, pointing to the "埶大象" in

道【隱無名。」■……】[92]（12）〔耕部〕

When the "highest" gentleman hears of the Way, he is barely able to operate within it.
When the gentleman of the "middle" hears of the Way, it is as if now heard and now forgotten.
When the "lower" gentleman hears of the Way, he gives it a great laugh
—for without that great laugh, it is unworthy to be taken as the Way.

Thus an established saying has it:

"The enlightened Way seems shrouded;
the smooth Way seems bumpy;
the Way of 【advancement】 seems to retreat.

The highest virtue is like a valley;
great purity seems sullied;

---

passage 1 of "Laozi C." I translate here as given.

[91] 亡荎: LXF 99.1 reads the latter graph as 型, in the sense of having no "mold" by which they could be duplicated.

[92] Only the top portion of the 道 graph remains, after which would come the tying mark; space on the missing bottom portion of the strip would accommodate six or seven graphs (GDCMZJ says seven or eight), perhaps including blank space. Based on other versions of the text, this missing fragment would appear to have begun with the graphs "隱無名" (MWD [B] has 褎, "sleeved," for 隱); I would assume the strip ends at that point (probably with a marker), and that it may well have been the last strip of the text (cf. GY below). In most received versions of the text, the passage ends with the additional line 夫唯道，善貸且成 ("For only the Way is good at both bestowing and completing"); the second half of this is written 善始且善成 ("good at initiating and good at completing") in MWD B, 善貸且善 in JLB, and 善始且成 in "Dunhuang." (Note that though we might suspect on this basis that this line was intended as the beginning of the next passage [R 42] in the received text [道生一，一生二 . . .], the fact that a different passage [R 40] follows R 41 in MWD would seem to argue against this.) Instead of "隱無名," GY 01.2 (pp. 120–25) would supply "始無名" ("had no name to begin with") from fragment #21, reading its 訂亡 as 始無 and supplying a missing 名, followed then by a section or text-end marker followed by blank space (this is the last passage of the manuscript in his ordering). GY further argues that the extra line in other editions derived from the accidental insertion of a commentarial note on this "始," contending that all phrases beginning with "夫唯" in the received *Daodejing* were originally commentarial elaborations (though the term in fact clearly appears in both "Laozi A" 9 [R2] and "Laozi B" 1 [R59]). LL 99.8 leaves out the "隱無名" and supplies "善始且善成," and HR 00 does likewise; LL 02.3 instead follows GY to supply "始無名," but would also supply "善始善成。▎" below this. DYZ 98.9 suggests the possibility that a missing strip could have followed with more graphs below. For 道隱無名, see also the similar phrase 道恆亡名 in "Laozi A" 10 (R 32A).

vast potency[93] seems insufficient.

Vigorous potency seems【indolent;
chaste】devotion seems fickle;
great squareness lacks corners.

Great vessels remain imperfected;
great music is sparse in sound;
Heavenly signs lack form.
The Way 【is hidden and lacks renown.”】

6 (R 52b)[94]

閟（閉）其門[95]，賽（塞）其逸（兌/遂）[96]，終身不丞（務）[97]。

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[93] Note that “virtue” and “potency” in this passage translate the same term, *de* 德 (normally rendered “virtue” elsewhere in these translations).

[94] All other versions precede the following with some version of these lines: “天下有始，以爲天下母。既知其母，又知其子。既知其子，復守其母，沒身不殆” (“The world has its beginning; we take it as the mother of the world. Once we know its mother, we also know the son. Once we know the son, we again guard over its mother, and to the end of our days will suffer no harm”). As QXG 99.8 and PH 00.1 note, however, MWD A separates this from what follows with a dot that appears to indicate a passage division. More lines also follow at the end in the other versions (see below); it is also possible that MWD A may have had a dot before them, but we cannot tell due to a lacuna there. As QXG argues, the three parts of R 52 also appear unrelated to each other in content and were most likely initially conceived as three separate passages. HR 00, however, suggests that the first and third of the three parts may together have originally constituted a single passage.

[95] This and the next phrase are reversed in all other versions of the text. LMC 03.6 believes the order here is in error, arguing that the 逸 of these two lines should come at parallel positions. It might also be possible that a non-parallel sequence was intended, with the second of the two lines offering not an opposite, negative scenario, but a secondary positive one, something like: “[go ahead and] open your channels, [but] block off all endeavors,” in which case 不丞 would have a positive interpretation. Nonetheless, I interpret the two lines here as parallel opposites, along the lines of what is clearly the case in the received versions. Compare “Laozi A” 16 (R 56), strip 27 (閟其逸，賽其門), where a slightly different reversal of the same phrases takes place.

[96] 逸: All R have 兌, and GDCMZJ reads accordingly; MWD has 悶 (A) or 堄 (B) (note that the *Jingdian shiwen* cites the Heshang Gong text as having 銳). (Qing) Yu Yue 俞越 reads 兌 as 穴, “hollow,” “cave”; (Qing) Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 reads 遂, “paths,” “channels” (LXF 99.1 follows). Xi Tong 奚侗 and Zhu Qianzhi take 兌 in the sense of bodily “apertures,” a reading that derives from an early gloss by Gao You; WQP 99.8 follows this reading, and ZJW 99.8a notes how in other texts the “opening” of such apertures signals the indulgence of desires. GY 01.2 takes 兌 more specifically as “mouth.”

[97] 丞: MWD has 堇; All R have 勤, “toil” (Ma Xulun reads 瘽, “ill”). CRY 98.10 sees 丞 as an abbreviation of

啟[98]其⿺辶兑（兌/遂）[99]，賽（塞）[100]其事，終身不逨（賚）[101]。〔幽之合韻〕[102]■[103]

敄; DYZ 98.9 and WQP 99.8 both see likewise, but read 瞀, in the sense of "bewildered." LL 99.8 reads 侮, "disgrace," noting the graph's similarity to the 孞 (侮) in strip 1 of "Laozi C"; YSX 99.1 reads 務, to "strive," "toil," noting its phonetic equivalency with 侮; LXF 99.1 and HR 00 also read 務. As LTH 00.5 (p. 98) notes, 孞 is read 務 in "Cheng zhi" strips 13 and 25; she suggests that the lower element is not 人, but rather the original graph for 伏, functioning as a second phonetic element in the graph. IT 99.11 would read 敄, in the same sense of "strive," or perhaps 耗 or 耄. I suspect 冒, "[be] encroach[ed] upon," could be another possible reading. PH 00.1 reads 謀, in the sense of "worry." LMC 03.6 reads 瘏, "ill," in the sense of "hard-pressed." ZJW 99.8a sees the graph instead as a variant of 矜, read 勤; BYL 00.2 sees it as an early *huiyi* form of 岑 ("tall, pointed mountain," or, by extension, "sharp"), here read 勤, or perhaps 矜, also in the sense of "toil" or "hardship."

[98] 啓: All R have 開, in taboo avoidance of Han Emperor Jing's 景帝 given name.

[99] ⿺辶兑: All R here again have 兌, but Suizhou has 門 and Jingfu 景福 has 銳; MWD A has 悶 (perhaps an error for 閱 or an abbreviation of a graph thus read; cf. GM 96.5), and MWD B has 堄. Compare also the corresponding phrases in "Laozi A" strip 27.

[100] 賽: all other versions have 濟 here (齊 in MWD B), "aid," "complete." GDCMZJ suspects that this 賽 should read 寨, which carries the glosses of "realize/fill up" (實) or "be secure [in]" (安); DYZ 98.9 takes this in the sense of "proliferate," "complicate." ZGY/YGH 99.1 and LL 99.8 again read 塞, "block," as per the parallel phrase above. LXF 99.1 takes 賽 itself in the sense of "fill up," "become busy with"; LMC 03.6 reads 塞, in a similar sense. HR 00 translates 賽 as "excel in." ZJW 99.8a reads 即, "approach." BYL 00.2 reads 思, arguing that both 思 and 濟 (in Chu dialect) can have the sense of "worry." I believe that there must be some consistency in the reading of 賽 in both lines here, but with two entirely different consequences for "filling up" holes/channels (thus barring entrance) as opposed to "filling up" (increasing) one's affairs/endeavors. LZ 03.12 gives a similar reading.

[101] 逨: GDCMZJ renders 逨; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 逨. All R have 救, to "[be] save[d]"; MWD (B) has 棘. LL 99.8 reads 來 and suggests that the 救 resulted from graphic confusion between 來 and 求, whereas 來 and 棘 are phonetically related. LZ 03.12, on the other hand, suspects 逑 may be the intended graph here, read 救 (cf. HR 00 below). DYZ 98.9 and ZJW 99.8a both suggest that 逨(逨) may have the sense of "return"; LXF 99.1 takes it in a similar sense of "come back around," "gain respite." CRY 98.10 equates the graph with 勑, taken in the sense of 勞, "toil," and PH 00.1 interprets likewise; WQP 99.8 also reads 勑, but understood as equivalent to 敕 and having the sense of 順, "favorable." BYL 00.2 argues at some length that 逨, 棘, and 救 are all phonetically interloanable and, through somewhat circuitous glossing, that they are also semantically related, all readable in the sense of "exhaust," "come to an end." LMC 03.6 reads 逨 in the sense of "heal," after Gao Heng, who read 救 as 瘳, and by reading the MWD B 棘 as 治. HR 00 reads 來 and translates the phrase as "never reach the end of your days"; he also suggests that 逨 may be a graphic error for 逑. GY 01.2 reads 來 in the sense of "accomplish." I read 徠 or 賚, in the sense of "be rewarded [for one's efforts]."

[102] This rhyme is based on the phonetics of the graphs as written; if we go by the readings, 務 (or 侮) is *hou* 侯-group rather than *you*-group. While this rhyme is tentative, note that the 勤 (*wen* 文-group) and 救 (*you*-group) of the received versions cannot rhyme with each other at all. Cf. LMC 03.6. GY 01.2 suggests instead that the rhyme should occur here between 事 and 來 and, in parallel fashion, between 兌 and whatever word 孞 may represent; he also suggests that the rhyme is responsible for the difference in the order of these phrases from that of the parallel ones of "Laozi A" 16 (R 56).

[103] All other versions follow here with some version of the lines: "見小曰明，守柔曰強。用其光，復歸其

Close off your doors and fill up (=obstruct) your channels, and to the end of your days you will suffer no strain;
open up your channels and fill up (=maximize) your endeavors, and to the end of your days you will see no reward.

7 (R 45a)[104]

大成[105]若（13）夬（缺）[106]，
其甬（用）不帑（敝）[107]。〔月部〕[108]

大浧（盈）[109]若中（盅）[110]，
其甬（用）不寡（窮）[111]。[112]〔冬部〕

明，無遺身殃，是謂習常” (“Perceiving the small is called ‘bright’; upholding the weak is called ‘strong.’ Use the light, return home again to the bright, and leave yourself with no misfortune—this is called ‘following the constant’”). See also the note at the head of this passage.

[104] This and the next passage are combined in all other versions of the text, but are clearly separated by a passage marker here. As QXG 99.8 argues, they appear to have little manifest thematic connection with each other and were most likely originally independent passages. Most commentarial editions, however, continue to place them together as a single passage.

[105] 成: all other versions also have 成. Ma Xulun reads 盛, suggesting that 盛 and 缺 refer to vessels that are either “whole” or “broken,” respectively. See also the notes to “大成若詘” below.

[106] 夬: all other versions write 缺, except that JLB and some HSG editions write 鈌.

[107] 帑: GDCMZJ identifies this as a variation on the ancient form of 幣. FY has 敝; WB, HSG, and JLB write 弊, “worn out.”

[108] For a more refined look at this particular rhyme, see BWH 98, p. 245.

[109] 浧: GDCMZJ reads 盈, as MWD, WB, HSG, and JLB all have it; FY, Fan Yingyuan and others have 滿, most likely due to a taboo on Han Emperor Hui’s 惠 given name. LMC 03.6 explains 浧 and 盈 as common-origin graphs.

[110] 中: all other versions write some variation of 沖 or 盅, “empty” [of a vessel]. Zhu Qianzhi suggests that 盈 and 盅 indicate the fullness and emptiness of a vessel, respectively.

[111] 寡(窮): MWD (A) has 郡.

[112] All other versions have right after this point what is here instead the final line of the entire sequence, 大直若屈. For further details, see the note to the end of this passage.

大攷（巧）[113]若佁（拙）[114]，

大成（盛）若詘（絀）[115]，

大植（直）（14）若屈[116]。[117]■〔物部〕

Great formation appears imperfect,
[but] is never worn out through use.

Great fullness appears empty,
[but] is never exhausted through use.

Great facility appears clumsy;
great abundance appears deficient;
great straightness appears crooked.

8 (R45b)[118]

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[113] 攷: LXF 99.1 would instead render 歱, as a variant of 重, "weight," "gravity," taking 佁 below as "shortness." LMC 03.6 rightly reaffirms the original rendering and reading as 巧.

[114] 佁: all other versions have 拙, "clumsy," except that MWD B writes 掘.

[115] 大成若詘: All R instead have 大辯若訥 ("great disputation seems stuttering"); MWD (A) has 大贏如炳. The Yan Zun commentary also suggests an original line of 大贏若詘; on this basis, QXG 99.8 here reads 大贏若絀, "great surplus appears deficient"; LXF 99.1 offers a similar reading, but in the sense of "great advancement appears like retreat"; cf. HR 00. PH 00.1 takes 贏 and the MWD 炳 as phonetic loans for 成 and 詘, respectively. LL 99.8 reads 成 as 盛 (cf. Ma Xulun's reading of 成 in the first line above). ZJW 99.8a also raises the possibility of reading 成 as 盛 and 詘 as 絀, but, thinking this might create redundancy with the opening lines, suggests instead reading 成 as 平 (=辯) and 詘 as 訥. HR 00 suggests that the MWD 炳 may have been a phonetic loan for 退, "retreat," later miscopied to 訥, resulting, in turn, in the appearance of 辯, "disputation," as its counterpart. WQP (99.8 and 01.11) takes the 成 here to refer to the completion of a musical movement (as in the "Wu xing" text's "君子集大成") and the 詘 as music "coming to a stop," also understanding 大成 here differently than in strip 13 above; he also takes this as further evidence that "Lao Zi" was in fact never opposed to ritual and music. LMC 03.6 reads this 成, or 贏, as 呈, which he also takes in the sense of "disputation," and thus reads 詘 as is, in the sense of "stuttering."

[116] 屈: MWD (A), FY, and Fan Yingyuan here have 詘 in their corresponding lines.

[117] As noted above, the order of all other versions is different, with this final phrase coming instead prior to the last two. There are long lacunae in MWD B; GM 96.5 remarks that MWDHMBS accidentally adds an extra four-character blank line in its transcription, but close inspection shows that it simply adds the line in the wrong place (I have corrected this in the tables). The *Han Shi waizhuan*, *juan* 9, cites the final three lines in yet a different order, and also appends the additional line "其用不屈" ("[but] is never overwhelmed through use") to the end; see Zhu Qianzhi. It is entirely possible, pace GM, that the MWD B passage ended with a version of this

喿（躁）[119]勳（勝）[120]蒼（滄）[121]，

青（靜）[122]勳（勝）然（熱）[123]。〔陽元合韻〕[124]

清＝（清青〔靜〕）[125]

為天下定（正）[126]。〔耕部〕[127]

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line as well (only a final絀 remains; refer to the tables).

[118] On the division of R 45 into two passages, see the note at the head of passage 7 just above. LXF 99.1 actually groups these three lines with the next passage (R 54) instead.

[119] 喿: MWD has 趮; All R have 躁, "activity." GDCMZJ reads 燥, "parched," "dryness"; this follows an earlier reading of Ma Xulun; Zhu Qianzhi follows Ma, but takes 燥 as a Chu term for "stove-fire," taking the 靜 below as 瀞, "cool water." ZJW 99.8a argues that 燥 and 熱 represent *yang* and 清 and 滄 represent *yin*, and that while *yang* must sometimes gain the ascendancy (as in this line), *yin* ascendancy is to be taken as the norm 正 in the Laoist worldview. DYZ 98.9, LXF 99.1, and LMC 03.6 follow the traditional reading of 躁. As LMC notes, 躁 and 靜 appear as opposites in a number of early textual examples, including R 26 of the *Daodejing*: "重爲輕根，靜爲躁君" ("The weighty serves as base to the light; the tranquil serves as lord to the agitated"). Ma Xulun, Jiang Xichang, and others had previously suggested switching the placement of 躁 and other terms in these two lines; for details, see LMC 03.6

[120] 勳: MWD A and All R have 勝; MWD B has 朕. GDCMZJ reads 勝; WQP 99.8 reads 乘, but in the same sense as 勝.

[121] 蒼: GDCMZJ identifies this as the ancient form of 蒼, read 滄. All other versions have 寒. LL 99.8 notes that 蒼 and 寒 are close in form and that the former is thus a graphic substitution for the latter. If this is the case, it is worth noting that 寒 and 然 would form an exact rhyme (*yuan* 元-group). YZH 99.6 reads 蒼 as is (but in the sense of "desolation"), as he does with most of the graphs in this passage, yielding an unusual interpretation of the lines as a lamentation of military destruction (details omitted here).

[122] 青: All R have 靜 or 靖; MWD (A) has 靚. GDCMZJ reads 清, in line with Zhu Qianzhi's interpretation; cf. the note to 喿 above. See also PH 00.1, who notes how the MWD 靚 could be read as an equivalent graph with the water radical.

[123] 然: All R have 熱; MWD (A) writes 炅. GDCMZJ reads 熱. HR 00 reads as is, taking "burning" itself in the sense of "heat." The two are phonetically very close. See also the note to the term-pair 倉(滄)然(熱) in "Taiyi sheng shui," strip 3.

[124] This is taking 然 itself as the rhyme; if we read 熱, it becomes a rhyme between the *yang* and *yue* 月 groups. If we read 蒼 as 寒, the latter with 然 would form a purely *yuan*-group rhyme.

[125] 清=: QXG 98.5 suspects this combined graph should be understood as either 清青 or 青清, in either case read 清靜, as WB, HSG, and JLB have it; ZJW 99.8a concurs. MWD writes 請靚; FY has 知清靖. Following this pair of terms, MWD has the additional graphs 可以; FY and JLB have 以. As DYZ 98.9 suggests, the 靜 here might best be understood on a fundamentally different level from the 靜 that stands in opposition to 喿 (躁) above. LXF 99.1 instead reads 清清, taking it to somehow refer to the notion of self-reliance, of not seeking solutions in external things.

[126] 定: QXG 98.5 would read 正, as all other versions have it; ZJW 99.8a concurs. LXF 99.1 and GY 01.2 read

Activity overcomes cold;
stillness overcomes heat.

Pure and tranquil,
[you may] serve as standard for the world.

9 (R 54)[128]

善建[129]者不㧞（拔）[130]，

善㑣〈保〉[131]者（15）不兌（脫）[132]，

子孫以其[133]祭祀不乇（輟）[134]。〔月部〕[135]

定, "settled," as is. There appears to be a faint mark following this graph that may be the remains of a short, horizontal marker.

[127] I here follow (Qing) Jiang Yougao and others in breaking these six characters into two rhymed lines of uneven length, two plus four.

[128] Various explanations of this passage may be found in "Jie Lao," in the "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi*, and in certain chapters of the *Huainanzi*; see DYZ 98.9 for details.

[129] 建: ZJW 99.8a reads 楗 or 揵, in the sense of to "close up," "lock up."

[130] 㧞: GDCMZJ identifies this graph as the ancient form of 拔, as all other version have it; see LMC 03.6 for more on the graph. ZJW 99.8a reads 發 or 撥, in the sense of to "open," pointing to a similar line in R 27: "善閉，無關鍵不可開" ("a [door] well-sealed has no crossbar yet cannot be opened"). CWW 02.7 (p. 391) suggests that 拔 might instead read 悖, "contradict," "run counter."

[131] 㑣: GDCMZJ sees this as an abbreviation of 保. All R have 抱, except FY, which as 褒. LL 99.8 reads 抱. CRY 98.10 equates the phonetic element with 朮, but notes that the graph 㑣 is often interchangeable with 休. LXF 99.1 also equates the phonetic with 朮, but reads 繸, in the sense of "fasten"; in his 02.3a, however, he instead reads 述, to "transmit" or "recount" (the achievements of one's ancestors), and suggests that the received reading of 抱 resulted from an early miscopying of this graph as 保.

[132] 兌: All R have 脫, "detach," "remove." ZJW 99.8a reads 奪, "snatch away." LXF 02.3a reads 說, in the sense of "explain" (needlessly); he even goes so far as to contend that Confucius's famous dictum "transmit but not create" 述而不作 was itself fashioned in accordance with this statement of "Lao Dan," i.e., "those good at transmitting do not explain" 善述者不說.

[133] 以其: MWD and WB have just 以; FY, HSG, and JLB lack both characters. "Yu Lao" parallels GDCJ in having both graphs, but also follows 祭祀 with 世世, "generation after generation."

[134] 乇: GDCMZJ sees this as an abbreviation of 屯, "difficult"; QXG 98.5 notes that the form of the graph itself suggests 乇. CRY 98.10 and LXF (99.1 and 02.3) both render 弋, read 忒, in the sense of "alter" or "substitute." All R have 輟, "cease" (the preceding 不 absent in FY); MWD (B) and the citation in "Jie Lao" both have 絕, "sever." Neither 屯 or 忒 would work well as a rhyme (*wen* 文 and *zhi* 職 groups, respectively), while 乇 (*duo* 鐸 group) is feasible; as LL 99.8, ZJW 99.8a, and HR 00 all suggest, the latter may be loan for 輟. HLY 99.12

攸（修）之[136]身，

其[137]悳（德）乃貞（/真）[138]。〔真部〕[139]

攸（修）之豪（家），

其悳（德）又（有）舍（餘）[140]。〔魚部〕

攸（修）（16）之向（鄉）[141]，

其悳（德）乃長。〔陽部〕

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sees the graph as 乚, the reversed 亅 that the *Shuowen* reads like 罬, in the same phonetic series as 輟; ZGG 01.9 gives the same interpretation, but suggests it need not be seen as a loan for 輟, since 乚, as a marker used to indicate a textual resting point, may carry the sense of "cease." BYL 01.2 also sees the graph as 乚 and, noting that 乚 and 亅 derived from a common origin and that the *Shuowen* reads 亅 like 橜, argues that the graph could be read as either 輟 or 絕. WQP 99.8 reads 乇 as 斷, also meaning to "sever." WH 01.9 also affirms the rendering of 乇, but would read it as either the *Shuowen* graph of 託, in the sense of "set aside," or as 彳, to "stop." LMC 03.6 would instead render 屮 (equivalent to 屯 minus the 一), which might make for a better phonetic loan with 輟.

[135] This rhyme is based on the reading of 輟; 乇 itself gives us *yue/duo* interrhyming (月鐸合韻). For a more refined look at this particular rhyme (as given in the received versions), see BWH 98, p. 245.

[136] WB and HSG have an additional 於 here and in the corresponding positions of the parallel phrases below (FY and JLB only for the last two phrases). LXG 03 (pp. 353–54) notes this as an unusual case where particles appear to have been added by later editors to effect even four-character lines throughout a passage.

[137] GY 01.2 argues that this and the following few 其 refer not to the individual cultivator of virtue, but rather to "this virtue" itself. LZ 03.12 has them referring to the virtue of the self, household, village, etc., respectively. Regardless of how we interpret the precise referent, it all amounts to the same effect.

[138] 貞: All other versions have 真; GDCMZJ reads accordingly. DYZ 98.9, WQP 99.8, and LMC 03.6 all read 貞 in the sense of "proper."

[139] Strictly speaking, 貞 itself is *geng* 耕-group, which would make this *zhen/geng* interrhyming (真耕合韻).

[140] 又舍: MWD (B), JLB, and some HSG editions write 有餘; WB, FY, and other HSG editions have 乃餘. DYZ 98.9 reads 舍 as is, in the sense of having a "safe haven." LMC 03.6 would render the graph as 余 over 口.

[141] 向 (here and below): QXG 98.5 explains the graph as a corruption of 向, read 鄉, as all other versions have it; for more on this graph, see LMC 03.6. YSX 00.8 instead sees the upper element as deriving from 羊 and interprets the graph as an abbreviation of 襄, read 鄉.

攸（修）之邦[142]，

其悳（德）乃奉（豐）[143]。〔東部〕[144]

攸（修）之天下，

【其德乃溥。〔魚鐸通韻〕[145]

以家觀】[146]（17）豪（家），以向（鄉）觀向（鄉）[147]，以邦觀邦，以天下觀天下。[148]

虐（吾）可（何）[149]以智（知）天【下然？以此。■】[150]（18）〔無韻〕

[142] 邦: MWD B, WB, HSG, and JLB all have 國, in avoidance of Han Emperor Gaozu's 高祖 given name; note that this ruins the rhyme with 奉(豐) below.

[143] 奉: All R have 豐; MWD (B) has 夆.

[144] Strictly speaking, the reading of 豐 is *dong* 冬-group, which would make it a 東冬合韻 rhyme.

[145] If we supply 普 instead of 溥, then both rhyme words here are *yu* 魚-group.

[146] Following the 下, of which only the very top strokes remain, there is space at the missing bottom portion of this strip for about six to seven graphs; partly on the basis of comparison with MWD B, GDCMZJ would supply 其德乃博以家觀. For 博, WB, HSG, and JLB have 普; FY has 溥. Preceding 以家觀家, all other versions have the additional line 以身觀身 ("observe the self with the self," preceded by 故 "thus" in All R).

[147] 以向(鄉)觀向(鄉): MWD B, though marred by lacunae here, appears to have lacked this phrase.

[148] DYZ 98.9 points to a similar set of lines in the "Mu min" 牧民 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "以家爲家，以鄉爲鄉，以國爲國，以天下爲天下" ("Manage the household on the basis of the household, the village on the basis of the village, the state on the basis of the state, and the world on the basis of the world").

[149] 可(何): FY and "Jie Lao" have 奚. LXF 99.1 reads 可 as is.

[150] Space remains at the missing bottom portion of this strip for four or perhaps five graphs (including a possible section marker). All R (and MWD B) suggest six graphs: "下之然哉以此." Thus GDCJ likely either lacked the 以此 ("by this"; compare the end of the first paragraph of "Laozi A" 17 [R 57], strip 30, where in that case both GDCJ *and* MWD lack the 以此 of the received versions), or perhaps had an abbreviation like "下然？以此" for the last few graphs, as LL 99.8 has it (followed by a supplied text-end marker)—I here tentatively follow the latter, but supply a passage marker instead. In the received versions, both R 21 and R 57 follow "何以知" questions with an "以此" answer; as HR 00 notes, unlike the case with R 57, it is hard to imagine the passage here ending with an unanswered question. HR 00 and PH 00.1 both assume five graphs, including 以此; IT would supply all six characters found in the other versions; LXF 99.1 would supply just "[吾可以知天]下之然也"; and GY 01.2 would give "下哉以此." In HR's reading, 然 refers to the "condition" of the world, and 以此, "by this," is to be taken in the sense of "by knowing myself."

Those good at erecting do not get uprooted;
those good at preserving do not get divested;
their descendents may thus continue their sacrifices unremitted.

Cultivating it in one’s self,
one’s virtue will thereby be faithful.

Cultivating it in the household,
one’s virtue will have a surplus.

Cultivating it in the village,
one’s virtue will be long lasting.

Cultivating it in the state,
one’s virtue will be abounding.

Cultivating it in the world,
【one’s virtue will be pervasive.

Observe】 the household 【on the basis of the household】; observe the village on the basis of the village; observe the state on the basis of the state; observe the world on the basis of the world.

How do I know the 【world is thus? Because of “this.”】

“Laozi C”
老子丙
Text and Translation

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1 (R 17-18)[1]

> 大（太）上[2]，下[3]智（知）又（有）之[4]，
>
> 其即（次）新（親）譽之，[5]

[1] Since there is no passage marker in between them, and as they have a clear overlap in sentence structure, these two received passages are treated here as one (most other commentators, save DYZ 98.9, also take them as a single passage). R 17 is equivalent to the first two stanzas; R 18 to that which follows after the 古(故) near the end of strip 1. For more on this, see the note to that graph below.

[2] 大上: for 大, all R have 太; the two are commonly interchangeable. Following a gloss by (Han) Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 on the “Quli, shang” 曲禮上 chapter of the *Li ji*, Zhu Qianzhi—in line with the Heshang Gong commentary—suggests that 太上 here refers to the idealized governance or ideal ruler of “remote antiquity.” Most have traditionally taken the 上 here to refer to the “ruler”; cf. HR 00, “With regard to the very best rulers,” and AS 03 (p. 255). The interpretation here instead follows that of Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌, who cites a number of similar patterns in other texts of the period; “ruler,” however, remains the implied object of 有之.

[3] 下: the Wu Cheng 吳澄 edition and some later editions have the negative 不 instead, a reading preferred by (Ming) Jiao Hong 焦竑, Zhu Qianzhi, and others; for more on the debate over this reading, see Zhu Qianzhi and LMC 03.6. GDCJ gives further evidence that 下, after all, is correct; ZJW 99.8a, however, still sees it as an error for 不.

[4] While most would take these 之 to refer to the ruler, LZ 03.12 sees rulership itself as their referent.

[5] WB reads 其次親而譽之; MWD lacks the coordinative 而, while HSG and XE both have 親之譽之 for the final four graphs, and JLB writes 親之豫之; FY expands into two phrases: 其次親之，其次譽之. LXF 99.1 reads 其即 as 其既, in the sense of “afterward.” In a bizarre interpretation, YZH 99.6 repunctuates after each 其即, which he takes in the sense of “come to [the ruler] for support”; I will not attempt to recount here all the other readings involved in this interpretation. The line 親而譽之 is traditionally interpreted as the attitude of the people resulting from [purposefully] benevolent governance, and the 畏 and 侮 below from the use of punishments and other measures; see especially the quotations from the “Nan san” 難三 chapter of the *Han Feizi*, the “Ziran” 自然 chapter of the *Wenzi*, and the “Zhushu” 主術 chapter of the *Huainanzi* cited in DYZ

其既〈即（次）〉愄（畏）之，

其即（次）[6]柔（侮）[7]之。〔無韻〕[8]

信不足，安（焉）[9]（1）又（有）不信。

猷（猶）[10]虖（乎）[11]其貴言也[12]。

成事述（遂）社（功）[13]，

98.9.

[6] MWD has 下, "lowest," "worst," in place of this final 次; JLB and XE combine this and the previous phrase into one: 其次畏之、侮之. For debate on the correct original balance among these 其次 lines, see LMC 03.6.

[7] 柔: All R have 侮; MWD writes 母. LTH 00.5 suggests that the lower element of 柔 is not 人, but the original graph for 伏, functioning here as a second phonetic element.

[8] (Qing) Jiang Yougao 江有誥 finds interrhyming between 譽 (*yu* 魚-group) and 侮 (*hou* 侯-group); Chen Zhu 陳柱 between 有 (*zhi* 之-group), 譽, 畏 (*wei* 微-group), and 侮 (plus the four 之 particles), though in fact this latter can only work with an alternating rhyme scheme. If there is any intentional rhyme present, it is extremely loose.

[9] 安: FY has 焉; WB has 焉 both here and again following 不足 below, implying the use of the particle not as the conjunction "then," "consequently," but rather the end particle "wherein," "therein"; HSG parallels WB for the first phrase, but lacks the second phrase altogether. JLB and XE lack the particle in both phrases. (Qing) Wang Niansun 王念孫 had argued that the FY version, with the conjunction 焉, is the correct original reading (see Zhu Qianzhi); both MWD and GDCJ would appear to support this. As LMC 03.6 notes, moreover, the unusual physical separation between 足 and 安 on the actual strip itself seems to suggest that 安 be grouped with the second phrase. LL (99.8 and 02.3) renders the graph directly as 焉; cf. the note to this particle in strip 22 of "Laozi A." It might also be possible to take 安/焉 here, and below, as the interrogative "whence," "how," but it would be difficult to derive a sensible interpretation from that usage here. Nonetheless, DYZ 98.9 exhausts pages in attempting one, along the lines of "If [even] trust is lacking, how can one [succeed by] implement[ing measures that] lack trust?" GY 01.2 gives an even more far-fetched interpretation, contending that 信不足 is actually the *answer* to the question 安有不信, but placed before that question "for emphasis." See also the discussion of this particle in strip 3 below.

[10] 猷: FY and XE write 猶; WB has 悠; JLB has 由. Zhu Qianzhi relates this to the 猶, "hesitant," of R 15 ("Laozi A" 5, strip 8); Ma Xulun suggested reading like 嘁, "silent." LXF 99.1 reads 猶乎 like the exclamation "烏乎," "alas." LMC 03.6 reads 猷 as an imperative "consider it."

[11] 虖(乎): MWD (B) has 呵; FY, WB, and HSG have 兮; JLB and XE lack the particle altogether.

[12] All R lack the particle 也, but FY has 哉 instead.

[13] 成事述社: GDCJ is unique here among several variations. FY, WB, and HSG have 功成事遂; MWD has 成功遂事; and JLB and XE have the mixture of 成功事遂.

而[14]百眚（姓）曰[15]我自肰（然）也[16]。〔元部〕[17]

古（故）[18]大（2）道夔〈發（廢）〉[19]，安（焉）[20]又（有）悬（仁）義。[21]

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[14] 而: All R lack this particle.

[15] 曰: FY parallels GDCJ; all other versions except FY have 謂. FY, WB, and HSG precede this 曰 or 謂 with 皆, "all." As LXF 99.1 points out, 曰 versus 謂 potentially makes a big difference, as the former seems to imply a direct quotation (the "I" thus referring to "the people" themselves), while the latter would appear to attribute "自然" to the ruler.

[16] 也: all other versions lack this particle. As Jiang Xichang argues, 自然 appears to have the sense of 自成, "self-achieved," throughout the *Laozi*.

[17] Based on an extra 焉 at the end of the first line, Jiang Yougao finds rhyme between 焉, 言, and 然, all *yuan* 元-group. Based on a text without it, Karlgren instead finds rhyme between 信 (*zhen* 真-group), *yan*, and *ran*. HR 00 also finds near rhyme between 信 and 功 (*dong* 東-group).

[18] 古(故): All R lack this "Thus." As CRY 98.10, WR (cited in AS/WC 00, pp. 140–41 and 240–41), QXG 99.8 (pp. 40–41), IT 99.8 (p. 180), and HR 00 all point out, its presence is another reason, beyond the absence of the passage marker, to treat the two halves (R 17 and 18) as part of the same passage here. WR further suggests that the 故 logically follows more from the first stanza, with its notions of "historical decline," than directly from the second; LMC 03.6 makes a similar argument.

[19] 夔〈發〉: MWD and All R have 廢, except that JLB and XE write 癈. GDCMZJ renders 发, while CRY 98.10 and ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 夔; all read the graph as 廢.

[20] 安: MWD has 案 or 安, here and in all parallel lines; FY has 焉 here and in the next line, but no particle in the subsequent two lines; the WB, HSG, and JLB versions lack any particle here throughout; Fan Yingyuan displaces 焉 to the end of each line (i.e., after 仁義, etc.). As WZJ 99.1 argues, without forcing an unnatural reading, 安 can only be read as a conjunction here (i.e., "then," "consequently"), and GDCJ is no different from other versions in expressing a kind of opposition to *ren* and *yi* in this passage; cf. my (CS) 02 and LXQ 02.1a. LL (99.8 and 02.3) renders the graph directly as 焉, on which see the notes to strip 22 of "Laozi A"; LRH 03.11 endorses this, but also brings in further evidence to support the reading of 安/案 as a conjunction; cf. QXG 06.12 (pp. 8–9). The traditional, cause-effect type reading, moreover, is corroborated by quite a number of early texts, such as the "Jingcheng" 精誠 chapter of the *Wenzi*: "仁義立而道德廢矣" ("When humanity and propriety are established, the Way and virtue are abandoned"), or, stated negatively, the "Ma ti" 馬蹄 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "道德不廢，安取仁義" ("If the Way and virtue were *not* abandoned, why would one adopt humanity and propriety?"). Nonetheless, DYZ 98.9 still attempts to read the 安/焉 *here* as an interrogative, along the lines of: "If [even] the great Way is abandoned, what further [use] is there for humanity and propriety?" GY (99.1a [p. 130] and 01.2) assumes a similar reading, arguing that "upright ministers" in particular could not possibly be a negative term, and thus "humanity," "propriety" and the like could only be positive here by implication. LZL 00.5 also seems to presume such a reading, arguing that the passage was later altered in the received versions so as not to conflict with an already altered R 19. ZGG 01.9 reads 焉 non-

六新（親）[22]不和，安（焉）又（有）孝孳（慈）。

邦豪（家）緍（昏）[23]【亂，安（焉）】[24]又（有）正[25]臣。■（3）〔無韻〕[26]

The best [scenario] is for those below to [merely] know [the ruler] exists.
Down from that is [for them] to hold him dear and praise him.
Down from that is [for them] to fear him.
Down from that is [for them] to disrespect him.

Where trust is lacking [in the ruler], [the people] will consequently lack trust [in him]—deliberatively, should he place value on his words!
He [would thus] accomplish affairs and brings achievements to fruition, yet the people [would all] say: "I did this myself."

Thus only where the great Way is abandoned do humanity and propriety come into being.

interrogatively, but suggests that a smoother reading would punctuate after it, rather than reading it as a conjunction.

[21] All other versions have some variation of an additional line here: 智慧出，(焉)有大僞, "When knowledge and wisdom come forth, great artifice arises." LCS 99.1a (p. 190), QXG (99.8 and 06.12 [p. 10]), CGY 99.8a (pp. 70–71), IT 99.8 (pp. 180–81), and GY 01.2 all argue that this line was a later addition, whereas LMC 03.6 tries to argue on the basis of rhyme that it was inadvertently omitted here. As CGY and others note, the effect of having this line, with its obviously negative "great artifice," is to more strongly demote, through parallelism, the other derived "virtues" of humanity, propriety, filial piety, and loyalty, etc.—perhaps to a much greater degree than the passage originally intended.

[22] 六新(親): this likely refers to father and mother, elder and younger brothers, and wife and son(s).

[23] 緍(昏): MWD has 閽; All R have 昏.

[24] 亂安(焉): only the top of 亂 and the bottom of 安 remain, but, as QXG 98.5 points out, enough remains of both graphs to reveal consistency with how these graphs are written elsewhere.

[25] 正: MWD and FY have 貞, "faithful"; the other versions have 忠, "loyal." CRY 98.10 reads 忠; LL 99.8 and ZJW 99.8a read 貞, which is closer phonetically and is a loan with examples in the Guodian "Ziyi." I read here as is. GY 01.2 argues that 正 was later changed to 忠 in an attempt to make the term more obviously Confucian.

[26] (Qing) Yao Wentian 姚文田 and others note rhyme between the first two lines of this stanza in the received versions (both *ge* 歌-group); the fact that the second line does not appear here, however, would preclude that possibility. Also, as Ma Xulun 馬敘倫 notes, the last graphs of the first half of each line—廢 (*yue* 月-group), 和 (*ge* 歌-group), and *luan* (*yuan* 元-group)—could be thought to loosely interrhyme with each other.

Only where the six relations are in disharmony do filial piety and parental affection come into being.
【Only where】 the states and households are in turmoil do upright ministers come into being.

2 (R 35)

埶（〈執〉/設）[27]大象[28]，

天下往[29]。〔陽部〕

往而不害[30]，

安（焉）[31]坪（平）大（太）[32]。〔月部〕

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[27] 埶: GDCMZJ renders 執, "uphold"; QXG (98.5, 99.8, and 00.1) would instead render 埶 and read 設, "set forth," suggesting that the 執 of all the other versions is in error, and relating this phrase to the line 設卦觀象 ("Establish the [hexa]grams to observe the signs/images") of the "Xici" 繫辭 commentary to the *Yi jing* (for further examples of 埶 read as 設 in both excavated and received texts, see QXG 98 and, more recently, QXG 11.1; for more details on the phonology involved, see BYP 10.10). WQP 99.8 follows, taking 象 in the sense of manifest written ordinances. CRY 98.10 and LL 99.8 follow QXG's rendering, but still read 執 on the basis of graphic interchangeability. DYZ 98.9 sees 埶 as equivalent to 臬, "gnomon," taken in the verbal sense of "demarcate," "display." LXF 99.1 sees it as equivalent to 藝, to "plant," but taken here, through circuitous glossing, in the sense of "arrive at [the realm of]." LMC 03.6, on the basis of the same graphic equivalencies noted by both DYZ and LXF, takes it in the sense of "model after," "take as standard." YZH 99.6 reads 勢. The translation of "hold forth" here is chosen to reflect the dual possibilities of "uphold" and "set forth."

[28] FY adds the particle 者 here. 象 is traditionally glossed as *dao* 道, as in the Heshang Gong commentary. WQP 99.8 takes it in the sense of manifest written ordinances, formerly displayed on gate towers (*xiangwei* 象魏) for all to see.

[29] 往: JLB erroneously has 佳.

[30] 害: Jiang Xichang (see LMC 03.6) suggests that the ruler is the implied object of this "harm," at the hands of the people; as do most commentators, I take the object here to be the people of "the world." LMC 03.6 reads 轄, in the extended sense of "be restrained."

[31] 安: Following (Qing) Wang Yinzhi 王引之, QXG 99.8 reads this like the conjunction 焉 ("then," "thereupon"), noting how the graph is written without the 宀 here, affirming Li Ling's observation that 焉, as opposed to 安, is generally written this way throughout the Guodian texts (see the note to "Laozi A" strip 22 above).

[32] 大: CRY 98.10 reads 泰, as FY has it; HSG, JLB, and most WB editions have 太; MWD, XE and some WB

樂[33]與餌，

怸（過）客[34]歭（止）。〔之部〕

古（故）道【之出言】[35]，（4）

淡可（兮）[36]其無味也。

視之[37]不足[38]見，

聖（聽）[39]之不足螽（聞）[40]，

而[41]不可既也。■（5）〔物部〕[42]

Hold forth the great model,
and the world will come along.

editions also write 大.

[33] 樂: Yang Shuda 楊樹達 reads this not as "music," but as "pleased to."

[34] 客: MWD writes 格.

[35] Space for about three graphs remains at the bottom of this broken strip; on the basis of comparison with MWD and FY, we might supply "之出言"; WB and HSG have 口, "mouth," for 言 (thought WB originally likely had 言; see Zhu Qianzhi); JLB and XE lack the 之. MWD also follows this with the particle 也 and precedes the next phrase with 曰; thus as PH 00.1 notes, we might alternately supply "出言曰."

[36] 可: MWD has 呵; FY has 兮; WB and HSG have 乎; JLB and XE lack the particle altogether. LL 99.8 reads 兮.

[37] 視之: CRY 98.10 renders 見之. JLB and XE lack the 之, here and in the next two phrases.

[38] 足: Xi Tong 奚侗 glosses this as 得, "able to be."

[39] 聖: this should here be read 聽, as all other versions have it.

[40] Roughly the same pair of phrases appears again in R 14; ZJW 99.8a suggests that that passage was not included in GDCJ so as to avoid repetition.

[41] For 而, all other versions instead have 用之, "employing it" (except that JLB and XE lack the 之). As GY 01.2 suggests, it is possible that this phrase was later altered in an attempt to achieve uniformity with the prior two.

[42] The main rhyme here is between 味 and 既. There is also a sort of internal rhyme between 言 (*yuan* 元-group), *jian* 見 (*yuan*-group), and 聞 (*wen* 文-group).

Coming along without impair,
it will be steady and secure.

[Whereas] music and repast,
will [merely] stay the passing guest.

Thus 【words that come forth of】 the Way,
how bland and tasteless are they!
Looking at [the Way], it is not worth seeing;
listening to it, it is not worth hearing;
and yet it cannot be exhausted.

3 (R 31)[43]

君子居[44]則貴左，甬（用）兵則貴右。[45]

古（故）曰：[46]「兵者，【不祥之器也。」

[43] MWD and All R begin with some variation of the following additional lines (the 佳 lacking in MWD; FY has 美): "夫佳兵者，不祥之器，物或惡之，故有道者不處" ("Fine weapons are inauspicious implements, detested by things; thus those with the Way do not engage with them"); Zhu Qianzhi notes that (Song) Chen Xiang's 陳象 *Gu Daode zhenjing jie* 古道德真經解 lacks these lines. SE 05 (pp. 451–56) suggests that they formed part of a passage originally sandwiched in between R 30 and R 31; for more details, see also the notes to "Laozi A" 4 (R 30), strip 7. Ma Xulun has argued, moreover, that the two lines beginning with "物或惡之" were displaced from received chapter 24. As QXG 99.8 and ZJW 99.8a both note, the GDCJ text further suggests that the lines represent a later accretion of some sort. FY follows them with 是以, "Therefore." CRY 98.10 sees this "Laozi C" passage as an elaboration upon passage 4 (strips 6-8) of "Laozi A" (R 30). As there is no Wang Bi commentary for R 31, some scholars had long suspected this passage to be a later addition, or at least large portions of it to be later accretions derived from annotations (see Zhu Qianzhi), but its presence in MWD, and now the bulk of it in GDCJ, generally serves to discount this possibility.

[44] RM 01 takes this 居 in the sense of "presiding at court."

[45] As GM 98.10 notes, the "left" here traditionally symbolizes *yang* or life, whereas "right" represents *yin* or death; for additional textual references, see ZJW 99.8a. Compare also "Laozi A" 17 (R 57): "以正之邦，以奇用兵" ("Approach the state with conventional means; employ soldiers with extraordinary ones"). Zhu Qianzhi cites the *Zuo zhuan*, Lord Huan 桓公 year 8, "楚人上左" ("The people of Chu esteem the left"), as confirmation of the practice of "valuing the left" in ancient times; that, however, appears in a military context and thus, if anything, would only contradict the philosophy expressed here. (Qing) Cui Shu 崔述 (cited in GM 98.10) had earlier shown how Chu was the lone exception to this military practice of "esteeming the right"; as GM notes, it is in fact that more standard practice of other states that conforms with the wording of the passage here.

不】[47]（6）得已[48]而甬（用）之，鏂（銛）纀（功）[49]為上，弗敚（美）[50]也[51]。

[46] 古(故)曰: All R lack this "Thus it is said"; MWD has just 故, "Thus." LMC 03.6 sees the 曰 as evidence that the original text did indeed contain the opening lines "夫佳兵者，不祥之器.....," here ostensibly re-quoted in part from above; it is also possible, however, that the phrase is simply being cited here as a common saying.

[47] Space remains at the bottom of this broken strip for six to seven graphs. The last of these is certainly 不; in between the 者 and 不, All R have two lines: "不祥之器，非君子之器," whereas in MWD (A and B) the two lines are reversed (with 兵者 repeated and 也 tacked on at the end of one or both lines). As GDCMZJ points out, it is difficult to tell which of the two lines GDCJ had; some, such as PH 00.1, would supply the latter, but I suspect (along with WQP 99.8, HR 00, GY 01.2, and LMC 03.6) that it was more likely the former, which also appears in the opening line of all other versions. ZJW 99.8a suggests 不祥之器 may have originally been an annotation to 非君子之器; though again, I find the reverse a more likely possibility. The latter scenario, in fact, was earlier suggested, in part, by Liu Shipei 劉師培 (see Zhu Qianzhi); as Ma Xulun has previously noted, the citation of this line in the "Shang ren" 上仁 chapter of the *Wenzi* lacks the 非君子之器 phrase, thus supporting Liu's suggestion.

[48] The phrase 不得已 also appears in R 29; ZJW 99.8a suggests that that passage does not appear in GDCJ due to the avoidance of repetition.

[49] 鏂纀: WB has 恬澹 (some editions have 恬淡); FY has 恬憺; HSG, JLB and XE have 恬惔 (some HSG editions have 恬恢); MWD has 銛襲 (A) or 銛懽 (B). GDCMZJ renders the first graph as 銛 and reads 恬淡. QXG 98.5 disputes the rendering of the first graph's phonetic as 舌 and calls the reading into question. Nonetheless, QXG 99.8, partly following an earlier reading of 銛銳 by Lao Jian 勞建, reads the pair here as 銛功, in the sense of "sharp and sturdy," referring to 兵 as weapons; he further suggests that after 龏 was mistakenly written 襲, it could have then been phonetically confused with 淡. ZGY/YGH 99.1 render the first graph as 鏂; LL 99.8 would render likewise and reaffirms 舌 as the phonetic and the reading of 恬, noting how 舌 is written 胋 in strip 19 of "Yucong 4." LL suggests a possible connection of the second graph with *zhe* 讋, which in turn warrants a possible reading of 淡; ZJW 99.8a offers the same explanation. LZ 00.5 also renders the first graph as 鏂, seeing the 月(肉) as an added meaning signifier and 厂 (*yan* 产) as an added phonetic, thus also interpreting as 銛, read 恬; for 纀, while admitting the remote possibility of a phonetic connection with 淡, he instead reads 愉 (based on a 龍 phonetic for the graph), "pleased," "placid," "tranquil," noting how the pair of 恬愉, as a substitute for 恬淡, occurs in such texts as the *Guanzi*, *Huainanzi*, and *Chuci*. HLY 99.12 would render the element under 厂 in the right side of the first graph as 甘 over 月(肉) and interprets the right side as an abbreviation of 慶 (though he notes that the 甘 phonetic is interloanable with 恬), and reads 纀 as 降, arguing that the 淡 of All R resulted from phonetic confusion from 讋 or 襲; he thus reads 慶降, associated in a later text from the *Wenxuan* 文選 with mourning rituals (exact sense unclear). LXF 99.1 reads 括籠, in the sense of "cage up," "store away." WQP 99.8 reads 錟鈒, and the MWD graphs as 錟鏦, alternate names for the "long and short spears" that make up the sharp front battle line in textual descriptions of the Chu military. LLX (cited in CW et al. 09.9) reads 銛錟, in the sense of "sharp." HR 00 reads 恬龔, translated as "dignified and reverent." LMC 03.6 accepts the reading of 鏂 as 銛, "sharp [blades]," but sees 纀 as a variant of 襲, with the sense of "cover up," "store away"; he sees the 恬淡, 恬憺, etc. of the received texts as corruptions/loans of 銛裧, 銛幨, etc., which he understands similarly as "conceal the blades"—all expressions of an anti-warfare stance. If we accept the more traditionally inclined interpretation of LZ 00.5 and others, we would translate: "it

㪕〈美〉之[52]，是樂殺人。

夫樂【殺者，不可】[53]（7）以得志於天下。

古（故）[54]吉事上（尚）[55]左，喪[56]事上（尚）右。[57]

是以[58]攴（偏）[59]牆（將）（8）軍居左，上牆（將）軍居右，

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is best to treat them dispassionately and not glorify them"—which, despite some protests to the contrary, does make good sense. Given, however, the presence of the metal radical in all the excavated texts, it makes better sense to take the first graph as "sharp"; I thus tentatively follow QXG's interpretation here. Note that LZ himself later (03.12) adopts QXG's reading.

[50] 敚(美): GDCMZJ renders this graph as 媺; I render it more literally as 敚.

[51] 弗敚(美)也: MWD reads 勿美也; FY, JLB, and XE have 故不美(也); and WB and HSG have 勝而不美, "gain victory, yet do not glorify it." Elaborating on the interpretation of Lao Jian, QXG 99.8 argues that the implied object is "weapons," which must be sharp and sturdy, but need not be ornamented with inlayed gold, jewels, and the like, as some weapons of the time were. DYZ 98.9, on a more impressionistic basis, suggests a similar reading.

[52] 㪕(美)之: GDCMZJ sees the first graph as a corruption of 媺 (i.e., 敚), read 美. As GR 05 (pp. 243–44; 251–52) notes, 㪕 is basically equivalent in form to 敚, save for having 口 instead of 儿; he suggests this variant may orthographically indicate a causative (putative) form of the verb (though it seems to me that the 敚 of 弗敚 has exactly the same grammatical function). All other versions of the text precede these two graphs with either 若 or 而 and, in some cases, follow with 者, indicating the clause more clearly as a conditional one. FY further has the clause expanded to 若美必樂之；樂之者 ("If one glorifies it, one invariably delights in it, and delighting in it . . ."; XE parallels this but lacks the last three graphs).

[53] Space remains at the bottom of this broken strip for three or perhaps four graphs. On the basis of comparison with MWD we might supply "殺人不可," though in place of 人 we could alternately supply either the 者 or 則 found additionally in other versions, or, with DYZ 98.9, LL 99.8, WQP 99.8, and HR 00, limit to the three graphs "殺不可." PH 00.1 would instead supply "殺人不," and GY 01.2, following the Suizhou edition, would supply "之不可."

[54] WB and HSG lack this 故; MWD has 是以.

[55] 上: All R have 尙, here and in the next phrase.

[56] 喪: All R except XE have 凶 here.

[57] See the note to line one above. Gao Heng 高亨 (cited in LMC 03.6) cites also the "Wu shun" 武順 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*: "吉禮左還，順天以爲本；武禮右還，順地以利兵" ("Auspicious rites revolve to the left, following [the course of] Heaven to serve as their basis; military rites revolve to the right, following [the course of] Earth to advantage the troops").

[58] 是以: WB and HSG lack this "Therefore."

[59] 攴: QXG 98.5 identifies this as the ancient form of 鞭 (see the notes to strip 1 of "Laozi A"), here read 偏.

言以喪豊（禮）居之也。[60]

古（故）[61]殺【人眾】[62]，（9）則[63]以依（哀）悲[64]位（涖）[65]之；

戰剩（勝），則以喪豊（禮）居[66]之。■（10）〔無韻〕

In repose, the noble man values the left; when employing weapons, he values the right. Thus is it said: "Weapons 【are inauspicious implements】." If their use 【cannot】 be avoided, it is best to [simply] make them sharp and sturdy, and not [ornamentally] beautify them. To beautify them is to delight in killing others.

For 【those who】 delight in 【killing others will be unable to】 have their way in the world. Thus in auspicious affairs, one esteems the left; in mournful affairs, one esteems the right. Thus the deputy commander takes the left, while the top commander takes the right—this speaks to how [these positions] are taken in accordance with the mourning rituals.

WQP 99.8 sees 偏將軍 as equivalent to 裨將軍, to which, along with 上將軍, there are references in passages from early texts narrating Chu military events.

[60] Given the 言 ("This speaks to"), Yi Shunding 易順鼎 and others had suspected this phrase especially of having crept in from an annotation. FY and Fan Yingyuan have the additional clause 居上勢則 ("If you reside in a position of superiority . . .") in between the 言 and the rest of this phrase. All R lack the final 也; XE lacks any phrase here altogether.

[61] 古(故): all other versions lack this "thus."

[62] Space remains at the bottom of this broken strip, below the partially visible 殺, for one or two graphs; on the basis of MWD (A), GDCMZJ would supply 人眾; LL 99.8 supplies just 眾. MWD (A) has 殺人眾; WB and HSG have 殺人之眾; FY has 殺人眾多, and JLB and XE write 煞人眾多.

[63] 則: all other versions except FY lack this "then" (here and in the next phrase), which here renders the conditional nature of the sentence much clearer (MWD B has the coordinative 而 in the next phrase).

[64] 依(哀)悲: MWD and All R have 悲哀, but Fan Yingyuan and some WB editions parallel GDCJ.

[65] 位: MWD has 立; All R have 泣, "weep." After MWDHMBS, GDCMZJ renders 莅, i.e., 涖, "arrive," "approach," "oversee"; CRY 98.10 similarly reads 泣 (涖); LL 99.8 also suggests this alternative. This derives from an earlier reading of Luo Yunxian 羅運賢; see Zhu Qianzhi. HR 00 reads 立, "stand before"; GY 01.2 reads 位, "take position," as is.

[66] 居: all other versions have 處.

Thus when 【many people】 are killed, [one should] approach this with sorrow; when victorious in battle, [one should] take it in accordance with the mourning rituals.

4 (R 64b)[67]

為之[68]者敗之，

執[69]之者遊（失）[70]之。[71]

聖人無為，古（故）無敗也；

無執，古（故）【無遊（失）也】[72]。（11）〔月質合韻〕

訢（慎）[73]終若詞（始），

則無敗事壴（矣）[74]。

人之敗也，亙（恆）於其䣜（且）[75]成也敗之。[76]〔之部〕[77]

[67] A version of this passage also occurs in “Laozi A” (passage 6)—the only passage that is repeated among the three Guodian manuscripts. In all non-Guodian versions of the text, the passage is preceded by several lines that find their equivalent in passage 15 of “Laozi A” (R 64a). For more on this, see the note to the head of “Laozi A” 6.

[68] This and the corresponding 之 of the next phrase occur only in the two GDCJ versions and MWD B.

[69] 執: MWD B has 執.

[70] 遊(失): “Laozi A” has 遠 (possibly a corruption of 遊); all other versions have 失. For more on 遊 as 失, see the note to this graph in strip 11 of “Laozi A”; LXF 99.1 instead reads 亡.

[71] Cf. the similar pair of lines in passage 29 of the received *Daodejing*, for which refer to the corresponding note in “Laozi A.” “Laozi A” and all other versions of the text except HSG precede the following lines with 是以, “therefore.”

[72] Space remains at the bottom of this broken strip for about three graphs; on the basis of parallelism and comparison with other versions, we may supply “無遊(失)也,” though the GDCJ A version lacks the 也.

[73] 訢: This is one of a number of variants by which the graph 慎 is written in the Guodian manuscripts; cf. the note to the graph 誓 in strip 11 of “Laozi A.” XZG 01.9 sees the element here rendered 幺 as the similar-looking 申 instead, seeing the graph as a combination of 申 and 訢 and understanding both as phonetic elements.

[74] 壴(矣): GDCMZJ renders 喜 (read 矣); QXG 98.5 would render 壴, which can be seen as an abbreviation of 喜.

是以【聖】[78]（12）人欲不欲，不貴戁（難）得之貨[79]；

學不學[80]，復[81]眾[82]之所逃（過）[83]。

是以[84]能楠（輔）[85]壖（萬）勿（物）（13）之自肰（然），而弗敢[86]為。

〔歌部〕■[87]　（14）

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[75] 戲: PH 00.1 reads 擄, as a southern dialect word for 取, "take," "retrieve."

[76] In MWD and All R, the equivalents of these two phrases (beginning with 人之) come before rather than after the previous two phrases (beginning with 慎終), but with "民之從事" ("When the people engage in tasks") in place of 人之敗事. All R have 常 for 恆 and 幾成 for 且成, whereas MWD has just 成 or 成事 for the latter; the MWD texts also follow the two phrases with 故 or 故曰. "Laozi A" has the single phrase 臨事之紀, "The essentials of overseeing a task," in place of the two phrases—it, too, coming prior to the other two phrases. Note that "Laozi A" yields three rhythmically even *zhi* 之-group rhymes, whereas given the length of this last line, the final rhyme here (occurring on a particle) may be more fortuitous (note also that a parsing marker follows the 之 here). IT 99.8 sees MWD and the received versions as deriving from a revision of the lines found in GDCJ C; ZJW 99.8a suggests that they represent a kind of compromise of GDCJ A and C; and LMC 03.6 follows IT, further noting how GDCJ C may have derived from an attempt to clarify the wording found in GDCJ A (but mistakenly writing 人之敗 for 人之從事).

[77] For more on the rhyme here, see the previous note.

[78] This last 聖 graph is broken off from the bottom of this strip. The 是以 does not occur in "Laozi A," though it is found in all other versions of the text. ZJW 99.8a would argue that it has been misplaced from the 是以 that is absent in this manuscript before 聖人 in strip 11 above.

[79] The valuation of "hard-to-obtain goods" as the source of unnatural desires appears also in received passages 3 and 12.

[80] 學不學: this is written 孥不孥 in "Laozi A" (which GDCMZJ and others see as 教不教), and 學不學 in all other versions. LMC 03.6 believes the 學 of this and all other versions to be in error for 教, "teach"; most others who read 教 in "Laozi A" still read 學 here.

[81] 復: Suizhou and one of the Dunhuang editions have 備; "Yu Lao" has 復歸. LXF 99.1 takes 復 in the sense of to "rectify" an error; WQP 99.8 as "return to"; ZJW 99.8a as "follow in accord with." LZ 03.12 takes it to mean "be forgiving of." HR 00 translates as "backs away from"; I similarly translate here as "turn back from." LMC 03.6, following Ma Xulun, takes in the sense of "follow" a path, "carry out."

[82] 眾: all non-Guodian versions of the text have 眾人.

[83] 逃: MWD and All R have 過; "Laozi A" has 怚. ZJW 99.8a would instead read 化, equating it with the people's "self-transformation" in "Laozi A" 17 (R 57). LMC 03.6, following Ma Xulun, takes 所過 in the sense of "the path already crossed" by the masses.

[84] 是以: MWD and All R lack this "Therefore"; "Laozi A" has 是故聖人, "Thus the sage."

He who acts with purpose upon it will ruin it;
he who clings to it will lose it.
The sage acts to no purpose, so brings no ruin;
clings to nothing, so 【has no loss】.

If one treats the end as cautiously as the beginning,
one will bring ruin to no task.
When people ruin something, they constantly do so while on the verge of accomplishing it.

Thus the 【sage】 desires not to desire, placing no value on hard-to-obtain goods;
learns not to learn (/emulate), turning back from the excesses of the masses.
Thus he can assist (/join) in the spontaneity of the myriad things, but dares not act upon them.

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[85] 楠: "Laozi A" has 尃; MWD and All R have 輔; "Yu Lao" has 恃, "rely on." GDCMZJ reads 輔. DYZ 98.9 reads the "Laozi A" graph as 敷, "apply," "unfurl." ZJW 99.8a reads both graphs as 傅, in the sense of "accord with." LMC 03.6 reads 尃 as is, in the sense of "take one's roots in," "base oneself upon," and sees 輔 and 恃 respectively as phonetic or lexical loans. CRY 98.10 and AS (in AS/WC 00, p. 168; and AS 03, p. 256) both see a link between this 楠, read 輔, and the 楠 of the opening lines of "Taiyi sheng shui."

[86] 弗敢: "Laozi A" has 弗能, "unable to"; All R have 不敢. ZJW 99.8a suggests that 敢 is a phonetic or perhaps graphic corruption of 能. HR 00 translates 弗能爲 as "dare not do it," the "it" seemingly referring back to the "assist/help" from earlier in the line; I instead understand 輔 and 爲 as two different types of conduct altogether.

[87] This mark is followed by blank space for the remainder of the strip.

| 2 |

"TAIYI SHENG SHUI"

"The Great Unity Gives Birth to Water"

(a.k.a. "Laozi C," Part Two)

〈太一生水〉

As a text that offers a specific type of cosmogony hitherto unseen among early Chinese texts—indeed, among the earliest detailed cosmogonies of any type—the "Taiyi sheng shui" has drawn particularly wide attention from scholars. Written on strips of the same dimensions as "Laozi C" and apparently by the same hand, it was in all likelihood bound together with it, and perhaps even constituted part of the same text. Nonetheless, its formally different nature from the other "Laozi" passages warrants, initially anyway, a separate discussion, though we shall return to the issue of possible connections between the two shortly.

The text as it stands can be divided into two parts. The first, strips 1-8, consists of a cosmogenetic description of the world: from its initial formation out of the ultimate "Great Unity" (Taiyi 太一)[1] to its continual regeneration through the procession of the four seasons. After first giving birth to water, Taiyi goes on, with water's assistance, to give birth to Heaven and then, in turn with it, to Earth, which thereby establishes the foundation for dyadic pairs that go on to couple together to produce further ones: the "spiritual and luminous," *yin* and *yang*, heat and cold, wet and dry, etc., until the temporal year is formed within a spatial context that provides the framework for the alternation and interaction of complementary forces. Thus set in motion, the process repeats itself cyclically and perpetually, providing a model for the sage to follow. The second part, strips 9-14, goes on to briefly describe the attributes of the Dao, or "Way of Heaven," that would seem to be at work

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[1] The graph for *tai* is actually written 大 in the text, but the dual senses of 大 and 太 both originated in that single graph. As 大一 is usually written 太一 in received texts, I write and transliterate in accordance with the conventional reading of the compound. Note that Taiyi is also sometimes written in received texts as 太乙, 泰壹, and other such combinations thereof.

behind this process: it appears to value the young and weak, and, despite being ineffable and unnamable, provides the paradigm for longevity and success. The text ends with an enigmatic description of the tilted axis between Heaven and Earth (reminiscent of a story found in the *Huainanzi*) and a comment on the relativism of surplus and deficiency. Whether the two parts just described really belong together (or even with strip 9 in particular) is, it should be noted, a matter of some controversy, and one which we shall return to below.

TAIYI AND THE ROLE OF WATER

What is Taiyi? Pang Pu, for one, would describe it simply as a term for the "ultimate beginning," bearing no further significance beyond that.[2] But in fact, Taiyi is a term rich in religious, philosophical, and celestial associations, and one perhaps imbued with particular importance in the Chu region. As a deity, Taiyi appears in the elegy "Donghuang taiyi" 東皇太一, among the "Nine Songs" ("Jiu ge" 九歌) of the *Chuci*.[3] Along with Tianyi 天一 and Diyi 地一, Taiyi is counted as one of the "three unities" (*san yi* 三一) depicted in a number of ancient texts and diagrams, as well as the central deity unifying all three. As Li Ling points out, the texts and diagrams in question spell out a system of correspondences with the sun, the moon, and the four seasons that is in many ways comparable to the type of mapping of the world suggested by the "Taiyi sheng shui" text.[4] The deities in such texts and diagrams are, furthermore, closely related to or identifiable with celestial bodies. Taiyi itself serves as referent for the pole star, which here can be identified as Ursa Minor β, the star in closest proximity to the pole at the time.[5] It thus formed the key component in conceptualizing the

[2] Pang Pu, "Yizhong youji de yuzhou shengcheng tushi: jieshao Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 302. Pang later goes on to present a somewhat more balanced account in his "'Taiyi sheng shui' shuo," pp. 190–91.

[3] Carine Defoort (Dai Kalin) notes how worship of Taiyi is seen already reflected in Baoshan divination texts, where Taiyi is the main spirit; see her "'Taiyi sheng shui' chutan," p. 349.

[4] Li Ling, "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 321–23. Among the diagrams in question are those of the "Bingbi taisui" halberd "兵避太歲 and the Mawangdui "Bibing tu" 避兵圖; for the "three unities" in early texts more generally, see also Li Ling, "'San yi' kao." Given the military contexts of these diagrams, Carine Defoort notes how Taiyi appears to serve as a spirit of heroism, a kind of symbol for a general charismatically commanding the following of his soldiers; see her "'Taiyi sheng shui' chutan," pp. 350–51. Li Ling, in "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 330, also draws comparisons of such diagrams with the cosmology of the Zitanku Chu Silk Manuscript 子彈庫楚帛書, noting, however, how that text lacks any concept of *taiyi*.

[5] See Li Xueqin, "Taiyi sheng shui de shushu jieshi"; Li Ling, "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 323; and Sarah Allan, "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 274. Allan notes how the precession of the equinoxes has caused the precise star identified as the pole star to change over time; she cites an early study by

movement of the celestial sphere and capturing this movement in numerological and diagrammatic models. Where our text speaks of Taiyi being "stored in water and mobilized in the four seasons" 藏於水行於時, Li Xueqin takes this to be indicative of an early form of the model later known as "Taiyi *xing jiugong*" 太乙行九宮, the "storing" referring to the Taiyi star's initial position in the northern quadrant, and the "mobilization" to the movement of the handle of the Big Dipper.[6] Expanding on this theory, scholars such as Yao Zhihua and Sarah Allan have further described how the text might reflect a manner of visualizing the cosmos influenced by the widespread use of the "cosmograph" (*shi* 式) for divination, in which a round heaven mounted on a square earth rotates temporally around a central point represented as the pole star, often with the handle of the Dipper serving as the pointer.[7] Taiyi thus provided a conceptual model for the "center as a focal point that did not move, but controlled all else"—and thus in many ways an ideal model for the ruler.[8] It is, of course, a

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Qian Baocong 錢寶琮 as the first to reconstruct the star as Ursa Minor (Kochab) during the Warring States period. A good description of Taiyi as an astronomical marker, drawing on Qian's work, may be found in Qiang Yu, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu gudai de Taiyi guan," pp. 355–57. At some point later in time, Taiyi would also come to be linked with Taisui 太歲, or Jupiter's imaginary "shadow" planet. According to Hirase Takao, "Taiyi sheng shui" presents a view of the cosmic process of creation that would have been natural prior to the development of the notion of Taisui, which itself would not have emerged until after 270 BC; for details, see his "The Ch'u Bamboo-Slip *T'ai-i sheng shui* from Kuo-tien Considered in Light of the Emerging Debate about T'ai-sui," pp. 17–24.

[6] Li Xueqin, "Taiyi sheng shui de shushu jieshi."

[7] Yao Zhihua sees "Taiyi sheng shui" as describing a cosmology based on the structure and movement of the "Taiyi *jiu gong*" type of cosmograph (like that discovered in the Western-Han tomb of the Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰侯 at Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Anhui province), with the cosmology serving to lay a foundation for the existence of a divinatory practice in which the four climactic seasons of Heaven's movement are matched against the "nine halls" (*jiu gong*) that map out the earth. Yao relates this practice closely to the type of "Jiugong bafeng" 九宮八風 divinatory methods delineated in such texts as the *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經—with which the text also shares a couple of closely similar phrases (see the notes to strip 1)—wherein Taiyi travels along the eight compass points in accordance with eight climatic seasons (*jieqi* 節氣) of forty-five to forty-six days each, finally returning to its northern origin at the ninth position. See his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu Taiyi jiugong zhan." In line with this theory, Yao sees the "above" and "below" of strip 10 as obliquely referring to the upper and lower plates of the cosmograph, the "crossing of domains" between Heaven and Earth in strip 12 as indicative of how the "nine halls" of Earth are inscribed on the upper plate while the eight climactic seasons of Heaven are inscribed on the lower (pp. 52–54), the "cold," "heat," "wet," and "dry" of strips 3 and 4 as respectively corresponding to the north, south, east, and west quadrants of the cosmograph (pp. 58–59), and so on. For Allan's work, which in some ways further builds upon Yao's, see the next note.

[8] Allan, "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 246. Allan also suggests this may be reflected in chapters of the received *Daode jing* where the sage is described as acting as the "*shi* for the world," both hidden and yet bright (especially chapters 22 and 28), or in the notion of "holding to the center" in Guodian "Laozi A" 14 (R 16a). The connection between the "One," the "Way," and this conception of a revolving Dipper is also to be found in the *Heguanzi*; see pp. 246–53 of her article. Both Allan and others draw on the earlier work of Ge Zhaoguang

cosmological model that derives directly from close observation of the nighttime sky. Taiyi's status as a deity is thus inseparable from its unique status in the celestial world, where the seven stars of the Dipper served to mark the procession of the four seasons and constituted an indispensable calendrical and divinatory guide for the agricultural tasks of the human world below.[9]

It is from such a background that Taiyi likely emerged as a philosophical concept standing for the ultimate origin of all being. In the "Da Yue" 大樂 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the term Taiyi appears as a name "forced upon" the *Dao*, whereas the corresponding term in a parallel line from "Laozi A" 12 (R 25), strips 21-22, is simply *da* 大 (=*tai* 太). Given the importance of both *da* 大 and *yi* 一 in the *Laozi*, a number of scholars have identified the term Taiyi as a kind of compound fusion of these partially synonymous terms, both of which stand as descriptive names for the Dao.[10] The compound itself appears in a number of philosophical texts, including demonstrably Confucian ones, dating from the late Warring States onward, as a term standing for the ultimate basis for all things, including human ritual (*li* 禮).[11] Taiyi thus becomes a term that is both synonymous with the ineffable

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葛兆光, who has previously analyzed *taiyi* as encompassing the coordinated meanings of "pole star," spirit of the pole star," *taiji*, and *dao*. As Allan notes, moreover, the spirit of the pole star as model for the ruler would seem to be reflected in Warring States and Han dynasty worship of Taiyi; on these points, see pp. 271–72.

[9] See the conclusions of Qian Baocong and Feng Shi as recounted in Qiang Yu, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu gudai de Taiyi guan," pp. 356–57. The movement of the Dipper also served to mark the hours of the nighttime sky. There are quite a number of now-lost military, calendrical, divinatory, and other technical works listed under the name of Taiyi in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 bibliographic treatise of the *Han shu*; for further details, see Peng Hao, "Yizhong xin de yuzhou shengcheng lilun: du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 540.

[10] Li Ling, "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 323, 328; Wei Qipeng, "'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," pp. 90–91; Chen Wei, "'Taiyi sheng shui' kaoshi," p. 67. Wei (pp. 91–92) also sees 大一 as an oppositional correlate to the notion of 小一, the two together describing the Dao in both its all-encompassing and all-pervading aspects. Li Xueqin and Xing Wen both suggest that "Taiyi" had come to replace the concept of "yi" from the *Laozi*; see Li Xueqin, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian suo jian Guan Yin yishuo," and Xing Wen, "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi: Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui' jiqi yiyi," p. 180. Wang Bo similarly argues that 太一 is essentially an elevated way of referring to the notion of 一, the Laoist conception of unity that incorporates, subsumes, and guides all differentiation; see his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," pp. 213–15.

[11] In addition to "Da Yue," these include the "Li lun" 禮論 chapter of the *Xunzi* (with parallels in the "Li san ben" 禮三本 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*), the "Li yun" 禮運 chapter of the *Li ji*, and the "Tianxia" 天下 and "Lie Yukou" 列御寇 chapters of the *Zhuangzi*. In both "Da Yue" and "Li yun," the term appears at the head of a cosmogonic description quite similar to that of "Taiyi sheng shui" (see below). For fuller quotations of these passages all in one place, see Wei Qipeng, "'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," pp. 89–90; for a detailed listing of early passages in which the term appears, see also Defoort, "'Taiyi sheng shui' chutan," pp. 346–47.

Dao and yet replete with much more concrete associations in its capacity as the most powerful of celestial deities.[12]

The other remarkable aspect of the "Taiyi sheng shui" is the unique place it assigns to water (*shui* 水) in the cosmogonic process. Taiyi not only "gives birth" (*sheng* 生) to water, but it is also "stored in" (*cang* 藏) water. Water would almost appear to become the material incarnation of Taiyi itself, for once water returns to "join" (*fu* 輔/*bo* 薄) with Taiyi to produce Heaven, it then disappears from the cosmogonic description altogether, taking no further explicit part in the reproductive processes and conspicuously absent from the line that concludes the recounting of that process: "Heaven and Earth are born of the Great Unity."[13] And yet water stands prior to both Heaven and Earth, not to mention the entire series of dyadic pairs that follows. Why is such a central role given to water, and how does it come to have such a close relationship with Taiyi? Keeping the celestial associations closely in mind, Allan argues that the *shui* here may be "understood as a river, namely, the Milky Way (*yinhe* 銀河), in which the Pole Star may be hidden," "the Celestial River that flowed across the sky, circled around (as the Yellow Springs), and returned to 'assist' or 'enhance' the sky."[14] Wei Qipeng, on the other hand, cites numerous examples of how words descriptive of water in its capacities of both bountiful stillness and turbid motion are used to describe the Dao in such

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[12] All these aspects are hardly separable. Donald Harper, for one, argues that the text is best read as a religious cosmogony, Taiyi being the "name of a numinous entity whose identity is related to" the deity Taiyi, bearing witness to "the little known cross-fertilization between Warring States religious and intellectual traditions"; see his "The Nature of Taiyi in the Guodian Manuscript *Taiyi sheng shui*: Abstract Cosmic Principle or Supreme Cosmic Deity?" p. 1.

[13] Cf. Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 314–15; Chen Guying, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu 'Xing zi ming chu' fawei," p. 399; Pang Pu, "Yizhong youji de yuzhou shengcheng tushi," pp. 302–3; and Harper, "Nature of Taiyi," pp. 8–9. Harper makes note of a similar role for water in the "Yuan Dao" 原道 chapter of the *Huainanzi*, where water "lacks the fully immaterial properties of light . . . but also does not decay like things that exist wholly in the state of possessing form." He further suggests (p. 10) that the graph for water in the Chu script may itself have been perceived as a "cosmogonic emblem" of a Grand "One" surrounded by flowing water. Wang Bo argues that it is the properties of obscurity attributed to water that make it a natural "bridge" between the formless, nameless source of existence and the nominal world of the myriad things; see his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," pp. 216–17.

[14] Allan, "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," pp. 246, 279. She also relates this to the lines later in the text about the sky being deficient in the northwest, etc., and goes on (pp. 281–83) to identify the Dao of the "Laozi" texts *as this river*, the "celestial river that flows unceasingly from the womb of the Great One." Regarding the womb imagery, see also Hirase Takao, "The Ch'u Bamboo-Slip *T'ai-i sheng shui,*" p. 18, wherein he suggests that the image of Taiyi being "concealed by water" is "endowed with the aspects of both the mother producing amniotic fluid and the embryo protected by it." Note that such associations are already present in Northern-Song scholar Liu Wenshu's 劉溫舒 commentary to the closely relevant passage from the *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經 that will be cited later on; see Li Ermin, "Du 'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," p. 131.

texts as the *Laozi*, *Wenzi*, and *Huainanzi*, and argues that these are not mere metaphors, but rather are more concretely descriptive of the Dao or Taiyi in its transition from storehouse of life's potential to the production of all the world's being. Wei further relates this to the *huntian* 渾天 doctrine found in such later apocrypha as the *Chunqiu Yuanmingbao* 春秋元命苞, but with origins no later than the early Warring States, wherein the world is conceived like an egg, with Heaven as the shell and Earth as the yolk, the year revolving on the basis of the water and *qi* that circulate in between.[15] There are also the inevitable comparisons with the role of water in the *Laozi*, where water, like the Dao, nurtures the myriad things from a position of non-contention, overcoming all through softness and weakness.[16] These associations are certainly all worth bearing in mind, yet we should not neglect the more obvious ones as well: water as the water of the oceans, rivers, and lakes of the Earth that team with life and from which we drink, and as the rain and the dew that descend from Heaven to cleanse and nurture us and the soil from which we feed. That water should be the fountainhead of all existence, and even the very essence of Heaven and Earth, the unique medium of their interaction, should not surprise us. And once water helps to produce the world, it remains immanent in all its co-creations, and its subsequent absence from the explicit descriptions later in the text might best be attributed to its implicit omnipresence throughout the endless procession of the natural cycles it has generated.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER EARLY COSMOGONIES

In an early article on the text, Li Xueqin stated flatly that the cosmogonic section was "clearly an elaboration upon" chapter forty-two of the received *Laozi*, that is:

> 道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。萬物負陰而抱陽，沖氣以為和。[17]

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[15] Wei Qipeng, "'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," pp. 96–100. On the use of words descriptive of water in the *Laozi* and other early cosmogonic texts, see also Zhao Jianwei, "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Taiyi sheng shui' shuzheng," p. 381; and Isabelle Robinet (He Bilai), "Lun 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 339. Martin Powers offers a cogent discussion of the "Yuan Dao" 原道 chapter of the *Huainanzi* as it relates to the conception of *Dao* as the flow of water in the cycle of existence, though he does not take "Taiyi sheng shui" into account; see his *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China*, pp. 254–65.

[16] See, for example, Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 308; and Wang Bo, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," p. 217.

[17] (Wei) Wang Bi, *Daode zhenjing zhu*, *juan* 3, pp. 7a–8b.

> The Dao gave birth to the one (/unity); the one (/unity) gave birth to the two (/duality); the two (/duality) gave birth to the three (/multiplicity), and the three (/multiplicity) gave birth to the myriad things. The myriad things carry *yin* and embrace *yang*, achieving harmony through the confluence of their energies.

Li’s theory of “Taiyi sheng shui” as an “elaboration” on this stems in part from the fact that the term Taiyi itself appears nowhere in any version of the *Laozi* and, in fact, may be found only in texts dating from the final years of the Warring States onward. Given that the phrases “主之以太一” (“took Taiyi as the essence”) and “其動若水” (“in movement, like water”) are used in reference to the philosophy of Guanyin 關尹 as described in the “Tianxia” 天下 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, Li goes on to speculate that the “Taiyi sheng shui” may have been the product of the followers of Guanyin Zi, serving as a kind of commentarial tradition to the *Laozi*.[18]

Li’s basic premise that *Laozi* 42 and the “Taiyi sheng shui” reflect a shared cosmogony, however, has since frequently been called into question, and many have instead chosen to emphasize the uniqueness of the latter’s cosmogonic vision. Both Pang Pu and Xu Kangsheng, for instance, point to such distinctive attributes as the need for the role of “assistance” (*fu* 輔) and the joining of complementary opposites to move the cosmogonic process forward, as well as, as noted above, the elevated role of “water” as the corporal body through which Taiyi (/Dao) is able to continue participating in this reproductive process.[19]

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[18] Li Xueqin, “Jingmen Guodian Chujian suo jian Guanyin yishuo.” Similar views are expressed in Wang Zhongjiang, “Guodian zhujian ‘Laozi’ lüeshuo,” pp. 106–7; and Chen Guying, “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ yu ‘Xing zi ming chu’ fawei,” pp. 398–99. Zhao Jianwei, in “Guodian Chumu zhujian ‘Taiyi sheng shui’ shuzheng” pp. 381–82 and 384, would also equate the “one” of the *Laozi* with the “water” of the “Taiyi sheng shui,” the “two” with its dualities, the “three” and “harmony” with its mutual “joining” or “assisting,” and the “myriad things” with its “harvest year.” Donald Harper, while not making this argument, does note how the *Laozi* 42 quotation is also found shortly following a cosmogonic description from the “Jingshen” 精神 chapter of the *Huainanzi* that is similar in tone to that of “Taiyi sheng shui”; see his “Nature of Taiyi,” p. 6.

[19] Pang Pu, “Yizhong youji de yuzhou shengcheng tushi,” pp. 303–4; Xu Kangsheng, “Chu du ‘Taiyi sheng shui,’” pp. 314–15. Note that Xu still takes the text as a kind of development from the *Laozi*’s more vague cosmogony; and as noted earlier, a number of scholars see this role of water as carrier of Taiyi as a natural development from the role of water in the *Laozi*. Pang Pu suggests that the cosmogony here likely developed from one wherein water constituted the ultimate source, and that the term *taiyi* may have been grafted onto it later. Sarah Allan has also expressed objections to Li’s theory on the basis that the two passages in question seem to constitute two different numerical systems; see her remarks in the “Account of Discussion,” in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 169. And Carine Defoort argues that “Taiyi sheng shui” is the later of the texts based on the fact that Taiyi and the whole cosmogonic description have no appearance or parallels in the *Laozi*; see her “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ chutan,” p. 345.

Other scholars point out how *Laozi* 42 is conspicuously absent from the Guodian "Laozi" texts, and would argue that it is in fact the "Taiyi sheng shui" cosmogony that logically predates the former.[20] Others, focusing more on the issue of intellectual depth, argue that even though the two cosmogonies may bear similarities, that of the *Laozi* represents a more mature form of philosophical development.[21] Still others have argued that the text's emphasis on water signifies it as a branch of philosophical development separate from the *qi* 氣-based cosmogonies found in a number of later works, such as the "Tianwen" 天文 chapter of the *Huainanzi* or the "Tianrui" 天瑞 chapter of the *Liezi*.[22] Of course, there is a close organic connection between water and *qi*, and thus whether the cosmogonies can be so clearly separated by their emphasis on one term or the other is questionable.[23] It is also worth reiterating that, if we see the text as an integrated whole, the cosmogonic section is only the

[20] See Li Cunshan, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 192–93. Li Cunshan would also argue that the term Taiyi is by definition incompatible with the notion that the "Dao gave birth to the one." Li Ling also makes note of how the *Laozi* passages bearing the closest similarities to "Taiyi sheng shui" are not found among the Guodian texts; see his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 40–41. Li Xueqin, in his "Lun Guodian jian *Laozi* fei *Laozi* benmao" pp. 2–4, would also note the absence of passage 42 from the Guodian materials, but sees this on the contrary as evidence for their constituting only a selection from a larger work. Chen Wei likewise suggests that "Taiyi sheng shui" similarities with chapters 42 and 77 of the received *Daodejing* provide indirect evidence of those chapters' existence at the time, similarly claiming that the "Taiyi sheng shui" constitutes a kind of commentary upon them; see his "'Taiyi sheng shui' kaoshi," pp. 65–66.

[21] Ye Haiyan suggests that in some ways the processes of "mutual assistance" and the cyclical formation of the year described in "Taiyi sheng shui" exemplify the same principle of "reversion" (*fan* 反) that *Laozi* 40 defines as the "movement of the *Dao*," but that the text otherwise represents a still immature mode of cosmogony insofar as it remains attached to naturalistic imagery and does not yet consistently subsume the processes under a universally transcendent *Dao* in the manner that we see in both the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. See his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu Zhuang Zi de yuzhou guan," esp. pp. 204–5. Pang Pu makes much the same point of comparison between this text and the *Laozi* in his "'Taiyi sheng shui' shuo," pp. 191–92; and Li Ermin turns this argument more explicitly into one of chronology in his "Du 'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," p. 133.

[22] Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 314. Li Cunshan also argues that both "Taiyi sheng shui" and the "Shui di" chapter of the *Guanzi* are, for the same reasons, largely incompatible with the *wuxing* 五行 cosmology that would develop later (though they may have been weakly influenced by *Yi jing yin-yang* cosmology); see his "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 194–96, 199.

[23] On this point, see also Zhao Jianwei, "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Taiyi sheng shui' shuzheng," p. 381; and Chen Guying, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu 'Xing zi ming chu' fawei," pp. 400–2. Given the description later in the text of Heaven as being made up of *qi* and Earth of soil, Zhao would himself (pp. 385, 388) describe the ontology here as one of "three primal elements" (*san yuan* 三元). See also Qiang Yu, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu gudai de Taiyi guan," pp. 373–74.

half of it, the second half concentrating more generally on the "Way of Heaven" and the implications that this holds for the human world.[24]

Many have also pointed to the "Shui di" 水地 chapter of the *Guanzi* as a text sharing a vision of water as the fundamental stuff of all things, and thus a probable source of influence on the "Taiyi sheng shui," despite the fact that the former does not present any sort of cosmogony.[25] A brief description of "Shui di" may be in order. It begins by relating water to the Earth, the latter the "source of the myriad things and base of all life" (萬物之本原，諸生之根菀), with water the "blood and breath" (*xieqi* 血氣) of the Earth, "like the pulse flowing throughout" its body (如筋脈之通流者也).[26] It goes on to extol the virtues of water as cleansing, essential, impartial, and unassuming, the base standard for all things, the "spiritual" (*shen* 神) entity that pervades all things, the source of all life and all growth. It then proceeds to describe in interesting detail how water forms both the essence of jade and all its fine qualities and, as the combined seminal essence of male and female, produces, through a scheme of five-phase correspondences, the human being in all its bodily parts and higher functions; on a different level, it is also responsible for the unpredictable and spiritual transformations of the divining tortoise, the dragon, and other more fabulous creatures. In short, there is nothing for which the quality of water does not determine its attributes, and, as the text goes on to describe, this is also true of human character, which for each geographical region is portrayed as dependent upon the local qualities of the waters that sustain it. The text closes by claiming that control over water holds the key to sagely rulership of the world. Thus insofar as "Shui di" speaks of water as a first principle of all things—the only other pre-Qin text to do so explicitly—it indeed holds something important in common with "Taiyi sheng shui"; and with its detailed descriptions of water's mysterious workings, it also gives

[24] Wang Bo places particular emphasis on this point, and in doing so would remind us that unlike many of the others, the "Taiyi sheng shui" cosmogony ends not with the creation of the myriad things, but with the completion of the cyclical year. See his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," pp. 309–13.

[25] The connection has been made by many scholars, Mark Kalinowski among the first; see "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 170. Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, sees the relationship as evidence that the text (as part of "Laozi C") incorporated materials from other schools of thought. See also Li Cunshan, "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 194–96; Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 309–10; Qiang Yu, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu gudai de Taiyi guan," pp. 365–66; and Chen Guying, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu 'Xing zi ming chu' fawei," pp. 400–1. According to Xu and others, in part following the work of Huang Zhao, the "Shui di" chapter likely dates from the early years of the fourth century BC. Harper, in "Nature of Taiyi," p. 18 n. 18, on the other hand, concurs with A. C. Graham's conclusion that the text likely somewhat predated 250 BC.

[26] Li Xiangfeng, *Guanzi jiaozhu*, p. 813.

us clues as to why the latter, too, may have given water such cosmogonic priority.[27] The similarities, however, end there, and there is little else in the two texts that would indicate that any influence (in either direction) between the two, if present at all, ran very deep.[28]

Much more in the way of common terminology and conceptions may be found in a number of other pre-Qin and early Han cosmogonic passages. Some scholars would equate Taiyi with the term *taiji* 太極, "great ultimate," found as the source of dyadic pairs in a famous passage from the "Xici zhuan" 繫辭傳 commentary to the *Yi jing*:[29]

> 易有太極，是生兩儀，兩儀生四象，四象生八卦，八卦定吉凶，吉凶生大業。是故，法象莫大乎天地，變通莫大乎四時，縣象著明莫大乎日月......備物致用......莫大乎聖人。[30]
>
> Of Changes, there is the great ultimate, and this gives birth to the two models; the two models give birth to the four signs; the four signs give birth to the eight

[27] Another text of possible relevance here is the early medical text *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經, which appears to have contained a line with particularly close associations to "Taiyi sheng shui": "The 'Great Unity' is the honorific appellation of water; preceding, it is the mother of [Heaven and] Earth; following, it is the fountainhead of the myriad things" 太一者，水尊號。先〔天〕地之母，後萬物之源. The line is not found in received editions of this work, but is attributed to the text in Northern-Song scholar Liu Wenshu's 劉溫舒 *Suwen yunqi lun'ao* 素問運氣論奧. For further details, see Yao Zhihua, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," pp. 47–50; Li Ermin, "Du 'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji"; and Li Ling, "Zai du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 220–21 and 223.

[28] Cf. Allan, "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 245, who notes how there is no "specific textual relationship" in the way of shared language. Harper, in "Nature of Taiyi," p. 8, would relate the two texts by noting how in both "the conception of water is independent of ideas about five basic materials in nature." Note that while water never appears as just one of five elements in "Shui di," it is, however, described as flowing into the formation of the various parts of the human body through a system of five-phase correspondences.

[29] See, for example, Li Ling, "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 317, 323. The explicit equation of *taiji* with Taiyi and even *taichu* 太初 in early texts goes back at least as far as Kong Yingda 孔穎達 of the Tang dynasty. Their commonalities notwithstanding, Yao Zhihua argues that the "Xici zhuan" and "Taiyi sheng shui" cosmologies derive from two fundamentally different types of divination methods: the former from an "eight trigrams" (*ba gua* 八卦) system, and the latter from a "nine halls" (*jiu gong* 九宮) system; see his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu Taiyi jiugong zhan," p. 50. The "Xici zhuan" aside, scholars have compared the cosmology of "Taiyi sheng shui" to that of the *Yi jing* on a number of levels. Zheng Jixiong, for example, has argued that the emphasis of "Taiyi sheng shui" on the cosmic circulation of water between Heaven and Earth was intended as a kind of corrective to what he (debatably) sees as the *yang* 陽-centered cosmology of the *Yi jing*, one based more primarily on the cyclical movements of the sun (and he views the "Tuan" 彖 commentary as a kind of compromise between the two); see his "Cong 'Taiyi sheng shui' shilun *qian* 'Tuan' suo ji liangzhong yuzhoulun."

[30] (Qing) Li Daoping, *Zhouyi jijie zuanshu*, pp. 600–4.

> trigrams; the eight trigrams determine good and ill omens; and good and ill omens give birth to great enterprises. Thus there are no greater models and signs than those of Heaven and Earth; no greater adapting through changes than that of the four seasons; no clearer display of signs and illumination than that of the sun and the moon . . . no greater . . . provider of things and their employment than the sage.

Whether this constitutes a cosmogony per se is questionable, but a quick comparison of related passages instantly reveals the similarities:

> （音）〔夫〕樂......本於太一。太一出兩儀，兩儀出陰陽。陰陽變化......是謂天常。天地車輪，終則復始......日月星辰，或疾或徐......四時代興，或暑或寒......萬物所出，造於太一，化於陰陽。[31]
>
> For music . . . originates in the Great Unity. The Great Unity brings forth the two models; the two models bring forth *yin* and *yang*; *yin* and *yang* change and transform . . . this is called "Heaven's constancy." Heaven and Earth revolve like the wheels of a cart, starting over again upon completion . . . The sun, the moon, the planets and stars: some move fast, and some move slow . . . The four seasons arise in succession: some are hot, and some are cold . . . The myriad things come forth hence: they are created through the Great Unity, and are transformed through *yin* and *yang*. (*Lüshi chunqiu*, "Da Yue" 大樂)

> 夫禮，必本於大一，分而為天地，轉而為陰陽，變而為四時，列而為鬼神。其降曰命，其官於天也。[32]
>
> For ritual must originate in the Great Unity, [which] divides to form Heaven and Earth, revolves to form *yin* and *yang*, transforms to form the four seasons, and arrays itself into the ghosts and spirits. Its descent is called the "mandate," as it takes its appointment from Heaven. (*Li ji*, "Li yun" 禮運)

As is the case with "Taiyi sheng shui," all of these passages point to divisions from an ultimate unity into Heaven and Earth, *yin* and *yang*, and the four seasons; to a regular process

[31] Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, pp. 258–59.

[32] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 616.

marked by revolutions, alternations, and cyclical changes; and to a human modeling of this process to achieve success, longevity, or order, whether that be through the institutions of ritual and music or the divination of cosmic signs. Similar cosmogonies may also be found in the “Guan” 觀 section of the “Shi da jing” 十大經 text of the so-called “*Huangdi sijing* 黃帝四經 manuscripts” of Mawangdui, the “Taihong” 泰鴻 and “Tailu” 泰錄 chapters of the *Heguanzi*, the “Jiu shou” 九守 chapter of the *Wenzi*, the “Tianwen” and other chapters of the *Huainanzi*, and elsewhere.[33] There is little question that there is a close, organic connection between the cosmogony of such passages and that of “Taiyi sheng shui,” though we may also choose, as some have, to focus on what makes them different: the main things being, as noted above, the emphasis in the latter on cosmic “joining,” as opposed to simple “division,” as well as the central role given to water.[34] Beyond this, the presence of *shenming* 神明 as a key link in the chain of generation has also been singled out as something that makes the “Taiyi sheng shui” cosmogony stand out as unique.[35] As Wei Qipeng points out, both here and in

[33] See Zhao Jianwei, “Guodian Chumu zhujian ‘Taiyi sheng shui’ shuzheng,” p. 384; Li Ling, “Du Guodian Chujian ‘Taiyi sheng shui,’” pp. 330–31; Chen Guying, “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ yu ‘Xing zi ming chu’ fawei,” p. 397.

[34] Donald Harper is among those who would most emphatically point to the differences, arguing that the “Taiyi sheng shui” offers something in the way of a competing cosmogony and “bears witness to the diversity of cosmological speculation” of the time; see his “Nature of Taiyi,” pp. 2, 7. Similarly, Isabelle Robinet identifies three different models for cosmogonies found in received texts (including that of *Laozi* 42) and stresses how the “Taiyi sheng shui” conforms to none of them; see her “Lun ‘Taiyi sheng shui,’” pp. 332–37; cf. Allan and Williams, “Account of the Discussion,” *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 165–68. See also the analysis of “Lao-Zhuang” cosmogonies versus those of the *Huangdi sijing* and “Xici zhuan” as given by Chen Guying, “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ yu ‘Xing zi ming chu’ fawei,” pp. 396–97. Most recently, Michael Puett has also stressed the text’s particular emphasis on supplementation in its demonstration of how the cosmos operates by a “process of modulation and interaction” and thus should serve as a model for the human world in its attempt to overcome discontinuity; see his “Theodicies of Discontinuity: Domesticating Energies and Dispositions in Early China,” pp. 59–62.

[35] This pair of terms has generated as much discussion as any other that appears in this text. This is due primarily to the multivalence of this term pair, which can mean in early texts everything from spiritual deities, to numinous bodies (especially the sun and moon), to special insight or cognitive abilities, to the mysterious and unpredictable forces behind all change. For summaries of these various senses, see Wei Qipeng, “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ zhaji,” p. 93; Xing Wen, “Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi,” pp. 167–69; Wang Bo, “‘Taiyi sheng shui’ yanjiu,” pp. 219–23; and Ding Sixin, *Guodian Chumu zhujian sixiang yanjiu*, pp. 105–8. For a comprehensive treatment in English of the relevant passages and prior studies of this term (including earlier studies by E. J. Machle, John Knoblock, and A. C. Graham), see Sándor P. Szabó, “The Term *Shenming*: its Meaning in the Ancient Chinese Thought and in a Recently Discovered Manuscript.” Szabó himself describes *shen* and *ming* as the “*qi*-condensing” and “*qi*-extending” natures of Earth and Heaven, respectively, along the lines of Xun Shuang’s 荀爽 (128–190 AD) gloss: “隱藏謂之神，著見謂之明” (“That which stores away we call *shen*; that which makes manifest we call *ming*”). Szabó’s analysis is insightful, but it should be noted that much of it relies upon an assumed equation of *shen* with other terms that are often paired with *ming* (or its synonyms), such as *you* 幽, *hui* 晦, *an* 暗, etc. In addition to *shenming*, Pang Pu also finds the presence of

the *Heguanzi* the term describes a pair of "essential energies" (*jingqi* 精氣) born of Heaven and Earth that serve as the mysterious harmonizing forces bringing life to the myriad things.[36] In any event, the place of the "Taiyi sheng shui" amidst such competing cosmogonies and the directionality of the implicit dialogue that would appear to inform their development are issues that will certainly continue to be debated for years to come.[37]

RELATIONSHIP TO THE "LAOZI" TEXTS

But let us now reconsider the relationship between the "Taiyi sheng shui" and the "Laozi" texts, and why the text might have been copied together in the same bundle with the other passages that form "Laozi C." We have seen above how the "Taiyi sheng shui" offers a cosmogony that, however different, might bear some relation to a *Laozi* passage, R 42, not seen among the Guodian "Laozi" texts; and as we shall discuss shortly, it contains other key terms and concepts that find close parallels in passages from both the Guodian "Laozi" and the received *Daodejing*. There is thus an undeniable relationship between "Taiyi sheng shui" and the *Laozi*, but does that mean that they were conceived of as forming parts of the same text or integrated set of passages?[38] Or, as some would suggest, were the "Laozi C" units and "Taiyi sheng shui" in fact two separate texts that were copied together simply because they both shared certain terms and ideas in common with other "Laozi" passages?[39]

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heat and cold and wet and dry in the cosmogonic process to be a unique feature of this text; see his "'Taiyi sheng shui' shuo," pp. 195–96.

[36] Wei Qipeng, "'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," pp. 93–95. Cf. the "Taicu" 泰族 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: "其生物也，莫見其所養而物長；其殺物也，莫見其所喪而物亡，此之謂神明" ("In their giving birth to things, things grow without anyone seeing how they are nurtured; in their killing of things, things perish without anyone seeing how they are lost—these [mysterious forces] are what we call *shenming*"). Wei also discusses how such concepts are later elaborated upon in Yan Zun's 嚴遵 (59–24 BC) ostensible *Laozi zhigui* 老子指歸 commentary; on this point, cf. Harper, "Nature of Taiyi," pp. 6–7.

[37] Qiang Yu makes perhaps the most detailed comparison between the "Taiyi sheng shui" and the similar cosmogonies of the *Huangdi sijing*, the *Guanzi*, and the *Heguanzi*. The main outcome of his analysis is to show how the simpler, unexplained, or undeveloped concepts of "Taiyi sheng shui" are given fuller development or elaboration in the latter texts. See his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu gudai de Taiyi guan," pp. 358–77.

[38] According to Qiu Xigui, the text was originally arranged by the editors as part of "Laozi C," but later separated; Qiu suggests instead a compromise strategy of arranging them as two different divisions of a single text. See his "'Taiyi sheng shui' 'ming zi' zhang jieshi: jianlun 'Taiyi sheng shui' de fenzhang wenti," p. 219.

[39] See, for example, Xu Kangsheng, "Chu du 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" p. 306. Harper, who also treats "Taiyi sheng shui" as a distinctive text, emphasizes how there are other excavated examples of clearly different texts being written on the same physical manuscript; see his "Nature of Taiyi," p. 17, n. 5. The Mawangdui *Laozi*

Let us first make note of the more obvious and commonly observed similarities in both phrasing and conception.[40] Most noteworthy in this regard is "Laozi A" 12 (R 25), the first portion of which (in my reading) runs as follows:

> 有狀混成，先天地生：脫寥，獨立不改，可以為天下母。未智知其名，字之曰道。吾強為之名曰大。大曰逝，逝曰轉，轉曰返。......
>
> There is a form, turbulently formed, that prior to Heaven and Earth was born. Detached and isolated, it stands alone and unalterable, able to serve as the mother of the world; not knowing its name, we label it "Dao." We force a name upon it, calling it "great"; its greatness, we call "flowing forth"; its flowing forth we call "changing course"; its changing course we call "returning." . . .

Possible associations with water in the reading of 混, "turbulent," aside,[41] the passage bears a number of other recognizable similarities with the "Taiyi sheng shui." There, in strips 6-7,

manuscripts, also bearing such texts as "Wu xing," come most immediately to mind as an example. And as Wang Bo notes, in his "'Taiyi sheng shui' yanjiu," p. 209, there are other examples among the Guodian manuscripts themselves, such as "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" and "Qiongda yi shi," which are clearly two distinct texts despite having been most likely both copied and bound together. Dirk Meyer raises the same point, arguing that sharing a material carrier "does not imply" that "Taiyi sheng shui" and the "Laozi C" units "were ever considered as integral parts"; see his *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*, pp. 210–13. While I concur with all these statements in principle and also treat "Taiyi sheng shui" as an independent text, I do not believe it follows that sharing a material carrier is *necessarily* insignificant, and there is certainly still room for taking note of possible connections between it and the other "Laozi" texts, especially "Laozi C."

[40] These comparisons have been discussed by quite a number of scholars. See Xing Wen, "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi," pp. 174–76; Li Ling, "Du Guodian Chujian 'Taiyi sheng shui,'" pp. 328–29; Wei Qipeng, "'Taiyi sheng shui' zhaji," p. 25; Zhao Jianwei, "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Taiyi sheng shui' shuzheng," pp. 387, 392; Chen Guying, "'Taiyi sheng shui' yu 'Xing zi ming chu' fawei," p. 400; Carine Defoort, "'Taiyi sheng shui' chutan," pp. 343–45; Guo Yi, *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, p. 140; and the comments of Sarah Allan in "Account of Discussion," in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 168–69. On the issue of "naming" the Dao in particular, see esp. Allan's comments (and also her "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 276); Xing Wen (who credits Robert Henricks for first making the connection); and Harper, "Nature of Taiyi," pp. 14–15.

[41] Note that the Guodian graph here is actually written 蟲 (likely standing for 蚰), and thus any intended water imagery is not nearly so apparent as in the received version. Donald Harper, who reads 衍, "surging" (of water), for the graph I read as 逝, also suggests that the later part of this passage excerpt might resonate with the "Taiyi sheng shui" as a kind of watery description of the generative and cyclical procession of the cosmos; see his "Nature of Taiyi," p. 14. Sarah Allan, on the other hand, argues that this description of the Dao as that which

Taiyi, through its embodiment in water and movement in time, is described as: "Cycling and 【beginning】 anew, 【it thereby . . . as】 the mother of the myriad things" 周而又【始，以□爲】萬物母. The parallelism, it should be noted, is even more striking with the received *Daodejing*, where following the phrase "stands alone and unalterable" we also find an additional one: "moving in cycles without termination" 周行不殆.[42] An even closer resonance occurs with strips 10-12 of "Taiyi sheng shui":

> 下，土也，而謂之地。上，氣也，而謂之天。道亦其字也。請問其名？以道從事者必託其名，故事成而身長。聖人之從事也，亦託其名，故功成而身不傷。
>
> Below, it is soil, and this is called Earth; above, it is fluid energy (*qi*), and this is called Heaven. "The Way" is merely its designation—what, may I ask, is its name?
> Those who use the Way to carry things out must entrust [themselves to] its name, and thus their tasks are successful and their persons long-lived.
> When sages carry things out, they also entrust [themselves to] its name, and thus their achievements are successful and their persons not injured.

The drive to name the unnamable and the styling of this unnamable as "Dao" serve to render these two passages inextricably linked,[43] as does the forcible naming of this "Dao" as "Great" in the "Laozi" passage. So, too, does the result of "entrusting oneself" to this "Dao" correspond to the effect as described elsewhere in the *Laozi*, as in "Laozi C" 1 (R 17), where the sage will thereby "accomplish affairs and bring achievements to fruition" 成事遂功; in both texts, it is the path to both political security and personal longevity. Another commonly noted parallel between the two texts centers on a notion reflected in both strip 9 and strips 13-14 of the "Taiyi sheng shui"—that "The Way of Heaven values weakness, paring down the mature to augment the newly born" 削成者以益生者 and that "what 【is deficient above】 has a surplus below" 【不足於上】者，有餘於下—and seen also in chapter 77 of the received *Daodejing*: "The Way of Heaven is to divest those with surplus to enhance the insufficient" 天之道，損有餘而補不足.

"stands alone and does not change" and of which its "'going far' is called 'returning'" in fact "suggests the central 'one' of the cosmograph" and the "motion of the sky"; see her "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," p. 267.

[42] Note that this phrase is also lacking in the Mawangdui versions. The implications of this are worth pondering.

[43] Assuming, of course, that scholars are correct in reading the graph 忎 here as 字 ("label," "designation").

Thus the connection between the "Taiyi sheng shui" and the "Laozi" texts (conceived as a whole) clearly runs deeper than just the physical conformity of the strips on which both it and "Laozi C" are written.[44] Nevertheless, aside from simply the weight of tradition—the fact that the "Taiyi sheng shui" is not found in the received *Daodejing*—there are other factors that may compel us to consider the text separately from the rest of "Laozi" materials after all. Among these are the subtle conceptual distinctions between the two and the appearance of different terminology in the "Taiyi sheng shui" that we noted in the previous section. The most obvious factor, however, is formal: the main portion of the "Taiyi sheng shui," with its lengthy cosmogonic description, finds no formal counterparts among the terse, short, poetic passages of the *Laozi*. Parts of the text's second "half" may more closely resemble the style of the latter, but it is difficult to separate these from consideration of the cosmogonic portion altogether.[45] Given all this, the editors' decision not to immediately lump the text together with the rest of "Laozi C" can only be described as a prudent one.

Unfortunately, the manuscript of "Laozi C"/"Taiyi sheng shui" is physically written in such a manner so as to afford us no obvious clues as to whether any distinct separation of texts might have been intended. This is because all the individual passages on the strips that formed this bundle are written in a self-contained manner, each passage beginning anew at the top of a strip (assuming "Laozi C" 1 [R 17-18] to indeed be a single passage). Thus the fact that none of the "Taiyi sheng shui" overlaps on any single strip with the rest of "Laozi C" tells us nothing about whether or not the two may have been conceived as part of the same text.[46] It also leads us to ponder the related question of whether the "Taiyi sheng shui" itself is really a single coherent unit at all, as it, too, was likely formed by two separated passages that could arguably be seen as unrelated. While there is only one extant passage-

[44] Xing Wen argues, however, that, given the similarities just noted, the connections are mainly with "Laozi" A and C, not with "Laozi" B; see his "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi," p. 175–76.

[45] Dirk Meyer, in his new book, makes much the same point by noting how, in his terminology, "Taiyi sheng shui" is a coherent "argument-based" text with an integral structure, in contrast to the "context-dependent" texts that are the so-called "Laozi C" units. Meyer correctly observes that "the text can be understood fully only when taken in its entirety," as the "politico-philosophical discussion" of the second part is inseparably linked to the "preceding cosmogony' and "has to be contextualized accordingly." See his *Philosophy on Bamboo*, pp. 211–13.

[46] On this point, see William Boltz, "The Fourth-Century B.C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*," p. 595. The "Taiyi" materials were, according to Boltz, part of these "Laozi" materials that were eventually sifted out as the text became fixed (p. 596). Though he notes that the "Taiyi" passages "are different enough in content" from the other "Laozi C" passages "to be put in a class of their own," he concludes from this (p. 605) only that it "explains why they among the six passages do not end up in the later *Laotzyy* text."

ending marker in "Taiyi sheng shui" (at the end of strip 14), there are lacunae at the ends of both strips 8 and 9, and it appears likely that another passage marker may originally have come at the end of strip 8, at the close of the cosmogonic portion. Given that the second "half" of the text, strips 9-14, veers away from any direct concern with cosmogony, coupled with the fact that we find there a terminological shift from "Taiyi" to "Dao" or "Way of Heaven," some have argued that it constitutes an entirely separate passage altogether (or perhaps even two passages), and not part of any integrated whole with the content of strips 1-8.[47]

There remain, however, a number of good reasons for seeing the two halves of the text as connected after all. Note, first of all, that the different resonances with "Laozi A" 12 (R 25), mentioned above, occur *across* the two halves of "Taiyi sheng shui," and so unless we are inclined to attribute this to coincidence, it argues strongly for treating the two halves as one. And while the terminological shift from "Taiyi" to "Dao" is noteworthy, the second half of the text can certainly be seen as an elaboration upon the nature or "Way" of the cosmos thus set in motion and the political implications for the sage-ruler who would emulate that Way.[48] This much, in fact, is a formal device it also shares with the *Laozi*, wherein there is an abundance of passages divided into two such halves, between a description of the "Way" and its logical consequences for the sage-ruler.[49]

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[47] In his arrangement of the "Laozi" texts, Cui Renyi considers the "Taiyi sheng shui" passages as part of "Laozi C," and, despite the apparent conceptual connections between strips 9 and 13-14 relating to "surplus" and "deficiency," divides the "Taiyi" portions into three separate passages, treating 9 as an independent unit. He also sees the three sections as elaborations on certain passages in "Laozi A"; conversely, he sees received *Daodejing* passage 1 (not in Guodian) as a kind of consolidation of the passages found in this text. See his *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*. In more recent articles, both Harper and Allan concur that the first "part" of the text stands on its own as largely a unique text in form and content, while the second part has much clearer parallels to the "Laozi" texts. In Allan's view, the first half is a "coherent unit, stylistically distinct from anything found in the *Daodejing*," but represents an appended text that does have a *conceptual* relationship with the "Laozi" and was thus meant to be read together with "Laozi C," "probably attached by diviners or others associated with the cult of the Great One"; whereas the other passages are stylistically similar to it and should be regarded as part of the main "Laozi C" text. See Allan, "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*," pp. 253, 257; Harper, "Nature of Taiyi," p. 3.

[48] Note, moreover, that the albeit much longer "Tianwen" chapter of the *Huainanzi* similarly begins with a cosmogony deriving from *taizhao* 太昭, but quickly goes on to discuss the attributes of "Dao," *tiandao*, and *tiandi zhi dao* 天地之道.

[49] Carine Defoort points also to the "Da Yue" chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and other examples of how a metaphysical description of Taiyi is followed by a passage with more concrete political implications; see her "'Taiyi sheng shui' chutan," p. 351. She finds the two halves of "Taiyi sheng shui" to be connected by virtue of both speaking to the notion of movement revolving around a static, empty center, whether of the universe or of the ruler. And as she further notes (p. 341), if we do grant that strips 10-14 in fact belong together with 1-8, then

What to conclude from all this remains uncertain. Whether we see the "Taiyi sheng shui" as an integral whole or as a set of two or three unconnected passages, it does, in one way or another, bear a close relationship with the *Laozi*. If the text was indeed conceived as part of "Laozi C" per se, then what are we to make of the fact that it—and it alone of all the Guodian "Laozi" materials—is not to be found in the received *Daodejing*? Is it something that, for whatever reason, would get excluded from a later *Daodejing* collection? Or was it something that, for some particular but poorly understood purpose, was added to this possibly unique "selection" of *Laozi* materials, by way of commentary or elaboration? These are complex questions with no immediate answers. For purposes of maintaining a clear distinction of what is new and unique within this bundle of strips, albeit at the risk of unintentionally perpetuating a possibly artificial distinction, I will herein follow the editors' practice of treating the "Taiyi sheng shui" materials as an integral whole in separation from the remainder of the "Laozi C" materials. In doing so, I simply ask the readers to bear in mind that this separation, while defensible on a number of grounds, is by no means a clear-cut one.

TEXTUAL NOTES

As each of the "Laozi C" passages ends with a passage marker, it is impossible to tell with any certainty their relative order within the manuscript. If we assume that the "Taiyi sheng shui" materials formed a separate, coherent whole, then they most likely either followed or preceded the other passages, but in which of the two orders remains unclear.[50] The order of parts within "Taiyi sheng shui" itself, and to some degree even strips within those parts, is likewise not altogether evident, though the cosmogonic portion of strips 1-8 would seem to most logically fit at the beginning. Regarding the order of strips 9-14, several different rearrangements have been suggested, for which the reader may refer to the notes to the translation; most of these involve the replacement of strip 9 to somewhere *within* the sequence of strips 10-14 (see the note at the head of strip 9). However, largely out of considerations of maintaining the rhyme of strips 10-14—which the insertion of strip 9

strip 9 should also be included by virtue of the fact that, beyond its conceptual connections with 10-14, it would otherwise remain as the only passage outside this text that cannot be found in the received *Laozi*.

[50] Xing Wen, for instance, would precede the other "Laozi C" passages with both "Taiyi" I and "Taiyi" II, seeing all the passages thus put together as forming a coherent and logical sequence with a clear theme; see his "Lun Guodian *Laozi* yu jinben *Laozi* bu shu yi xi," p. 174. As Allan, in "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi,*" p. 255, notes, it is even possible that the "Taiyi sheng shui" passages may have been interspersed with the other "Laozi C" passages—though this is certainly less likely if the former is in fact an integral whole.

therein would disrupt—I find the original order of the strips to be the most probable and thus follow it here.

The "Taiyi sheng shui" has already been translated several times into English, once as part of Robert Henricks's Guodian *Laozi* translation; in articles by William Boltz, Donald Harper, and Sarah Allan; and, most recently, in Dirk Meyer's book.[51] While I try below to make note of various points of discrepancy between these and my own translation, the reader may do well to consult them with it side by side.

[51] See Henricks, *Lao Tzu's* Tao Te Ching; Boltz, "The Fourth-Century B.C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu"; Harper, "Nature of Taiyi"; Allan, "Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*"; and Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo*. Meyer also offers a structural analysis of the text, in which he contends that the text "as a whole contrasts real names with their style names," the macrostructure serving as a formal device "designed so that the individual building block" (particularly that of strip 10) "functions as the hermeneutical key for the compositional structure as a whole," from which we are led to understand that *Dao* is "nothing other than the style name of something more substantial," i.e., "Taiyi," the actual cosmogonic process of the natural world; for details, see pp. 220–26 of his book.

“The Great Unity Gives Birth to Water”
太一生水[1]
Text and Translation

1-8[2]

大（太）一[3]生[4]水[5]，水反桶（薄/輔）[6]大（太）一，是以成[7]天。天反桶（薄）大（太）一，是以成陧（地）。天陧（地）【復相桶（薄）】[8]（1）也，是以成神

[1] Alternate titles include simply “Taiyi” 太一 (ZLW 99.1b). Alternatively, the text is merely subsumed under “Laozi C,” with which it likely formed part of the same scroll.

[2] CRY 98.10 sees this cosmogonic section of the text as a kind of elaboration upon the passage of strips 21-23 of “Laozi A” (passage 12; R 25). He in turn sees chapter 42 of the (Mawangdui and) received text(s) as a kind of elaboration upon this section, and chapter 1 as an evolution of the material of both this text and that “Laozi A” chapter. LXQ 98.4b sees this section instead as a development of R 42.

[3] 大(太)一: The term 太一 appears as a kind of cosmological fountainhead in a number of pre-Qin texts, including the “Li yun” 禮運 chapter of the *Li ji*: “是故夫禮，必本於大一，分而爲天地，轉而爲陰陽，變而爲四時，列而爲鬼神。其降曰命，其官於天也” (“Thus ritual is of necessity based upon the Great Unity, [which] divides to form Heaven and Earth, revolves to form *yin* and *yang*, transforms to become the four seasons, and arrays itself into the ghosts and spirits. Its descent is called ‘mandate,’ as it takes its offices from Heaven”). The “Tianxia” 天下 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* attributes to Guan Yin 關尹 and Lao Dan 老聃 the philosophy of “建之以常無有，主之以太一” (“establishing it through eternal absence and presence, and heading it with the Great Unity”). LL 99.8b, WQP 99.8b, CW 99.10b, and others suggest that it is a kind of combination of the separate concepts of the “great” 大 and “singular” 一 from the *Daodejing*; ZJW 99.8b suggests it might even mean “greater than the singular.” In any case, it is described in terms that make it appear almost synonymous with the *Dao* in such texts as the “Da Yue” 大樂 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the “Quanyan” 詮言 chapter of the *Huainanzi*, and others. 太一 also appears as a kind of supreme deity in Chu culture, as seen in the “Donghuang Taiyi” 東皇太一 elegy in the “Jiu ge” 九歌 group of the *Chuci*. For the connection between *taiyi* and the Pole Star, as well as its representation on the cosmograph (*shipan* 式盤), see YZ2 02.6 and AS 03 (esp. pp. 246–53 and 270–76). HR 00 and AS both translate the term as “The Great One”; HD 01 as “Grand One.” For more on all this, see the introduction to this text above.

明[9]。神明復相補（薄）也，是以成侌（陰）昜（陽）。[10]侌（陰）昜（陽）復相補（薄）也，是以成四時。[11]四時（2）復〔相〕[12]補（薄）也，是以成倉（滄）

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[4] PP (99.8 and 00.1 [p. 196]) argues that this 生 should be taken in the sense of "transform into" rather than "give birth to," given how *taiyi* is later described as "stored in water"; in this light, AS 03 suggests the translation of "generate." For the same reasons, CSC 00.5 suggests that 生水 reads like 生於水, "born into water," i.e., takes its concrete form in water. Also partly following PP, ZJX 07.11 (p. 144) takes 生 in the sense of to "lead," "guide."

[5] For more on the significance of "water," see the introduction to this text above. Both YZ2 02.6 and LEM 01.9 note a line of some relevance from a northern-Song citation of the early medical text *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經: "太一者，水尊號。先〔天〕地之母，後萬物之源" ("'The Great Unity' is the honorific appellation of water; preceding, it is the mother of [Heaven and] Earth; following, it is the fountainhead of the myriad things").

[6] 補: GDCMZJ reads 輔 (or 俌), "assist." CRY 98.10 relates this to the "聖人能輔萬物之自然" of "Laozi A," strip 12; cf. AS 03 (p. 256). CW 99.10b and HD (01, pp. 4–5; and as cited in AS/WC 00, p. 228) both read 薄, "touch upon," "interact with," "[con]join," as, for example, in the "Fan lun" 氾論 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: "夫雌雄相接，陰陽相薄" ("For male and female link together, and *yin* and *yang* mutually conjoin"). 傅 ("adhere") and 搏 ("wrestle") are other possible readings with similar senses. BW (99 and 00) reads 輔 in the sense of "reciprocate."

[7] 成 (here and throughout): GDCMZJ renders directly as 成; CRY 98.10 renders 城, read 成. CRY's rendering is technically more accurate, but for the sake of brevity I retain the more direct rendering of this graph as it appears throughout this text.

[8] GDCMZJ supplies these three graphs on the basis of the pattern below. WQP 99.8 understands the 相, here and below, to mean "in succession," not "mutually." HR 00 takes the 復, which I translate as "further," in the sense of "repeatedly."

[9] 神明: This pair is a common one in pre-Qin texts, as in the "Xici zhuan" 繫辭傳 commentary to the *Yi Jing*: "於是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情" ("At this he first created the eight trigrams, so as to penetrate to the virtues of *shen* and *ming* and categorize the affective natures of the myriad things"). WB 01.5b cites a variety of textual evidence to suggest that they refer here specifically to the sun (for *ming*) and moon (for *shen*), though by extension they could also refer to their cyclical patterns of operation, or the "Way of Heaven" more generally; YZ2 02.6 (pp. 63–65) further supports their identification with the sun and moon. LL 02.3 counters that it is more consistent with other usages of the term(s) to think of them rather as two types of spirits that more broadly symbolize Heaven and Earth, the sun and moon, or *yin* and *yang*. PP 00.1 (pp. 193–95) also relates the terms to the sun and moon, but sees *ming* as the essence of the light produced by their interaction, and *shen* as referring to the transformative efficacy of this light. CW 99.10b suggests that the term-pair is equivalent to the 鬼神 of the "Li yun" passage; ZJX 07.11 takes *shenming* as the principles that oversee the cycle of life and death. XW 99.1a (pp. 167–69) sees *shen* and *ming* specifically as the spirits of Heaven and Earth, or 神祇, respectively; HR 00 and GY 01.2 follow. PH 00.5 views them as the "miraculous powers" associated with Heaven and Earth. WQP (99.8 and 99.8b) describes them instead as "essential energies" 精氣, and XKS 99.8 (pp. 310–13) as the latent (/unpredictable) (*shen*) and manifest (*ming*) forms of such energies. Along similar lines, SS 03 describes *shen* as *qi*-condensing nature, and *ming* as *qi*-extending nature. HD 01 renders *shenming* instead as the singular compound "spirit illumination," though he believes the ideas of duality and dynamism are still implicit within this term. The term-pair *shenming* occurs frequently throughout the

然（熱）[13]。倉（滄）然（熱）復相補（薄）也，是以成溼澡（燥）[14]。溼澡（燥）復相補（薄）也，成戢（歲）（3）而峕（止）。[15]

The Great Unity gives birth to water, and water returns to join with (/assist) the Great Unity, thereby forming Heaven. Heaven returns to join with the Great Unity, thereby forming Earth. Heaven and Earth 【further join with each other】, thereby forming the spiritual and luminous. The spiritual and luminous further join with each other, thereby forming *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* further join with each other, thereby forming the four seasons. The four seasons further join with 〔each other〕, thereby forming cold and heat. Cold and heat further join with each other, thereby forming wet and dry. Wet and

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Heguanzi, as in the example from the following note; DKL 99.8 (p. 342) observes that the two terms are often described therein as "two oppositional forms of light." For a further categorization of various uses of the term-pair, see also DSX 00.10, pp. 105–8.

[10] WQP 99.8 points here to a relevant line from the "Tailu" 泰錄 chapter of the *Heguanzi*: "故天地陰陽受命，取象於神明之效" ("Thus Heaven and Earth, *yin* and *yang*, receive their mandates, taking their signs from the efficacy of the spiritual and luminous"). WB 01.5b contends that *yin* and *yang* follow naturally from *shen* and *ming*—moon and sun, as he sees them—given that the terms derive their meaning from the sides of a mountain slope or river that are either shaded from or receive the light of the sun; they also naturally lead into the four seasons, as it is the interactions of the vital energies of *yin* and *yang* that both produce the seasons and are responsible for their alternations.

[11] WQP 99.8 points here to the "Si shi" 四時 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "是故陰陽者，天地之大理也；四時者，陰陽之大經也" ("Thus *yin* and *yang* are the great ordering of Heaven and Earth, and the four seasons are the great guideline of *yin* and *yang*").

[12] This graph appears to have been accidentally omitted and is supplied here on the basis of context.

[13] 倉(滄)然(熱): GDCMZJ notes the appearance of this compound in the "Zhou zhu" 周祝 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*: "天地之間有滄熱"; LXF 99.1 and CW 99.10b note that the term also appears in the "Zheng ming" 正名 chapter of the *Xunzi*. For 倉, LL 99.8 instead renders 寒, observing that the two are close in form; note that the *Shuowen* glosses 滄 as 寒. See also "Laozi" B 15 (R 45B): "喿(躁)勅(勝)倉(滄)，青(靜)勅(勝)然(熱)."

[14] 溼澡(燥): CW 99.10b notes here the opening line of the "Jin shu" 盡數 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*: "天生陰陽寒暑燥溼" ("Heaven gives birth to *yin* and *yang*, cold and hot, dry and wet").

[15] LXQ 99.4 notes similar wording in the cosmological description of the Chu Silk Manuscript 楚帛書 of Zitanku 子彈庫, wherein the "four spirits" 四神 (i.e., seasons) similarly "come to rest in the formation of the year" 乃止以爲歲 (note, though, that LXQ has elsewhere followed the original transcription of the second graph of that line as 步, "deploy," rather than 止, and WQP 99.8 has even cited LXQ as rendering it instead as 旋, in the sense of "revolve [back again]"). PP (99.8 and 00.1 [pp. 195–96]) suggests that the 歲 here more specifically indicates the harvest, rather than the year per se; ZJW 99.8b makes a similar proposal.

dry further join with each other, [and the process] comes to rest at the formation of the year.

古（故）歲（歲）者，溼澡（燥）之所生也。溼澡（燥）者，倉（滄）然（熱）之所生也。倉（滄）然（熱）者，四時（4）〔之所生也。四時〕[16]者，侌（陰）昜（陽）之所生〔也〕[17]。侌（陰）昜（陽）者，神明之所生也。神明者，天陸（地）之所生也。天陸（地）（5）者，大（太）一之所生也。[18]

Thus the year is born of wet and dry; wet and dry are born of cold and heat; cold and heat〔are born of〕the four seasons;〔the four seasons〕are born of *yin* and *yang*; *yin* and *yang* are born of the spiritual and luminous; the spiritual and luminous are born of Heaven and Earth; and Heaven and Earth are born of the Great Unity.

是古（故）大（太）一贓（藏）於水，行於時[19]：

　　逈（周）[20]而或（又）[21]【始，

[16] These six graphs seem to have been accidentally omitted due to a skip from one "四時" to the next; GDCMZJ would supply them on the basis of context (GDCMZJ actually suggests that the six graphs 四時之所生也 have been omitted before the 四時 at the end of strip 4, but it appears more likely, as CRY's 98.10 transcription suggests, that the eye-skip omission occurred at the point of switching to the next strip, with the six graphs supplied as given here; cf. ZGY/YGH 99.1 and LXF 99.1, who also supply as CRY does).

[17] A missing 也 is assumed here on the basis of parallelism.

[18] It is notable that 水, "water," has disappeared in this reversed account of the cosmogenetic process. WQP 99.8b suggests that the conception here is one wherein water has re-merged with Taiyi, which in turn is "stored" therein, following the genesis of Heaven and Earth—thus obviating the need to account for it again separately. Cf. PP 99.8 (p. 303) and 00.1 (pp. 196–97).

[19] LXQ 99.4 takes this and its associated lines to be indicative of an early form of the celestial numerological model later known as *taiyi xing jiugong* 太一行九宮, with 藏於水 referring to the *taiyi* star's (Ursa Minor β) initial position in the northern quadrant, and 行於時 referring to the movement of the handle of the Big Dipper; cf. YZ2 02.6, p. 60. LL 99.8b (p. 316) and others see 藏 and 行 as referring to the forms, static and active, through which *taiyi* remains immanent in the continual reproduction of the world. WB 01.5b and CW 02.12 both note how the two may also be seen as opposing terms in such passages as that of the "Shu er" 述而 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "用之則行，舍之則藏" ("Taking action when employed, storing up when dismissed").

[20] 逈: QXG 98.5 suspects this should read 周. CRY 98.10 sees the graph instead as an abbreviation of 逾, "cross

以□為】[22]（6）墧（萬）勿（物）母[23]。〔之部〕

罷（一）[24]块（缺）[25]罷（一）浧（盈），

以忌（紀）[26]為墧（萬）勿（物）經[27]。〔耕部〕[28]

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over"; LTH 05.11 (n. 8) offers much the same analysis.

[21] 或: QXG 98.5 reads 又.

[22] For the four missing graphs here, QXG 98.5 would supply 始以忌(己)爲 on the basis of parallelism and context. LXF 99.1 would instead add 道 as the graph following 以; ZJW 99.8b would, as below, read a supplied 忌 here as 斯, "this." CW 99.10b speculates that strip fragment #21, which has the graphs 詒亡, may have come here, read 始亡. MD 12 (p. 357), erroneously believing that there is no rhyme between these two phrases, eschews parallelism and instead supplies "始。故太一爲."

[23] Cf. passage 25 of the received *Daodejing* (of which another reference appears shortly below): "有物混成，先天地生。寂漠！獨立不改，周行不殆，可以爲天下母"; the term 萬物母 appears also in the first passage of that work. Note that while the former passage also appears as passage 12 in the Guodian "Laozi" A manuscript, the phrase 周行不殆 is not included there; it is also absent from the Mawangdui versions. As YZ2 02.6 and LEM 01.9 both note, the lines from the "Lingshu jing" cited above (see the notes to strip 1) similarly refer to *taiyi*, or the "honorific appellation" for water, as the "mother of Heaven and Earth" 天地之母; YZ2 (p. 65) would also attribute the "cycling and beginning anew" specifically to the movement of the sun.

[24] 罷: for more on this graph, see YSX 00.5 (pp. 104–5) and, most extensively, WZP 08.9, both of whom provide phonological evidence for the reading of a 能 phonetic as 一.

[25] 块: GDCMZJ reads 缺. WQP 99.8 instead reads 詘(/絀), "contracting," paralleling 盈 as "expanding." PP 00.1 (p. 197) and YZ2 02.6 (p. 65) both suggest that the pair of terms refers to the waning and waxing of the moon. PH 00.5 (p. 539) attributes them to the operations of the sun and moon more generally, and WB 01.5b believes they may more widely refer to the situational characteristics of Heaven and Earth, described at the end of this text in terms of deficiencies and surpluses. RJL 12 (pp. 18-19), noting the literal sense of the following 經 as "warp" and wishing the text to not mix its metaphors, tries to read 缺 and 盈 as "under" and "over," as the movement of the thread that weaves the pattern of the world.

[26] 忌: GDCMZJ reads 紀; QXG 98.5 suggests 己. CW 02.12 argues for the reading of 紀, given its close semantic connection with the following 經. WQP 99.8 follows QXG. ZJW 99.8b instead reads 斯, "this." LXF 99.1 reads 期.

[27] 經: aside from the sense of "guideline," "warp," or "model," LZ 03.12 suggests that 經 could mean "origin" here.

[28] These two sets of rhymes have been pointed out by ZJW 99.8b, though he would also include the 時 of the preceding line as part of the *zhi* 之-group rhymes with 始 and 母.

此天之所不能殺[29]，陸（地）之所（7）不能奎（埋）[30]，侌（陰）昜（陽）
之所不能成[31]。

君子智（知）此之胃（謂）【聖。■（□□□□□）】[32]（8）〔耕部?〕

Thus the Great Unity is stored in water and mobilized in the four seasons:

Cycling and 【beginning】 anew, 【it thereby . . . as】 the mother of the myriad things.
Alternately empty and full, it thereby weaves together as the warp of the myriad things.

This is something which Heaven cannot destroy, Earth cannot bury, and to which *yin* and *yang* cannot give final form.
When a noble man knows this, this is what we call 【"sagacity" 】.

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[29] 殺: This can also be taken in the sense of "diminish," but given the reading of a similar line in the *Xunzi* (see next note), the sense of "kill" or "destroy" was likely the intended one.

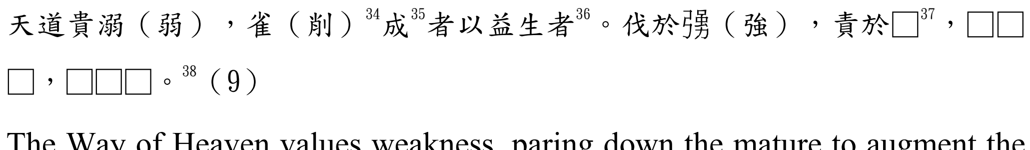
[30] 奎: GDCMZJ interprets this as 釐, understood in the sense of "change." ZGY/YGH 99.1, LL 99.8, and LZ 00.5 all read 埋, LL and LZ citing in support a similar usage in the "Ru xiao" 儒效 chapter of the *Xunzi*: "天不能死，地不能埋" ("Heaven cannot kill him, and the earth cannot bury him"). The phrase "天弗能殺，地弗能薶" also appears in the "Mou cheng" 繆稱 chapter of the *Huainanzi*; BYL 01.2 sees 薶 as the more proper form of the graph for "bury."

[31] 成: WQP 99.8 reads 亭(停), "halt."

[32] Strips 8 and 9 are both broken off just above the lower tying mark, with space remaining for likely seven graphs each. LL 99.8 here suggests six graphs plus a section marker: "□，不知者謂□■" (". . . , when he doesn't know this, it is called . . ."), which makes for one plausible reading; HD (quoted in BW 99, p. 605) would also posit a section marker at the end of this strip. ZJW 99.8b and GY 01.2, on the other hand, respectively supply 聖 or 聖人, "a sage," for the first of the missing graph(s). QXG 00.7 agrees with them and also follows LL in positing a section marker here, but would have it come right after the 聖/聖人 and leave the rest of the strip blank. Note that 聖 would rhyme with 盈, 經, and 成 above (as ZJW points out), and, in light of the fact that the next "half" of the text may also end in rhyme, would make for a natural ending to this half. CW 99.10b, who would connect this strip directly to 10, speculates that the end of the strip likely contained a phrase about 太一. HR 00 assumes 道 for the first missing graph. MD 12 (pp. 218–20), like others, assumes that 聖人 must have come here, on the basis of the structural consideration that only that term, and not 君子, appears again in the second half of the text. This understanding is essentially correct, except that the connection still holds even if we pay attention to the possible rhyme and assume that only the one-character attribute of 聖 appeared here.

(Part II)

9[33]



天道貴溺（弱），雀（削）[34]成[35]者以益生者[36]。伐於弜（強），責於□[37]，□□□，□□□。[38]（9）

The Way of Heaven values weakness, paring down the mature to augment the [newly] born. It cuts down the strong and makes demands upon the 【. . . ; . . . the . . . , and . . . the . . . (?)】[39]

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[33] Given that both this and the next strip begin with a new sentence, the placement of strip 9 is in some doubt. QXG 98.5 and the editors originally placed it here as a quasi-independent unit, initially suspecting the possibility of missing strips (see QXG 00.7, p. 220). CRY 98.10, LXF 99.1, CW 99.10b, ZFW/LSQ 99.10, and HR 00 would all place it between strips 12 and 13; see HR for further speculation on how 9 and 13-14 might potentially be related. QXG 00.7 would place before 14, with the two strips serving as an independent section; CW 02.12 and AS 03 both follow in placing between 13 and 14, but do not separate sections. PP 99.8, without discussion, places it at the very end, *after* strip 14 (YZ2 02.6 follows); the section marker following strip 14, however, makes this highly likely. LL (99.8 and 02.3) leaves as is, connected directly to what follows; I still find this to be the most likely arrangement.

[34] 雀: GDCMZJ reads 爵; QXG 98.5 suspects it should read 削. ZJW 99.8b suggests the further possibility of reading 截, a reading also proposed by LXF 99.1. HR 00 also suggests the possibility of 搉, “to strike.” WQP 99.8 reads 塙(確), “firm,” “fixed,” taking the phrase as a whole to refer to “those who establish themselves through firmness and strive to augment their lives through desires.”

[35] 成: ZJW 99.8b reads 盛, “full,” “powerful.” YZ2 02.6 (p. 56) argues that 成者 and 生者 here refer specifically to the two types of numerological positions within the “nine-hall” 九宮 divination system.

[36] 者: CRY 98.10 reads this as an interrogative 諸.

[37] 責於□: CW 99.10b supplies 弱 and reads 積於弱, “accumulating for the weak.” LXF 99.1 proposes the same reading. ZJW 99.8b, reading 責 as is, would supply 盈, “full,” suggesting both this and subsequent graphs might continue (along with 生) the *geng* 耕-group rhymes of the previous section.

[38] LL 99.8 suspects the pattern continues, with the last two three-character phrases referring to the “weak,” “few,” etc., as opposed to the “strong” and possibly “many,” etc., of the first two: “□，□於弱，□於□.” With this in mind, GY 01.2 would supply “剛，助於弱，益於柔” (“sturdy; assists the weak and augments the pliable”). CRY 98.10, LXF 99.1, and CW 99.10b all follow this strip with strip 13 and assume a total of either six or seven missing graphs: CRY supplies “天不足” for the last three; CW suggests “是故天不足” for the last five; and LXF supplies “溺(弱)也，是以天不足” (see also the note at the end of strip 12 below). QXG 00.7, following this strip with 14, supplies seven graphs, suggesting “是故不足於上” for the last six; CW 02.12 and AS 03 follow (see also the note at the end of strip 13 below). QY 99.8 (p. 364) suggests that lines pertaining to the “Way of Earth” should follow here.

[39] For somewhat different renderings of these lines, see HR 00 and AS 03 (p. 280).

10-14[40]

下，土也，而胃（謂）之陰（地）。上，㷵（氣）也，而胃（謂）之天。[41]道亦其志（字）■[42]也。青（請）昏（問）[43]其名[44]？

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[40] A number of scholars would have strip 10 immediately follow 8 and insert strip 9 somewhere within the sequence of 10-14; refer to the note at the head of strip 9.

[41] Cf. the "Du wan" 度萬 chapter of the *Heguanzi*: "所謂天者，非是蒼蒼之氣之謂天也；所謂地者，非是膞膞之土之謂地也" ("What we call 'Heaven' does not refer to [merely] blue *qi*; what we call 'Earth' does not [merely] refer to compacted soil"). YZ2 02.6 would relate the "above" and "below" of these lines to the upper and lower plates of the cosmograph, and interpret the rest of strips 10-14 (and 9) in similar fashion; for details, I refer the reader to his essay.

[42] 志: QXG 98.5 reads 字. QXG 00.7 also suggests that the 其 here refers back to the "Great Unity," whereas LL 02.3 counters (following others before him) that local context suggests it instead refers to Heaven and Earth collectively; insofar as they are all part of the same cosmic process, however, the issue seems somewhat moot. CW 99.10b suggests that the term 太一 may have already appeared at the missing end of strip 8 (with which he immediately precedes this one), in which case the reference back to it would be quite natural; note that a similar reference to 太一 could conceivably have occurred at the end of strip 9 instead. It may be simplest, however, to think of 天道 as the referent, assuming, again, that strip 9 is correctly placed. Instead of reading 字, CRY 98.10 sees 志 as equivalent to 恠, a vulgar form of 怪, "anomaly." Note that there is a small marker following this graph in the shape of a slightly rounded black square, the purpose for which is uncertain.

[43] 青昏: rather than reading 請問 here, HD (01, p. 13; and as quoted in LL 99.8), noting an occurrence of the term (*hunqing* 昏清) in a Mawangdui medical text, suggests that *qinghun* itself (read 清昏) is the name, "clear and dusky"; LL follows. ZJW 99.8b also takes *qinghun* as the name, descriptive of a not-yet-divided *qi*, and would opt for a reading of either 清渾, "clear [and yet] murky" (similar to HD's reading); or a "slow reading" of the single word 渾, "muddled," or, alternatively, of 囷, "silo." CRY 98.10 reads 靜聞, "quietly hear"; CW 02.12 reads 請昏, taking 昏 in the sense of either to "force" or "conceal"; and CWW 03.10 suggests the possibility of reading 請聞, understanding 聞 in the causative sense of "make prominent." As CW et al. 09.9 point out, however, the usage of 昏清 in the Mawangdui text is completely unrelated to its use here, and 青昏 in fact reads 請問 elsewhere in the Shanghai Museum manuscripts. The locution 請問, moreover, is a commonplace one in pre-Qin texts.

[44] As QXG 00.7 suggests (partly following Jiang Shengcan; see below), the distinction between 名 and 字 may be one of a primary and somehow more direct "name" and that of a secondary, more indirect "designation"; cf. LL 99.8b (p. 319). HR 00 suggests a similar distinction between the "name" as what something "actually *is*" and the "designation" by which we refer to it; cf. BE 07 (pp. 13–15), who avers that the "name" does not just "label" but rather "invoke(s)" the Dao "at an ontological level," referring to "the underlying meaning or operation of the Dao itself." AS 03 translates 字 as "honorific"; she also suggests that the avoidance of naming here may relate back to a taboo on uttering the name of Taiyi as a deity; HD 01 suggests that naming the Dao invests it with an identity, thus implicitly personifying it. This sentence resonates with Guodian "Laozi A" 12 (R 25): "未知其名，字之曰道，吾強爲之名曰大"; see also the "Da yue" 大樂 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*:

以（10）道[45]從事者必侂（託）其名[46]，古（故）事成而身長[47]。

聖人之從事也，亦侂（託）其（11）名，古（故）社（功）成而身不剔（傷）。[48]

天陛（地）名志（字）[49]並立[50]，古（故）[51]怂（過）[52]其方，不由（思）[53]相【尚[54]。

"道也者，至精也，不可爲形，不可爲名，彊爲之謂之太一" ("As for the 'Dao,' it is the ultimate in essence, to which no form or name may be given; forcing one upon it, we call it the 'Great Unity'"). WQP 99.8 suggests that "Dao" serves as "designation" to the "names" of Heaven and Earth in the sense that we have terms like 天道 ("way of Heaven") and 地道 ("way of Earth"); GY 01.2 offers a similar interpretation.

[45] CW 99.10b takes 以道 as the end of the previous phrase and punctuates afterward, but CW 02.12 reverts to the original punctuation. HD 01 (p. 19, n. 35) suggests that "those who use the way to carry things out" are actually superior to the "sages" of the following line, noting a similar distinction in the Mawangdui medical text "Shi wen" 十問.

[46] 侂(託)其名: QXG 00.7 suggests the 其名 here is a direct rather than indirect object, "entrust its name [to a false name]." CRY 98.10 sees 侂 as equivalent to 侘, with the sense of "dissuade." LXF 99.1 reads 吒, in the extended sense of "revile."

[47] As QXG 98.5 notes, the text is rhymed beginning with this 長 to the 上 at the end of strip 14.

[48] Based on certain similarities with the words and ideas found in this and the previous sentence, CRY 98.10 sees passage 7 of the (Mawangdui and) received *Laozi* as a kind of alteration of this section (as he arranges it). He would also render as 剔 as 傷.

[49] See the note to this graph in strip 10 above.

[50] Jiang Shengcan 姜聲燦 (see IT et al. 99.8) suggests that *qi* 氣 and *tu* 土 are the true "names" of Heaven and Earth, reflecting their actual substance, while 天 and 地 are simply its common "designations"; QXG 00.7 (p. 222) roughly follows, and LL 02.3 also accepts this. MD 12 (pp. 220–26) assumes a similar line of interpretation, stating that "real name" (*ming*) "is the phenomenological actuality behind an otherwise abstract concept," and he further argues that "Taiyi" is in turn the "real name" for Dao. HR 00 translates the line as: "With heaven and earth, 'name' and 'designation' both stand together." WB 01.5b suggests that the emphasis is upon how Heaven and Earth—along with the "names" and "designations" representing all the dualities and differentiation that they subsume—are of equal standing with each other.

[51] 古(故): GY 01.2 instead reads 姑, "tentatively."

[52] 怂: GDCMZJ reads 過. LL 99.8 reads 訛, to "mix up," "shift"; HD 01 (p. 15) follows, taking this to refer to the surpluses and deficiencies of Heaven and Earth mentioned below, a "calculated imbalance" that brings about the continuous cycles of a dynamic cosmos. CW 99.10b takes 過 in the sense of to "demand," and the following 方 in the sense of "equivalence," but CW 02.12 gives an interpretation more in line with LL's. GY 01.2, on the contrary, takes 過 in the sense of "give." WQP 99.8 reads 怂 instead as 爲, taking 方 as "way," "method"; ZJW 99.8b offers a similar reading. LR (quoted in CW et al. 09.9) reads 化, "transform." QXG 00.7 takes 方 in the sense of either "the proper" or "domain"; WB (01.5b and 01.5f) takes it in the sense of

天不足[55]】（12）於西北，其下高以㢢（強）；

陰（地）不足於東南，其上【厚以廣】。[56]

"direction" or "domain"; and LZ 03.12 takes it in the sense of "equality," "correspondence."

[53]甶: GDCMZJ directly renders as 思. CRY 98.10 instead renders 甶(自), which he in turn relates to the early form of 貞, as given in strip 16 of "Laozi B." ZJW 99.8b sees the graph as a corruption of 德, read 得; or, alternatively, reads 思 as 司. LZ 03.12 would also render more strictly as 甶, but still reads 思; CW et al. 09.9 render 囟, also read 思. CW 99.10b takes 思 in the sense of to "command" or "allow." HD 01 (pp. 11–12), on the other hand, takes the 思 (along with a reading of 己 for 紀 above) as evidence for a personified cosmos (and thus Taiyi as a deity) in this text. Note that this graph also appears several times without the 心 radical in the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, where it is sometimes read 思, other times 使, to "make," "cause"—which could also be a possible reading here.

[54] 尙: QXG 98.5 supplies 當 ("correspond," "fit") on the basis of rhyme, context, and remnant strokes at its top. WQP 99.8 and CW 99.10b both instead suggest 尙, to "surpass"; WB 01.5b also takes it as 尙. QXG 00.7 considers the reading, but would take it in the sense of to "honor," seeing Heaven and Earth as locked in struggle here—a result of them having "names"—as opposed to the sage, who simply "entrusts" the Dao's name to a false one. HR 00, reading 當, proposes an intriguing solution to these lines with a somewhat different interpretation: "But when we move beyond these domains, we can think of nothing that would fit [as a name]." GY 01.2 gives yet another type of reading, taking 不思 as a kind of imperative, to the effect that "do not think [just because we attach names to them both] that [Heaven and Earth] are of equal position." It is also possible to take 不思 adverbially, along the lines of "without contemplation" or "without thought," similar to the ideal expressed as 無思 in such texts as the Shanghai Museum (v. 5) text "San de" 三德 (strip 1) or in certain chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (for a brief discussion of this term, see GSK 06.12, p. 271, or 07.11, pp. 309–10); in that case, "correspond" might be the better reading after all. BE 07 (p. 13) interprets something along those lines, translating the lines as "[even if] either one were to exceed (過) its boundaries, both [would] automatically (不思) compensate each other as appropriate."

[55] 天不足: QXG 98.5 supplies these three graphs on the basis of parallel context. CRY 98.10, LXF 99.1, and CW 99.10b would place strip 9 in between 12 and 13, and would thus supply the "天下足" at the end of strip 9 instead. Note that the placement of strip 9 here, however, would disrupt the continuous rhyme that runs through to the end of the text in its current arrangement.

[56] As GDCMZJ suggests, these two lines appear to be related to the mythical story of the battle between Gonggong 共工 and Zhuanxu 顓頊, found in the "Tianwen" 天文 chapter of the *Huainanzi*, wherein the axis between Heaven and Earth is knocked askew, with the result that the celestial bodies revolve to the northwest and the rivers and dust flow/settle to the southeast; WQP 99.8 and CW 99.10b both note similar passages in the "Rizhe liezhuan" 日者列傳 chapter of the *Shi ji* and the "Tian wen" 天問 poem of the *Chuci*. WQP also notes passages from the *Huangdi neijing*, as in the "Wuchangzheng dalun" 五常政大論 section: "天不足西北，左寒而右涼；地不滿東南，右熱而左溫" ("Heaven is insufficient in the northwest, [where it] is cold on the left and cool on the right; Earth is inadequate in the southeast, [where it] is hot on the right and warm on the left"); the cold/cool climates to the north and west and the hot/warm climates to the south and east reflect, of course, the topography of a high, mountainous northwest and a low, watery southeast, as the "Tianwen" passage also suggests. YZ2 02.6 (pp. 55–56), who dismisses any connection with mythology, also makes note of similar phrases preserved in the late-imperial compilation *Xieji bianfang* 協紀辨方, wherein they are elaborated in terms of a "nine-halls" 九宮 based mapping of the earth. Based on context and rhyme, LL 99.8 suggests

【不足於上】[57]（13）者，又（有）余（餘）於下；不足於下者，又（有）余（餘）於上。[58]■（14）〔陽部〕

Below, it is soil, and this is called Earth; above, it is fluid energy (*qi*), and this is called Heaven. "The Way" is merely its designation—what, may I ask, is its name?

Those who use the Way to carry things out must entrust [themselves to][59] its name, and thus their tasks are successful and their persons long[-lived].

When sages carry things out, they also entrust [themselves to] its name, and thus their achievements are successful and their persons not injured.

The names and designations of Heaven and Earth stand side by side; thus though they may exceed their domains, they seek not to 【surpass】 each other.

【Heaven is deficient】 in the northwest, [but] that below it is high and strong.

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something like 虛以空 or 空以曠 for the last three graphs. CRY 98.10 supplies the strictly oppositional 低以溺(弱) (HR 00 follows); LXF 99.1 gives 厚以溺(弱). PH 00.5 (p. 540) would supply 高以強; QXG 00.7 and GY 01.2 both follow. WQP 99.8 and ZJW 99.8b both suggest 厚以廣, which I tentatively follow here; heedless of the rhyme, YZ2 02.6 would instead supply 廣以厚. AS 03 supplies "broad and pliant."

[57] These four additional missing graphs are supplied on the basis of parallel context. QXG 00.7 would instead supply a section marker, followed by blank space, and end the section (/text) here; he would move the four assumed graphs 不足於上 to the end of strip 9 instead, which he places before 14 as an independent section (he also considers, but ultimately rejects, the possibility of supplying four additional graphs, such as 人道貴強, and connecting strip 13 directly with strip 9). CW 02.12 follows this ordering and the move of the four graphs, but would connect 13 directly to 9 without any blank space (the four graphs to be added here left uncertain). Note, however, that either of these arrangements would disrupt the continuous rhyme, which QXG (98.5) himself noted, that runs through to the end of the text in its current arrangement.

[58] CRY 98.10, CW 99.10b, and HR 00 all suggest that these lines may be closely related to passage 77 of the (Mawangdui and) received *Daodejing*: "天之道，其猶張弓！高者抑之，下者舉之，有餘者損之，不足者與之。天之道，損有餘而補不足；人道則不然，損不足，奉有餘......" ("Is the Way of Heaven not like the drawing of a bow? It is lowered when too high and raised when too low, diminishing what is in excess and providing for what is deficient. The Way of Heaven diminishes the excessive and supplies the deficient. The way of mankind is different, diminishing the deficient and contributing to the excessive . . ."). CRY sees this passage as deriving from the "Taiyi sheng shui" lines, whereas CW sees the latter instead as a kind of commentary upon a preexisting version of that passage.

[59] Or alternatively, "be entrusted with," as AS 03 has it.

Earth is deficient in the southeast, [but] that above it is 【deep(?) and vast(?)】.

That which 【is deficient above】 has a surplus below; that which is deficient below has a surplus above.

| 3 |

"ZIYI"

"Black Robes"

〈緇衣〉

"Ziyi" ("Black Robes") holds a long-established place in the Chinese philosophical tradition. It has been transmitted throughout the centuries as a chapter of the *Li ji*, or *Book of Ritual*, and, as discussed in the general introduction, has long been associated with the figure of Zisi 子思, the grandson of Confucius. Regardless of who or what lineage may have authored "Ziyi," that it has recently resurfaced again as a manuscript among both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum corpora speaks to its seminal importance as a text that would appear to have been studied and revered throughout the early Chinese world.[1] While with the excavated versions we find the passages in different order from that of the received text, and while the latter contains a few additional lines and even passages not seen in the former, they nonetheless unmistakably all represent the same basic text, the simple and yet weighty form of which would seem to mark it as an ancient and authoritative canon of wisdom.

"Ziyi" consists of a series of related passages that take more or less the same form throughout. Each begins with a quote from the "Master," or Confucius,[2] followed, usually, by

[1] The Shanghai Museum (v. 1) "Ziyi" consists of twenty-four strips or strip portions, of which a complete strip is around 54.3 cm in length, much longer than the 32.5 cm Guodian "Ziyi" strips; the strips were bound by three tying strings, as opposed to the two that bound the latter.

[2] For evidence on why these quotations must be from Confucius and not some other "Master," see Asano Yūichi, *Zhanguo Chujian yanjiu*, pp. 62–65; Xing Wen, "Chujian 'Ziyi' yu xian-Qin lixue," p. 160; Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 67–68; and especially Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' zhengwen yu Kong Zi zhi guanxi," pp. 17–32. A number of scholars in the earlier Chinese tradition have in fact long made the argument that unspecified "Zi yue" quotations in pre-Qin literature *always* refer to Confucius; for details, see Wang Zhiping, "Guodian Chujian 'Qiongda yi shi' congkao," p. 298. See also the discussion in Cheng Yuanmin, "*Liji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Zi yi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao," pp. 25–29. Some, however, still hold to an alternate view that the "Master" here refers to Zisi; see, for example, Cui Renyi, *Jingmen Guodian Chujian "Laozi" yanjiu*, p. 10. See also Liang Tao, "'Ziyi,' 'Biao ji,' 'Fang ji' sixiang shitan: jianlun 'Zi yue' yu ruxue de neizai quanshi wenti," esp. pp. 81–82; Liang believes that though the quotes must refer to Confucius, they

a brief elaborative comment,[3] and then concludes with short quotations from the *Shi* (*Odes*) and/or the *Shu* (*Documents*), usually in that order. This is a form that it shares in common with many passages from two of the other texts traditionally attributed to Zisi: namely, the "Biao ji" 表記 and "Fang ji" 坊記. The constant theme expressed through such "Ziyi" passages—and this is largely true of the latter two texts as well—may be summed up as follows: lead through example, not through coercion. If the ruler clearly "manifests his likes and dislikes"—to be fond of the worthy and despise the loathsome—then his ministers and the people will follow just as the body follows the inclinations of the mind.[4] Thus the people are to be brought to order through moral suasion and ritual practices, not through administrative laws and the constant threat of coercion, for to lead otherwise is to teach not true compliance, but only evasion. So long as the ruler is cautious over his words and makes sure to follow them through with his actions, the world will sway to his virtuous influence like the grass to the wind:

> The Master said, "In serving their superiors, subordinates do not follow that which they command, but rather follow the example of their conduct. If the

can only represent rough paraphrases—Zisi's imaginative elaborations—of Confucius's utterances; but this is largely because he appears to mistakenly take the entirety of each passage as included in the quotation (see the next note). Li Xueqin—reviving an old argument—suggests that similar such "master said" quotations found in the closely related "Fang ji" cannot possibly refer to Confucius, since the *Lunyu* is also quoted side-by-side such a quotation in one of its passages, and thus most probably refer to Zisi; see his "'Yucong' yu *Lunyu*," pp. 225. However, it is difficult to see how such a *Lunyu* reference, assuming it was even original to that text, would necessarily preclude the simultaneous presence of alternate quotations from Confucius not already incorporated into the *Lunyu* (in whatever form it may have then existed). Note that Li's observation is one that goes all the way back to the Song dynasty, when scholars first started to doubt whether Confucius was the intended "Master" in these chapters and began attributing that distinction to Zisi or, in some cases, Gongsun Ni Zi; for further details on this, see pp. 19–26 of Yu's article and pp. 26–29 of Cheng's article (Cheng does argue, however, that the citation of the *Lunyu* by name marks the "Fang ji" as a very late text). Instances of citation overlap between "Ziyi" and the *Lunyu* (including passages 12 [LJ 3] and, with significant variations, 23 [LJ 24]) will be discussed below. As Yu observes (pp. 29–30), the "Master said" quotes of passages 9 and 3 (LJ 9 and 10) are also found attributed specifically to Confucius ("孔子曰") in the "Deng qi" 等齊 chapter of Jia Yi's 賈誼 (200–168 BC) *Xinshu*, which at least serves to reveal an early Han understanding of just who that "master" was.

[3] Many have traditionally seen what I view here as commentarial elaborations as instead further continuations of the quotes from the "Master"; I will have more to say about this matter below.

[4] As exemplified in a number of the *Shi* and *Shu* quotations in "Ziyi," not to mention in "Wu xing," "Cheng zhi," and in many other texts of the early Confucian tradition, Zhou King Wen 文王 is usually held up as the prime exemplar of the virtues of rulership through charismatic suasion, stemming from the historical narrative that while serving as the subject of Shang King Zhòu, he was able to attract the support of many states simply by the force of his benevolent leadership. For more on this, see Lin Suying, "Cong shizheng yuanze lun Kong Zi dexing sixiang zhi zhuanhua: zonghe jianben yu jinben 'Ziyi' zhi taolun," pp. 194–96.

> superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so.” Thus the superior cannot but be cautious over what he likes and dislikes—he is the standard for the people. The Ode says: “Awesome and prominent, Master Yin, all the people look up to you.” (8 [LJ 4])[5]

The theme is a simple yet enduring one, and it pervades not only most of the other Confucian texts of the Guodian corpus, but lies at the heart of the entire Confucian tradition as well.[6] To give just one of countless examples from other texts, the *Yue ji* 樂記 quotes the words of Confucius’s disciple Zixia 子夏 as stating that:

> 為人君者，謹其所好惡而已矣。君好之，則臣為之；上行之，則民從之。《詩》云：「誘民孔易」，此之謂也。
>
> He who serves as ruler to the people is cautious over what he likes and dislikes, and that is all. If the ruler is fond of something, the ministers will act upon it; if he above practices something, the people will follow him. The Ode says: “To lead the people is truly easy”—this is what it refers to.[7]

Nowhere, however, is such a theme expressed more succinctly and vigorously than in “Ziyi,” and it is thus no wonder that it would hold such an influential position within the early Confucian canon.

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[5] Note that “LJ” will be used here to stand for the received *Li ji* text of “Ziyi,” in distinction to its excavated counterparts. “GDCJ” and “SBCJ” will also be used to stand for the Guodian and Shanghai Museum “Ziyi” manuscripts, respectively.

[6] It should be obvious that Confucius’s thought as portrayed in this text conforms quite closely to his philosophy of statecraft as expressed throughout the *Lunyu*. For a succinct summary of closely relevant passages in both the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*, see Chen Hui (Shirley Chan), “Guodian ‘Ziyi’ wenben de zhengzhi sixiang: yu *Lunyu*, *Mengzi* de bijiao.” Chen offers the conclusion, however, that “Ziyi” places somewhat greater emphasis than the *Lunyu* on both the mutual interaction between ruler and minister and the interdependent relationship between the ruler and his people; as such, she views the work as a kind of bridge between the thought of the *Lunyu* and that of the *Mengzi*.

[7] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1017–18; the *Shi* line may be found in the ode “Ban” 板 from the “Da ya” 大雅 section of the *Shi jing*, where we find 牖 for 誘. For further examples from other texts wherein the ruler manifesting his “likes and dislikes” 好惡 is proffered as the key to successful rule, see Ji Xusheng, “Cong jianben ‘Ziyi’ ‘zhang hao zhang wu’ zhang dao jinben ‘Ziyi’ ‘zhang shan dan e’ zhang,” pp. 10–15, and Kondō Hiroyuki et al., “‘Ziyi’ yizhu,” p. 15. For related lines from elsewhere in the Guodian manuscripts, see section E of the general introduction.

DISPARITIES IN THE CONFIGURATION AND ORDERING OF PASSAGES

As the only text in the Guodian corpus (other than the "Laozi" texts) for which there exists a received counterpart, "Ziyi" holds special significance insofar as it may help us better understand the nature of textual transmission in early China, including all the various accretions and deletions, rearrangements of passages, alterations of graphs and standardization of orthography, etc. that occurred during this process. The most striking aspect of the Guodian "Ziyi" is the fact that its passages are found in an order that is much different from that of the *Li ji* version, not to mention that the latter contains two additional passages—LJ 1 and LJ 16—not found in the former, as well as passages with additional lines and/or different internal order and even a couple of interesting "transpositions" between passages. Note that as the subsequently discovered Shanghai Museum "Ziyi" is virtually identical to the Guodian version in terms of the order and configuration of its passages (though with many lacunae), what we have to say of the latter below in fact pertains to both, in opposition to what we find in the received, *Li ji* chapter.

Scholarly consensus holds that the Guodian (and Shanghai Museum, same below) text is in many ways "superior" to the received *Li ji* version, as seen from the logic of its overall organization on down to its local variations in wording. To the minds of most scholars, this largely sustainable conclusion also suggests that the Guodian text represents the more "original" of the two, the received version constituting a kind of "corruption," though here we are on somewhat more unstable grounds. To better understand the nature of this issue, we must first separate the various types of discrepancies into their proper categories.

1. Inconsistencies and Traces of Elaboration in the Received Text

The first thing to be noted is that the Guodian text is clearly of much more uniform style and structure throughout, a fact that such scholars as Peng Hao, Cheng Yuanmin, and Liao Mingchun make much of in arguing for its superiority.[8] In the Guodian text, as described above, every passage begins with a single quotation from Confucius, followed in most cases

[8] See Peng Hao, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' de fenzhang," pp. 46–47; Cheng Yuanmin, "*Guodian Chujian* 'Ziyi' yin shu kao," pp. 36–39; and Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 38–39, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yin *Shu* kao," pp. 58–59, and "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' pian yin *Shi* kao," pp. 70–73. See also Xing Wen, "Chujian 'Ziyi' yu xian-Qin lixue," pp. 160–61.

by an editorial comment, which is then followed by either one or two *Shi* and/or *Shu* quotations (in one case three), in that order, with *Shi* quotations from the "Da ya" 大雅 section always coming before those from the "Xiao ya" 小雅 and labeled, moreover, in a consistent manner.[9] In the received text, by contrast, we have the anomalies of passages with lone or "extra" quotations from the master (i.e., LJ 1 and 18); passages that lack any *Shi* or *Shu* quotations whatsoever (LJ 4) and those with multiple and/or randomly ordered *Shi* and/or *Shu* quotes (LJ 5, 10, 16, 18, and 24); and a passage with a seemingly doubled commentary, the second half of which appears irrelevant to the context (LJ 7).[10] Given that in some of these instances (i.e., LJ 4, 5, and 7-8) the alternate placement of a single quotation in the Guodian text makes for such a natural reading in contrast to the relative nonsense of the received text, it is difficult to argue for any conclusion other than that the latter has been corrupted by erroneous transpositions.[11]

[9] Liao Mingchun observes how Odes are always introduced in the manuscript by "詩云" where there is only one such quotation in a passage, but separately by "大雅云" and "小雅云" where there are two; whereas the received version introduces the first quotation with "詩云" in the latter cases, and sometimes by just "大雅曰" in the former. See his "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' pian yin *Shi* kao," pp. 70–71. Liao notes, moreover, that the ordering of *Shi* before *Shu* is also reflected in the ordering of the classics as enumerated in both "Xing zi ming chu" and "Liu de," where *Shi* is listed first; see his "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yin *Shu* kao," p. 58. For a convenient table comparing all the different citation formulas for both *Shi* and *Shu* citations used in the Guodian and *Li ji* versions of the text, see Qiu Dexiu, "Hubei Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi pian' kaoshi juli," pp. 78–79, or his "Cong Hubei Guodian Chujian *Li ji* 'Ziyi' kan jinben xingcheng de yuanwei," pp. 123–25. Note that Guodian passage 17 (LJ 23) is the only passage of the manuscript that contains a total of three classical quotations, two from the *Shi* and one from the *Shu*.

[10] For details, see the notes to the translation; the roughly corresponding Guodian passages are 18 (LJ 18), 8 (LJ 4), 7 (LJ 5), 3 (LJ 10), 23 (LJ 24), and, below, 16 (LJ 8); LJ 1 and 16 have no counterparts. On LJ 7, cf. Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 39–40, and "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' pian yin *Shi* kao," p. 72; and Cheng Yuanmin, "*Guodian Chujian* 'Ziyi' yin shu kao," pp. 36–37. As Liao (p. 37) and others note, the traditional title of the text as "Ziyi" would appear to derive from an edition in which GDCJ passage 1 was the first passage, and the additional first passage in the received version would thus appear to be a later inclusion; on this point, cf. Zhang Liwen, "*Guodian Chumu zhujian* de pianti," p. 332; and Cheng Yuanmin, "*Li ji* 'Zhong yong,' 'Fang ji,' 'Ziyi' fei chuyu *Zisizi* kao." Whereas Cheng Yuanmin (pp. 30–32) contends that such extra passages as LJ 16 were taken from the *Zisizi* and consciously grafted into the text by Han editors, Yu Wanli argues that they were more likely inadvertently transposed from that same work along with all the original "Ziyi" passages as the result of displaced strips (more on this below). See Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben zhangci wenzi cuojian yitong kaozheng," pp. 148–49, 152–55. For more on LJ 1 and16, see the first and last notes to the translation, respectively. Regarding the *Shi* transpositions more specifically, Martin Kern suggests that some of them might have been due to the "inherent flexibility" of Ode quotes that are general enough to "serve as proof text for the philosophical argument in either one of the two paragraphs" in question; see his "Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts," p. 311.

[11] The three passages of 14-16, which form only two in *Li ji* (7-8), make for a particularly complex and interesting case, especially as the same Ode is quoted three different times in the sequence. For details, see the

These examples aside, in cases in the received text where the *Shi/Shu* or "Da ya"/"Xiao ya" ordering does not follow the norm, or where, unlike the Guodian text, the received version does not consistently use 云 rather than 曰 before the *Shi*/*Shu* quotes,[12] one could just as easily argue—perhaps even more strongly—that the Guodian version represents an attempt to "clean up" an originally irregular text, rather than a pristine text that later fell into corruption (to the extent that we are thinking in terms of a simplified, straight-line model of written transmission in the first place). Nonetheless, the overall weight of evidence would tend to point toward the latter scenario, and in any case it is hard to argue against the conclusion that the Guodian text is on the whole in much better shape than the received.

There are, moreover, a number of instances where the *Li ji* version appears to contain lines that were added to the text for purposes of elaboration or clarification. To cite a simple example, LJ 3 (GDCJ 12) follows its final *Shu* quotation with a brief pair of commentarial lines: "Thus the people came to have decadent virtue, and consequently met with the extinction of their line" 是以民有惡德，而遂絕其世也. As Cheng Yuanmin suggests, the anomalous addition of these explanatory lines at the *end* of a passage appears to mark them as a later clarification, drawn from the original context of the quoted "Lü xing" in order to further illuminate how the quotation points to the negative effects of rulership through coercion.[13] More substantial "elaborations" may be found in the *Li ji* equivalents to passages 5 (LJ 17), 6 (LJ 6), 11 (LJ 14), 1 (LJ 2), 4 (LJ 12), 9 (LJ 9).[14] Such ostensible additions or

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notes to the translation; cf. Peng Hao, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' de fenzhang," p. 47. For more on one intriguing theory as to how the transpositions may have occurred, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 82–86; cf. Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," pp. 143 and 169–70. There are some who would go so far as to argue that even these transpositions, along with other subtle alterations in the received text, were the result of purposeful manipulation for Han political purposes; see esp. Guo Jingyun (Olga Gorodetskaya), *Qin ren yu tian ming: cong "Ziyi" kan xian-Qin ruxue zhuanhua cheng "jing,"* pp. 8–11.

[12] On this point, see Cheng Yuanmin, "*Guodian Chujian* 'Ziyi' yin shu kao," p. 40.

[13] See Cheng Yuanmin, "*Guodian Chujian* 'Ziyi' yin shu kao," p. 38; for details, see also the notes to the translation of this passage. As both Cheng and Zhou Guidian note, it is also possible that, in this and other instances, the lines may represent commentary that erroneously found its way into the text, rather than purposely added to it; see Zhou Guidian, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' jiaodu zhaji," p. 209. In some cases, Cheng argues (p. 41), such ostensible alterations to the text may represent an attempt to "polish up" an originally more colloquial text.

[14] See Peng Hao, "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' de fenzhang," pp. 47–49; Xing Wen, "Chujian 'Ziyi' yu xian-Qin lixue," pp. 155–57; and Qiu Dexiu, "Cong Hubei Guodian Chujian *Li ji* 'Ziyi' kan jinben xingcheng de yuanwei," pp. 112–14—all cite these as clear evidence that the received text is a later version, elaborated, for Xing, at the hands of the *Li ji* editor. Zhang Fuhai concurs with the larger conclusion, but disputes Xing's latter claim, arguing that the revisions more likely occurred during the late Warring States; see his "'Ziyi' er ti," pp. 103–5. Xing (pp. 157–58) also makes special note of elaborations of *Shi* quotations in the *Li ji* equivalents to passages 9 and 5, noting how the different versions of "Wu xing" also show evidence of later manuscripts

accretions would further serve to indicate the likelihood that the Guodian (and Shanghai Museum) “Ziyi” represents a text much closer to its “original” state.[15]

It is in any event undeniable that the *Li ji* “Ziyi” represents a more elaborated form of the text, while the quotations and comments of the Guodian “Ziyi” are generally much more to the point. While we cannot rule out the possibility that the Guodian version represents an attempt to render the text more streamlined, logical, and succinct, the accretion theory would appear to be the one with more arguments in its favor. Nonetheless, it is always possible that the *Li ji* “Ziyi” derived from an earlier, similarly succinct and uncorrupted version of the text that was in other ways much different from that which we find in the excavated manuscripts. That is to say, the next question we are to consider—the divergent orderings of the passages—is largely independent from the issues just discussed, as such additions and even transpositions could easily, at least theoretically, have occurred independently of any reordering of the strips.

2. Divergent Orderings of the Passages

What are we to make of the vastly divergent orderings of passages between the excavated and received versions of “Ziyi”? Naturally, the first question to ask is: which of the two orderings makes for the more logical one? Here, too, scholarly consensus has come to favor the Guodian (/Shanghai Museum) version.[16] In this case, however, the answer

giving fuller citations of *Shi* quotes. These two particular cases, however, are somewhat complicated; see the notes to the translation for details. For more on such issues of elaboration and other possible reasons for them, see also Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 87–90.

[15] In this regard, the situation with LJ 16 and 24 is especially noteworthy; the former, replete with quotations, is not present in the Guodian version, while the latter, final passage (GDCJ 23) has a couple of additional quotations tacked on to the end in its *Li ji* version. As Zhou Guidian notes, the fact that both of these extra passages/portions have quotations from (lost) *Shu* chapters, “Tai Jia” 太甲 and “Yue ming” 兌命, that do not occur anywhere in the Guodian text is remarkable, and would appear to give further demonstration to the probability that these passages/portions were later additions. See Zhou Guidian, “Guodian Chujian ‘Ziyi’ jiaodu zhaji,” p. 216. Martin Kern concludes from this and other evidence that in the manuscript versions of the text “the *Odes* are given substantially greater weight than quotations from other sources”; see his “Quotation and the Confucian Canon,” pp. 304, 316–17.

[16] Edward Shaughnessy is among those who hold this view, arguing that “only the sequence of M (i.e., the Guodian/Shanghai-Museum manuscripts) maintains a reasonable and consistent editorial perspective throughout the text, while that of R (i.e., *Li ji*) suddenly veers off into concerns unrelated with those of the opening pericopes.” See his *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, p. 77 (parenthetical portions added). For another example of this consensus opinion, see, among others, Qiu Dexiu, “Cong Hubei Guodian Chujian *Li ji* ‘Ziyi’

ultimately remains in the eye of the beholder. Take, for example, Liao Mingchun's argument that Guodian passages 1 and 2 share the common theme of rulership through the "manifestation of likes and dislikes," whereas in the *Li ji* version, the first of these (LJ 2) is instead followed by a passage (LJ 3/GDCJ 12) contrasting rulership through virtue with rulership through coercion.[17] Yet if we set aside the narrow similarities in wording with *hao* 好 and *wu* 惡 that might serve to connect GDCJ 1 and 2, it is apparent that all three passages address the same theme of charismatic suasion, and the *Li ji* version surely has its own logic in grouping together two passages that in fact both downplay the use of punishments (as does LJ 4 as well). And whereas it makes perfect sense for the Guodian text to have the two passages concerning knowledge and trust between superiors and subordinates, 3 and 4 (LJ 10 and 12), directly follow each other, it surely makes no less sense for the *Li ji* version to have these three passages on punishments do likewise.[18] In the end, we may concede that the order of the excavated version(s) coheres more tightly and with clearer logical groupings than the received versions. Yet it remains clear that *both* versions have something of a method behind their madness, and it is difficult to tell with certainty just which of these might represent the logic behind the "original arrangement" and which that of the "rearrangement." As Li Ling has already noted, all such changes in ordering, passage division and structure, and the like,

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kan jinben xingcheng de yuanwei," p. 120.

[17] Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 37–38. Liao (p. 38) attempts to make a similar contrast between the Guodian text's ostensibly more logical placement of passage 3 (LJ 10) after 2 (LJ 11) with the *Li ji* text's placement of the same passage after LJ 9 (GDCJ 9) instead—though in this case the two GDCJ passages (LJ 11 and 10) in fact remain together, only in reversed order.

[18] We must add, however, that GDCJ 12 and 13 both concern punishments, whereas these two are split up (LJ 3 and 13) in the *Li ji* version. Some have argued, most vociferously Olga Gorodetskaya, that the editors of the *Li ji* text rearranged the order (along with making other changes) to better highlight the criticism of punishments due to Han political ends; see her (Guo Jingyun) *Qin ren yu tian ming*, pp. 19 and 25. Exactly why, however, Han interests would dictate this is never fully explained. While Han criticisms of draconian Qin punishments were of course common, the Han themselves were no strangers to strict and often brutal punishments, and it is difficult to see how their desire to criticize punishments as a general rule would be any deeper than that of the Confucian thinkers of the Warring States—let alone the fact that such criticism is already more than clear in the excavated versions. Interestingly enough, Chao Fulin attempts, through other (highly untenable) means, to make roughly the opposite case: that *Shang shu* quotations in the *Li ji* "Ziyi" (and in the *Shang shu* itself) were altered in subtle ways so as to make the text better conform with late-Zhanguo and Han legalist principles; see his "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' yu *Shang shu* 'Lü xing.'" And the contention expressed by Gorodetskaya and others in some ways duplicates or transforms a now-discredited line of argument that had formerly been used to claim that "Ziyi" itself must have been composed by Han dynasty Confucians. For more on the Warring-States Confucian polemic against the misuse of punishments, see my "The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the 'Human Way' in Light of Recently Excavated Warring States Texts"; and Lin Suying, "Cong shizheng yuanze lun Kong Zi dexing sixiang zhi zhuanhua," pp. 200–2.

might best be understood as attempts by transmitters to make better sense out of the text, and thus the “better” or more logical of the two texts is by no means necessarily the earlier or more “original” one (though, of course, “misunderstandings” can always result in the introduction of less clarity as well).[19] In fact, were we wont to apply a principle akin to that of *lectio difficilior* at a kind of meta-level, we could perhaps even argue that the less easily intelligible arrangement is *more* likely to represent the original. We could easily imagine a scenario where the version of “Ziyi” found at Guodian (and that of the Shanghai Museum corpus)—like, perhaps, its “Laozi” texts—constituted a rearrangement of an earlier text undertaken in the name of some unspecified pedagogical purpose. And yet, to the extent that the individual passage may, as some have argued, have comprised the fundamental main textual unit in the first place, none of the arrangements can be truly considered “original” and must all have been somewhat arbitrary to begin with, it always being possible to reorder such units as suited one’s particular focus.[20]

To argue too vociferously in favor of the received order might be, moreover, to ignore the conditions under which the received texts were recovered and arranged in the early Han. Edward Shaughnessy has productively speculated that the differences in the *Li ji* sequence of passages vis-à-vis that of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts may have resulted from the following scenario: that the *Li ji* source text was one in which each individual passage (which he terms “pericope”) was self-contained on a group of strips, the following passage beginning anew at the top of the next strip;[21] but as the binding strings had since

[19] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 73–74.

[20] At the very least, as Cheng Yuanmin notes, the Guodian “Ziyi” serves to demonstrate with certainty that the clear division of texts into *zhang* was a fact of many pre-Qin texts well prior to the Han; see his “*Guodian Chujian* ‘Ziyi’ yin shu kao,” p. 35. Martin Kern suggests that one function of direct quotation in “Ziyi” was to provide “integrity and stability to each individual paragraph” as a series of “self-contained, framed textual units,” and thus to enhance those units’ stability in transmission; see his “Quotation and the Confucian Canon,” pp. 300–1. At the same time, however, he makes note of an idea that if all of the quotations were removed, the remaining text in the Guodian order could plausibly be read as a “continuous philosophical essay,” possibly pointing to a scenario wherein the text became clearly divided into short units and framed by quotations only at a later point in time (Kern makes this observation in reference to Marc Kalinowski’s “Systèmes de croyances et de pensée de monde sinisé,” pp. 141–43). Let us note, however, that many of the passages are made up of nothing but quotations, and if all such quotations were removed, we would be left with a very short “essay” indeed. The issue of the *zhang* as a fundamental unit of course also brings up the question of oral versus written transmission; for more on this issue, see the subsection “A note on modes of textual transmission” in section D of the general introduction.

[21] Though this is not the case with either the Guodian or Shanghai Museum “Ziyi” texts, it is similar to the situation we have with “Yucong” 1-3 or even “Laozi C,” not to mention, as Shaughnessy notes, the Shanghai Museum version of the *Zhou Yi* 周易.

broken or worn away, the compiler of the *Li ji* "Ziyi" would have had to reorder them in whatever sequence he saw fit. In some ways, this is the physical corollary to Wagner's (and Boltz's) notion of the *zhang* as the fundamental textual building block, but the identification of a physical cause for the reordering certainly holds different implications for the potential limits of such malleability. This in itself is attractive as a possible explanation, but Shaughnessy also goes much further in his reasoning by positing that a number of the "misplaced" *Shi* quotations and conflations of passages may have resulted from misplaced strips as well.[22] Essentially, such misplacements assume a number of additional prerequisites: that the strips of the source text contained around twenty-two graphs per strip;[23] that the misplaced *Shi* quotations happened in each case to have begun at the top of a new strip; that, in two cases, a strip (of the same dimensions) from another text altogether was mistakenly added into the "Ziyi" source text as it was being recompiled; and that, in some instances, the *Li ji* editor saw fit, for various reasons, to reverse the order of *Shi* quotations *after* their misplacement, and in one case even add his own text.[24] To be sure, some of these involve quite a number of steps. But even if we do not accept the arguments in every case, it seems to me that Shaughnessy's speculations provide a plausible scenario by which at least some of the more otherwise inexplicable rearrangements could logically be accounted for. After all,

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[22] Zhou Guidian seems to be the first to have mentioned the possibility of misplaced strips (*cuojian* 錯簡) to account for not only the existence of LJ 1 (as Shaughnessy notes), but also for the misplaced *Ode* in LJ 7-8; see his "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' jiaodu zhaji," pp. 209–12. Zhou, however, does not really explain precisely how this could have occurred, nor does he systematically test the idea on other passages with similar discrepancies, the way that Shaughnessy does. Peng Hao, in "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' de fenzhang," also mentions misplaced strips as the probable cause behind the reordering of passages 6, 7, 8 (LJ 6, 5, 4) and 10, 11 (LJ 15, 14). Yu Wanli, like Shaughnessy, offers more systematic explanations, for more on which see below. For Shaughnessy's theories, see his *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 77-90; Shaughnessy first presented his ideas in an earlier Chinese article, for which see Xia Hanyi, "Shilun 'Ziyi' cuojian zhengju jiqi zai *Li ji* ben 'Ziyi' bianzuan guocheng zhong de yuanyin he houguo."

[23] Aside from this being the necessary number for the argument to work, Shaughnessy (*Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, p. 78) also invokes the authority of the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapter of the *Han shu*, which notes that the ancient-script version of the *Shang shu* found at the time contained either twenty-two or twenty-four graphs per strip. While we can by no means assume that the *Li ji* source text was of similar dimensions, it is certainly plausible that it could have been (though for Yu Wanli's objections to this, see his "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," p. 158). Shaughnessy also notes (p. 70) that the greatest number of strips in the Guodian "Ziyi" (which range from twenty-two to thirty-one graphs each) "congregate between twenty-three and twenty-four characters per strip."

[24] For details, see the notes to passages 1 (LJ 2), 5 (LJ 17), 7-8 (LJ 4-5), 14-16 (LJ 7-8), 18 (LJ 18), and 23 (LJ 24) in the translation below. Some of Shaughnessy's assumptions similar to those I have observed here have also been noted by both Martin Kern and Yu Wanli; see Kern, "Quotation and the Confucian Canon," pp. 304–5 n. 22, and Yu, "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," pp. 157–58.

there is a long tradition of identifying garbled passages in received texts as deriving from misplaced strips, and, in the Shanghai Museum “Min zhi fumu” 民之父母 manuscript, we have demonstrable evidence from an excavated text that this would by no means be an isolated case in even the *Li ji* itself.[25] At the same time, however, it also seems clear that someone, whether a later follower or later editor, quite consciously altered the text at several points, and so the misplaced strip theory would still account for only a portion of the discrepancies.[26]

Another scholar who argues at length for misplaced strips as the root cause of the ostensible *Li ji* reordering is Yu Wanli, but the details of his explanation differ from those of Shaughnessy’s in a number of fundamental ways. Much like Shaughnessy, Yu begins with the assumption that whoever edited the text in the Han (be it Dai Sheng 戴聖 or some other ritual expert) did so on the basis of an ancient manuscript stored in the imperial library that had badly suffered from strip displacement, its binding strings having broken apart as it sat in storage for well over a century.[27] Unlike Shaughnessy, however, Yu sees little evidence to suggest that each subsequent passage of the manuscript would have begun anew at the top of the next strip, and he thus assumes that the entire text was written contiguously. As all of the displaced *Shi* and *Shu* quotations happen to be of ten to twelve characters in length, a fact he finds too “coincidental” to ignore, Yu proposes a basis upon which to speculate that the *Li ji* “Ziyi” source text was in fact written on bamboo strips of no more than one *chi* 尺 in length, accommodating roughly ten to thirteen characters each, despite the fact that this would have been significantly shorter than the two actual “Ziyi” bamboo manuscripts we now possess.[28]

[25] The misplaced strip in the *Li ji* counterpart to this text, “Kongzi xianju” 孔子閒居, was first noted by Chen Jian, “Shangbo jian ‘Min zhi fumu’ ‘er de ji sai yu sihai yi’ ju jieshi.” Note that the number of characters per strip that would need to be assumed for the *Li ji* source text in this case would be twenty-seven to twenty-eight graphs; see my (Gu Shikao) “Gujin wenxian yu shijia zhi xixin shoujiu,” p. 72 n. 14. For another possible case wherein lines from the *Zhou li* may have made their way into a *Li ji* chapter, see Yu Wanli, “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” pp. 155–56.

[26] Also perhaps relevant in this regard is Dirk Meyer’s observation that while the various building blocks of “Wu xing” would seem to lend themselves to being written one block per strip, there is in fact no such correlation between formal structure and physical carrier in that particular Guodian manuscript; see his “Writing Meaning: Strategies of Meaning-Construction in Early Chinese Philosophical Discourse,” pp. 79–80.

[27] Yu assumes that a redactor such as Dai Sheng would have treated the sources for the classical ritual work he was compiling with the same reverently cautious and conservative attitude with which Liu Xiang would, as a matter of record, later treat classical texts in his collation project. Yu thus rules out the possibility of any willful alterations or additions, and he recounts the chaotic history of the loss and recovery of texts from the Qin through the former Han to suggest, like Shaughnessy, misplaced strips as the most likely explanation for all the reorderings and transpositions. See his “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” pp. 148–52.

[28] Yu suggests that while regulations in strip dimensions were not fully codified until the Han dynasty, there

On the basis of this theory, Yu then maps out a hypothetical reconstruction of the entire text as written on such a manuscript so as to show just where the various transpositions and other alterations may have occurred.[29] Yu also speculates that certain thematically related strips from other manuscripts of the same dimensions—most likely other chapters of the *Zisizi* 子思子—were accidentally displaced into the manuscript before it was recopied, thus accounting for the existence of the various additional lines and passages, such as *Li ji* passages 1 and 16.[30] And as it turns out under his mapped-out scenario, anywhere from fourteen to sixteen of the twenty-four passages would happen to have begun at the top of a new strip, thus accounting for the *Li ji* editor's need to reorder them as best he could, a project that would have been undertaken in accordance with the principle of thematic

probably was some earlier loose precedent for them; given that "Ziyi" would not yet have been considered a classic prior to the compilation of the *Li ji*, it is "objectively feasible" that breast-pocket-sized editions of the text with strips of around eight *cun* 寸 to one *chi* 尺 in length—roughly equivalent to those of the 16.2-cm Dingzhou 定州 *Lunyu*—may have been in circulation prior to the time of recovery. Yu estimates that, with character size and spacing similar to those of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum versions, strips of that size would have contained on average around twelve graphs. See his "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," pp. 158–64. Of course, that the displaced *Shi* and *Shu* quotations would all tend to be of ten to twelve characters in length is really not much of a coincidence at all, given that the standard *Shi* quote by its nature contains the two characters 詩云 followed by a quotation of two lines of four characters each, and the *Shu* quotations also tend to incorporate lines of roughly the same length. Note also that at a hundred strips in length, such a hypothetical source manuscript, once rolled into a bundle, would surely have made for an unusually uncomfortable breast-pocket book.

[29] In some cases, Yu's reconstruction of the source manuscript has it that certain graphs missing from the *Li ji* "Ziyi" but present in the excavated versions just happened to have come at the beginning or end of a strip, thus allowing Yu to speculate that their absence in the former may be due to the ending of such strips having broken off and gone missing.

[30] Yu proposes that in addition to the excavated versions we now possess, there may have been versions of "Ziyi" among the 131 *pian* 篇 of ritual "records" (*ji* 記) listed in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapter of the *Han shu*, or amidst the chapters of the *Zisizi*, or those of the *Gongsun Nizi* 公孫尼子, among other possibilities, and that at some point prior to the time of the *Li ji* redaction, one of these must have accidentally come to have the extra lines and passages added to it. Yu argues that it could only be from other chapters of one of these larger collections in which it was included (with all the texts written on strips of the same dimensions, we might add) that the extra passages could have inadvertently been displaced into "Ziyi." Given that lines from both LJ 16 and LJ 17 not found in the excavated "Ziyi" appear attributed to the *Zisizi* in other sources (see the notes to GDCJ passages 5 and 23), Yu speculates that Dai Sheng most likely had access to a *Zisizi* manuscript—one still in relative disarray—and incorporated its "Ziyi" chapter into his *Li ji* along with the extra lines and passages from displaced strips that he thought belonged with it. See his "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," pp. 152–55. The incorporation would only have been plausible, of course, because of a somewhat coincidentally close relation in thematic content between the extra lines/passages and those of the ostensibly original "Ziyi" text; as Yu takes efforts to demonstrate (pp. 145–48), they certainly exhibit evidence of derivation from a common tradition of the recorded utterances of Confucius, though they by no means would have had to have been found together within the same text.

grouping (along the lines discussed above)—wherein a certain degree of unconscious subjectivity might invariably have been introduced.

Yu’s scenario would appear to have the obvious advantages of fully accounting for all of the *Li ji* text’s various inversions, transpositions, and additions, many of which would be difficult to explain by other means.[31] Closer examination, however, reveals a number of problems to this approach. First, in order to make everything work out as he maps out the hypothetical source manuscript, Yu has to posit some strips with ten characters, and some with twelve to thirteen—which is natural enough, since such variations in the number of characters per strip are clearly a common feature of bamboo manuscripts.[32] By doing so, he ends up with twelve of the thirty-three *Shi* and *Shu* quotations (including the 云 and the 詩 or chapter title preceding it), or thirty-six percent, beginning precisely at the top of a new strip. Statistically, however, with an average of between eleven to twelve graphs per strip, we would expect that this would only occur some eight to nine percent of the time. Likewise, Yu’s hypothetical source manuscript ends up with fourteen of the twenty-three passages as a whole just happening to begin with their opening “子曰” precisely at the top of a new strip (and he adds that two more passages could also have begun that way, with minor adjustments to his scenario); even discounting the first passage, which would inevitably begin at the top of a strip, this involves thirteen out of twenty-two, or a whopping fifty-nine percent of all the remaining passages—just the sort of high number necessary to explain why so many passages would have been reordered in the *Li ji* redaction.[33] But even if we were to assume a predilection on the part of the scribe to go ahead and switch to a new strip when he was already near the end of one strip and a new passage or *Shi* or *Shu* quotation was to be written next, such percentages would still fall well beyond the bounds of statistical probability. Furthermore, under Yu’s mapped-out scenario, Guodian and Shanghai Museum passages 2, 5, 7, 11, 16, 22, and 23 are the passages that do not (or even with slight adjustments would not) begin at the top of a new strip, meaning that passages 1-2, 4-5, 6-7, 10-11, 15-16, and 21-23 should each have remained in sequence in the *Li ji* arrangement; in fact, however, these

[31] By Yu’s account, these involve altogether five sets of strip transpositions (three within passages and two between different passages), three cases of new strips inadvertently added into the text, two cases of strips involving additions or alterations to the original lines, and one case of a strip displaced out of the text altogether. See his “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” p. 170.

[32] Note that in some cases the posited strips of thirteen graphs also assume certain graphs to be doubled by repetition marks, even where the same repeated graphs are in fact fully written out in our attested excavated versions.

[33] Note that Yu does not include any of the “extra” *Li ji* passages in his scenario, so the total number of passages here remains at twenty-three rather than twenty-five.

respectively correspond to *Li ji* passages 2/11, 12/17, 6/5, 15/14, 7b/8, and 19/20/24, meaning that five out of even those seven sequences would have ended up reordered—a phenomenon that Yu fails to account for.[34] Finally, though Yu posits earlier in his article that LJ 1 and 16 and the extra 子曰 quote at the head of LJ 18 had all crept into “Ziyi” via strips displaced from other texts, Yu ends up leaving these passages out entirely when he comes around to mapping out the hypothetical source-manuscript and explaining how the *Li ji* “Ziyi” would have derived therefrom. This is probably because these extra lines and passages cannot be plausibly accounted for under Yu’s scenario, as LJ 1 and the LJ 18 quotation are both nineteen characters in length and thus not divisible by strips of ten to thirteen graphs each; and LJ 16 is no less than 164 characters in length, necessitating the highly improbable assumption that a full fourteen strips of a single passage were inadvertently transposed intact from another text and somehow managed to all remain together in their new “Ziyi” context.[35]

The other assumption that Shaughnessy’s and Yu’s theories would both seem to involve is that of a single source text for the *Li ji* redaction—or at least source texts that were all written in the same manner.[36] Yet given what we know about the conditions under which Han dynasty collators operated—as indicated, for example, in surviving records from Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC)—it is quite probable that the *Li ji* editor(s) may have had several earlier manuscript versions from which to work.[37] Given this and all the other problems and complex variables just discussed, in the end it appears unlikely that we will be able to come

[34] Note that the *Li ji* passage numbering used here conforms to that which I have adopted; Yu’s numbering, which follows that of (Qing) Sun Xidan, is slightly different. More on the numbering discrepancies will follow below.

[35] One other potential problem with Yu’s theory, which Yu himself notes, is that the received order of LJ 9 and 10 (GDCJ 9 and 3) is already reflected in quotations found in the “Deng qi” 等齊 chapter of Jia Yi’s 賈誼 *Xinshu*. Assuming that the rearrangement of “Ziyi” did not occur at an early enough time to have served as a basis for the *Xinshu*, Yu would attribute the shared order of these passages either to coincidence or the possibility that the later ritual-text redactors may have in fact based their order of these two passages on the order of their citation as found in that work. See Yu Wanli, “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” p. 168.

[36] Yu appears to suggest that his scenario requires only that at least one of the assumed source texts had the full complement of passages, including the additional ones, as those extra passages would have been preserved anyway under the aforementioned conservative principles employed in collation of the classics; see his “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” p. 153. The problem, however, is that unless *all* of the source manuscripts were laid out in exactly the same manner, it would have been easy to see which passages followed which by comparing the manuscripts with one another, as most of the passage breaks that occurred at the point of new strips in one manuscript would inevitably occur in the middle of strips in others (assuming, as Yu does, that the text was indeed written contiguously within them).

[37] For more on this point, see my review of “*The Guodian* Laozi”; Kern also raises a similar point in “Quotation and the Confucian Canon,” pp. 304–5 n. 22.

up with any singular theory that would satisfactorily explain all of the various transpositions, reorderings, and other anomalous discrepancies between the *Li ji* “Ziyi” and its excavated counterparts, which had more likely resulted from a much greater variety of still poorly understood factors, accidents, and conditions. Yet displaced strips assuredly may have counted for at least a portion of such anomalies, and the meticulous conjectures of both Shaughnessy and Yu take us a long way toward understanding with much greater precision just how such displacements may have occurred.

One final phenomenon to be noted in regard to the issue of passage reordering is one first observed by Li Ling: that there are about five “blocks” of passages that each stay together in both the Guodian/Shanghai-Museum and received arrangements of the text—though with each block having a different internal order of passages between the two arrangements—so that most of the “movement” between the two versions would appear to have occurred in groups.[38] Li does not discuss these blocks in thematic terms, but Yu Wanli observes that they do indeed tend to cluster along common themes, such that GDCJ/SBCJ passages 6-8 (LJ 6, 5, 4) focus on subordinates emulating the practices of their superiors; 10-11 (LJ 15, 14) on the need for the ruler to hold the worthy dear and distance himself from the base; 20-22 (LJ 21, 19, 20) on the themes of noble friendship and respectfully dealing with others; and so on.[39] For Yu, again, the need for regrouping and reordering in the first place derives from the assumption of a source text jumbled with displaced strips, and as he goes on to show, even where the ostensibly original thematic clusters end up dispersed and reorganized, the received “Ziyi” still demonstrates its own logic of thematic grouping at the same time as it may fail to capture some of the intent with which its source text was arranged.[40] Even if we do not accept Yu’s theory of displaced strips, either in whole or in part, the basic premise that all versions of the text were organized under some principle of

[38] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, pp. 75–76. The largest displacement outside of these larger groups involves the two passages of 5 (LJ 17) and 12 (LJ 3).

[39] Yu Wanli, “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” pp. 142–43. Yu in each case attempts to explain the possible rationale, in terms of particular points of emphasis or rhetorical strategy, behind the *Li ji*’s different internal ordering of passages within these groups. Note that LJ 19-21 here reflects my numbering, not Yu’s.

[40] Specifically, in Yu’s analysis, LJ 11-12 (GDCJ/SBCJ 2, 4) both deal with the ruler manifesting his likes and dislikes; LJ 9-10 (GDCJ/SBCJ 9, 3) are both related (in one case implicitly) to the symbolic issue of clothing; the extra LJ 16 and the extra 子曰 quote preceding LJ 18 are placed after LJ 14-15 because of their common theme of privileging the worthy over the base; LJ 3 (GDCJ/SBCJ 12) is placed directly after LJ 1-2 so as to highlight the notion of governance through moral suasion rather than punishments, though at the same time it inadvertently breaks up the similar thematic grouping of GDCJ/SBCJ 12-13; and so on. See Yu Wanli, “‘Ziyi’ jianben yu chuanben,” pp. 143–45.

thematic grouping is difficult to argue with, the question of which such arrangement might have been the more “original” one notwithstanding.

It bears mentioning again that, aside from some minor orthographic variations, the Shanghai Museum version of the text is in all respects so similar to that of Guodian that the two may practically be treated as a single text in comparison with the received version. The fact that there are thus two distinct witnesses to this version of the text may lend it somewhat greater authority—and this is certainly one of the reasons many scholars tend to assume that it represents a more “original” version of the text—but as both appear to derive from the same region and roughly the same time period, this may simply mean that they were both copied from a specific version of the text common to that region.

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Aside from the more significant forms of discrepancy noted above, there are also a fair number of graphic variations between the different versions of the text, especially in their quotations of the *Shi* and the *Shu*. The majority of these are orthographic rather than lexical, as Martin Kern has already noted in great detail in his analysis of variants in the *Shi* quotations,[41] though occasionally, as in the *Shi* variations of passage 9, the discrepancies are much more significant and may even affect the entire rhyme pattern. On the whole, however, we may say that the similarities between the received and excavated versions of the “Ziyi” far outweigh their differences, significant as the latter may be, and there is no doubt that they should be thought of as essentially the same text.[42]

[41] Martin Kern, “The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts,” pp. 160–67. Kern analyzes the textual variants in *Shi* quotations between the Guodian, Shanghai Museum, and *Li ji* “Ziyi” and the Mao *Shi* itself; in another section, he also looks at *Shi* variants as quoted in the two different “Wu xing” manuscripts. See also of course the earlier study of Liao Mingchun, “Guodian Chujian ‘Ziyi’ pian yin *Shi* kao.”

[42] For one statement of this generally held view, see Zhou Guidian, “Guodian Chujian ‘Ziyi’ jiaodu zhaji,” pp. 208–9.

TEXTUAL NOTES

In reference to the received text, I here follow, as does *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, (Tang) Kong Yingda et al.'s 孔穎達 *Liji zhengyi*'s 禮記正義 division into twenty-four passages, treating, as arranged therein, the extra "Master said" line in passage 18 as part of the same passage with what follows (note that Shaughnessy does the same, and so our numbering of the received text is also identical). As Li Ling notes, *Liji zhengyi* actually treats *Li ji* 4 and 5 like a single passage too, which would give a true count of twenty-three passages, but Kong et al., following (Tang) Lu Deming 陸德明, clearly give the count as twenty-four.[43] It probably treats 4 and 5 together for the same reason as it does the two parts of 18: there are, in the *Li ji* version, no intervening *Shi* or *Shu* quotations in between the two parts of each passage.[44] The Guodian and Shanghai Museum versions, however, show that this likely resulted from an erroneous transposition of one of the *Shi* quotes from 4 to 5. Given all this, it seems best to treat *Li ji* 4 and 5 as two separate passages and thereby retain the count of twenty-four passages for the *Li ji* text the way *Guodian Chumu zhujian* has it. Thus, treating the extra quote in *Li ji* 18 as part of the same passage, we are left, in comparing the *Li ji* with the Guodian (and Shanghai Museum) manuscript, with the two extra *Li ji* passages 1 and 16; yet as the Guodian text has *Li ji*'s 7 and 8 divided into three passages (14, 15, 16), it accordingly has only one less passage than the total of twenty-four in the received. It in fact expressly numbers this total of twenty-three at the end of its final strip, and the twenty-three passages are consistently marked with a black-square passage marker following the conclusion of each one throughout the manuscript.

[43] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)*, p. 66. Peng Hao, in "Guodian Chujian 'Ziyi' de fenzhang," p. 45, ascribes the count of twenty-four to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, but he appears to be misattributing the text of Lu Deming to Zheng. For details on the history of how the *Li ji* "Ziyi" text has been divided into passages by various commentators since the Tang, and for more particulars on Kong Yingda's treatment of *Li ji* passages 4, 5, and 18, see Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' jianben yu chuanben," pp. 133–37. Yu notes some ambiguity in Kong Yingda's treatment of passages 4 and 5, though passage 4 clearly lacks any direct commentary; and Yu ultimately ascribes the discrepancy between Kong's passage count and the actual divisions he assumes to his failure to reconcile the earlier subcommentaries he adopted with his own additional commentary. In his own numbering of the *Li ji* text, Yu adopts (Qing) Sun Xidan's 孫希旦 *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 division into twenty-five passages (wherein passage 18 is divided into two), a division which, Yu notes, follows that earlier given by (Yuan) Wu Cheng 吳澄.

[44] Zhang Fuhai, in "'Ziyi' er ti," pp. 99–100, argues that Kong et al. do not in fact treat 4 and 5 as a single passage, but simply do not have any subcommentary for passage 4, making it only appear as if they treated the two as one.

Another issue involves where the quotations of each passage should begin and end. It has long been a common practice to treat almost everything in this text as part of what is uttered by "the master," Confucius. Punctuated editions of the *Li ji* consistently imply that even the *Shi* and *Shu* quotations are imbedded within the larger "master said" quotations. Even most of those who do not go this far would instead take everything before those *Shi* and *Shu* quotes as the words of the master. Li Ling, for instance, makes the claim that, as there is nothing to the text beyond quotations, "there is not the slightest room left over" for authorship by, say, a Zisi or a Gongsun Ni Zi.[45] Leaving the question of authorship aside, it seems to me to make much more sense to consider most of the Confucius quotations as ending half-way through—a point made long ago by Qing dynasty scholar Chen Li 陳澧, as Li Ling himself, while dismissing it offhand, duly notes.[46] And, while there is usually no means of determining the end of these quotes with absolute certainty, it appears that they may generally be signaled in this text by the presence of a 故, "thus" (or some similar device like 此以 or 則), just before the elaborating commentaries—as I understand them—that follow them.[47] This is especially likely in light of the fact that the otherwise "known"

[45] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben*), pp. 70–71. More recently, Dirk Meyer echoes similar sentiments, claiming that the "author(s) of the 'Zi yi' never feature in the text with their own voice, nor is there any voice that attempts to contextualize the statements and quotations used," and that the text was thus "nothing other than a tableau combining different culture-based resources"; see his "Writing Meaning," pp. 63–65.

[46] Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben*), pp. 71–72. Li credits his student Li Cun'er for taking note of Chen Li's observation. The observation, however, was in fact already made well before the time of Chen Li, going back at least as far as Hao Jing 郝敬 of the Ming dynasty; on this point, see Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' zhengwen yu Kong Zi zhi guanxi," pp. 21–22.

[47] Cheng Yuanmin makes a similar observation, but would extend this to include—more questionably—such particles as 必, 以, and 豈; see his "*Guodian Chujian* 'Ziyi' yin shu kao," p. 36. The observation would also appear to go back at least as far as Ming-Qing scholar Wang Fuzhi 王夫之, who in his *Liji zhangju* 禮記章句, consistently has 故 at the dividing line between the Confucius quotations and what he determines to be the elaborative commentary. For details, see Yu Wanli, "'Ziyi' zhengwen yu Kong Zi zhi guanxi," pp. 32–33. Yu himself disputes how useful these transitional particles may be for identifying the limits of the Confucius quotations, and he notes a number of instances among what follows them where other sources attribute statements with similarities in wording and content to Confucius. He thus believes that some of these post-particle statements may represent further quotation of Confucius, and others perhaps paraphrases of the master's words by his disciples; see pp. 32–45, esp. p. 39. Yu also entertains the possibility that a number of the *Shi* and *Shu* quotations may also belong within the Confucius quotations proper, but admits that the character of these quotations more generally seems to reflect a type of cautious editorial selection designed to elucidate the overall meaning of each passage done at the hands of the Warring-States compiler of "Ziyi"; see pp. 46–51. Cf. the recent discussion of the composition of the "Ziyi" passages by Kern and Hunter, who, in "Quotation and Marked Speech in Early Manuscripts," pp. 41–46, draw conclusions similar to my own; I would also concur with their general assessment (p. 46) that "Whatever authority the 'Zi yi' author claimed for himself derived from his ability to see connections between multiple authoritative traditions, and to blend in his own words with

quotations of Confucius from other sources do not, in those sources, tend to include the words that come after that point. For example, for the famous "master says" quotation of passage 12 (LJ 3), beginning with "If he who heads the people teaches them through virtue . . . ," we have the closely parallel passage in the "Wei zheng" 爲政 chapter of the *Lunyu*; though the two halves of the quotation are found there in reverse order, the quotation otherwise corresponds precisely to what we find before the elaborative "Thus if he cherishes them with fatherly devotion . . ." that follows it in the "Ziyi" passage.[48] A similar instance occurs following the oft-quoted lines of passage 8 (LJ 4), "If the superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so."

The text of the *Li ji* as cited throughout this study is that of the *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 version of the *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏. As noted earlier, the abbreviation "LJ" stands throughout the translation for the *Li ji* text of "Ziyi," whereas GDCJ and SBCJ stand for those of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts, respectively. Except where otherwise noted, readings in the transcription as supplied in parentheses should be assumed to conform to those found in LJ; equivalency between GDCJ and SBCJ should also be assumed except where otherwise referenced.

A previous translation of the excavated "Ziyi" texts may be found in chapter two of Edward L. Shaughnessy's *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*.[49] Shaughnessy's excellent translation certainly stands on its own, and readers would do well to consult it in conjunction with the one I present here, which, however, differs from it in a number of places on various points of interpretation. Readers would also do well to consult Martin Kern's articles (cited in the notes above), which also contain cogent translations of selected passages.[50]

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them."

[48] Lin Suying has argued (somewhat like Yu Wanli) that cases such as this represent instances in which Zisi or his disciples attempted to elaborate on the intent behind Confucius's words without necessarily adhering to those exact words themselves, and has identified several passages in the *Lunyu* that may reflect the same sort of process—in the absence of any obvious transitional devices, however, any distinction between quote and commentary in the latter is by no means obvious. Regarding the "Wei zheng" example, Lin contends that both the reversed order of the two quoted phrases and the addition of the elaborative commentary in "Ziyi" were designed to provide even further emphasis of the notion that the rule of virtue must precede the use of any punishments, which had become more draconian by the increasingly chaotic times in which "Ziyi" was written. See her "Cong shizheng yuanze lun Kong Zi dexing sixiang zhi zhuanhua," pp. 202–6.

[49] Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 94–121. Shaughnessy's translation is of a recension he made on the basis of both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts.

[50] Readers might also compare the translations found in the English version of Shirley Chan's (Chen Hui) more recent article: "The Ruler/Ruled Relationship in the *Ziyi* (Black Robe) Contained in the Newly Excavated Guodian Chu Slip-texts."

“Black Robes”
緇衣
Text and Translation

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1 (LJ 2)[1]

夫子[2]曰：「好媺（美）[3]女（如）好[4]茲（緇）[5]衣，亞（惡）亞（惡）女（如）亞（惡）遳（巷）白（伯）[6]，則[7] 民臧〈咸〉[8]㲈（服）[9]而䋝（刑）[10]不屯

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[1] LJ has at the beginning an additional line, lacking in both GDCJ and SBCJ, which reads “子言之曰：「爲上易事也，爲下易知也，則刑不煩矣」” (“The Master spoke thus: ‘If he above is easy to serve, and those below are easy to know/oversee, then punishments will not be copious’”). If not for the presence of this line, the LJ version would also begin with the “Black robes” passage. Commentators on the *Li ji* chapter have long made note of the fact that this is the only passage in the chapter that begins with “子言之曰” rather than simply “子曰,” and that the title “Ziyi” is taken from the second passage rather than, as is usually the case, the first. Combining these observations with the facts of the excavated texts, it appears likely that the extra passage was a later addition. CYM 99.1 (p. 25) argues that it was consciously added so as to have an opening passage parallel in form to those of “Fang ji” and Biao ji” (which also begin with 子言之曰); ZGD 99.1 (p. 212) suggests that it may have resulted from a strip displaced from somewhere else (cf. SE 06, pp. 75–77); XW 00.5 (pp. 158–59) speculates that it may itself have originally belonged to the “Biao ji,” but ZFH 03.11 (p. 101) disputes this. GJY 10.3 argues that it was purposefully added to highlight the text’s criticism of punishments, for Han political ends—though, as discussed in the introduction above, the text’s stance on the use of punishments is already quite plain to begin with.

[2] 夫子: this is the only passage in the GDCJ version in which Confucius is referred to as 夫子 rather than simply 子; the first graph of SBCJ is broken off, but it likely read 夫子 as well. LJ, where this is the second passage, has just 子.

[3] 好媺(美): LJ has 賢, “worthies,” in place of 美. For 好, SBCJ writes 丮; for 媺, SBCJ has 䊿 (here and throughout). GJY 10.3 argues that 媺 does not in fact represent the same word as 美, and would instead understand it in the more limited senses of “good” or “auspicious.” The graph, however, clearly stands for 美 throughout the Guodian texts.

[4] LJ lacks this second 好, as well as the corresponding 惡 in the parallel position before 巷伯 below.

[5] 茲衣: the original meaning of the graph 茲, made up of two 玄, is equivalent to that later represented by the 緇 given in the LJ text; see BW 02. The ode “Ziyi,” “Black Robe,” is found in the “Zheng feng” 鄭風 section of the *Shi jing*; it sings of a wife devotedly attending to the making of court robes for her husband, though the tradition has it more specifically as an ode sung in praise of Lord Wu of Zheng 鄭武公. “Black robes” describes the formal attire that upper nobility wore to court. SBCJ writes 紂 for 茲/緇, a form seen elsewhere in early

texts and sometimes mistakenly written 純; see YWL 02.2 or 02.3.

[6] 遊(巷)白(伯): for 遊, SBCJ has essentially the same graph, written 衖. The graph may thought of as equivalent to 衖, an early form of 巷; for further details, see HLY/XZG 01.12, who see the graph's phonetic as composed of an abbreviation of 共 over 巾, and XBG 03.3. The ode "Xiangbo" is found in the "Xiao ya" 小雅 section of the *Shi jing*, an ode of grievance that sings of throwing slanderers to "the wolves and tigers." The term *xiangbo* would appear to refer to a kind of inner-palace attendant, or the head of such attendants, i.e., the "head eunuch"; see CYM 99.10 and HLY/XZG 01.12 for more details. The traditional interpretation has the "head eunuch" as representative of the *victim* of the slander described in the ode, and this is supported by the author's self-reference as *shiren* 寺人 in the ode's final lines. The reading of the excavated texts, wherein "detest" 惡 precedes *xiangbo*, suggests that he might instead stand for the slanderer himself—which would contradict the ode as ordinarily read. As QXG 98.5 points out, unless the extra 惡 here is in error, this might imply that the author of the ode was an ordinary eunuch-attendant complaining about slander from the head eunuch. With KM 05b (p. 309), my compromise solution is to treat "Xiangbo" here as simply the name of the ode and assume an implicit object after this second 惡.

[7] LJ has an additional line here: 爵不瀆而民作愿, "noble ranks will not be transgressed, and the people will act with honesty." This line obviously gives the passage greater symmetry, but it remains uncertain whether it dropped out here or was a later addition. Note, however, that the pairing of noble ranks and punishments does occur in passage 13 (LJ 13) below, where we find the lines "刑罰不足恥，而爵不足勸也."

[8] 臧: GDCMZJ sees this as 臧, read 藏, but it is likely a corruption of the 咸 found in both LJ and SBCJ, as many have noted. LXF 00.5 takes 臧 in the sense of "successfully," "in good order"; LXD 00 and KZW 00.7 take it in the sense of "good," "well behaved."

[9] 放: GDCMZJ renders 舵 and tentatively reads 它; QXG 98.5 would render the right half as 支 instead. ZFW 99.1 takes the graph in the sense of to "[be] subdue[d] through force"; LL 99.8 reads 力, taken in the sense of "exhaust efforts"; and SE 06 translates "be strong." LXD 00 reads 勑, understood in the sense of "compliantly submit"; LXF 00.5 interprets the graph as 扐, in the sense of "select appropriately." LR 03.6 reads 協, taken in the sense of "submit," even though he admits there is no phonological connection between 力 and 協. QDX 99.8 (and as cited in HXQ 02.3) would render 放 and see this as a variant of 役, with the sense of "contribute [their] labor." LJ has 服 (in LJ, 民咸服 comes in the second rather than first half of the line; see below). BYL 00.6 and KZW 00.7 both see 力 as the phonetic element of the graph and consider it to be a loan for 服; HXQ (cited in HXQ 02.3) originally also read 服, seeing the graph itself (like LXF) as a variant of 扐. LZ 03.12 renders the graph as 服 and reads 服. SBCJ has a graph rendered 㔭; XZG/HDK 02.3 instead render 㔭, and they read both that and the GDCJ graph as 服; LL 02.3b sees the SBCJ graph as 手 over 力, and thus interprets as 扐, again read 力. LXQ 02.3 suggests that 放 is a corruption of 服 and that the SBCJ graph further derived from a mistaken reading of 放 as 舵. HXQ 02.3 sees the upper element of the SBCJ graph as an abbreviation of 箙, there the phonetic, with 力 as the radical; analogously, he sees 支 as the phonetic element in the GDCJ graph, likewise read 服. JXS (see ZJZ/JXS 04.7) also reads the SBCJ graph as 服, but suggests interpreting the graph itself as 求 over 力. The graph 放 also appears in strip 13 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 3) manuscript "Zhonggong" 中弓, where Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠 (pp. 272–73) reads 力, in the sense of "efforts," "labor," though JXS would also read that graph as 服. FSJ 07.4 (pp. 74–75) disputes the readings of the graph as 服, both here and there, and instead reads 飭, in the sense of to be "put in order." LR 11.7 contends that even if FSJ is correct, the reading of 勑 (as LXD has it) would provide a more direct and sensible alternative than that of 飭.

[10] 埜: SBCJ has 型, whereas LJ gives 刑, two graphs that were largely interchangeable. Despite the LJ (in its customary interpretation), LL 99.8, BW 02, and SE 06 all read 型 here, in the sense of "mold" or "model," keeping it consistent with the use of the graph in the *Shi* quote below. For a fuller discussion on why 刑, as

（鈍）[11]。」《寺（詩）》（1）員（云）[12]：「悉（儀）㓝（刑）[13]文王，萬邦[14]
乍（作）[15]孚[16]。」■

“punishments,” makes for the more likely reading after all, see CS 02 and GSK 04.12. Note that 刑 is also written 㓝 in passages 7, 12, and 13 below, where it unambiguously stands for “punishments.”

[11] 屯: GDCMZJ suggests reading 蠢, in the sense of “mobilize.” SBCJ has 㓡, whereas LJ gives 試, “employ”; given that 試’s phonetic element is 弋, it appears that either 弋 or 屯 may have resulted from graphic confusion with one another. ZFW 99.1 sees 屯 as a corruption of 弋 and reads 忒, “fall into error”; BYL 00.6 also sees it as a corruption of 弋, but reads 試 after LJ, noting the similar use of 弋 in “Tang Yu zhi dao” strip 12: 咎采(繇)內用五型(刑)，出弋(試)兵革 (“Gao Yao employed the five punishments within, and soldiers in battle without”), and I (CS 02) have also argued for the reading of 弋 as 式/試 in the sense of “employ.” LXQ 02.3 argues likewise, and sees the SBCJ graph, which he interprets as 伅, as a further corruption; MPS 02.3 argues similarly. YWL 02.2 sees the SBCJ graph as a corruption of an early form 蠢 and thereby supports the reading of the GDCMZJ editors. LL 99.8, taking 屯 as the correct graph over 弋, reads 頓; BW 02 follows; SE 06 also follows, taking it in the sense of “crumble” (reading 㓝 above as 型, “model”). SE further argues that the LJ editor was prompted to “misread” the graph as 弋 (式/試) due to the intrusion of LJ 1 into the text just before it, whereas I argue that the non-employment of punishments is in fact a theme that is stressed at several points in the text. For the reading of 試, cf. the similar wording of a “traditional saying” (*zhuan* 傳) quoted in the “Yi bing” 議兵 chapter of the *Xunzi*: “[The ruler’s] might is severe, but not employed; punishments are set forth, but not utilized” 威厲而不試，刑錯而不用. With a similar interpretation in mind, LXF 00.5 reads 陳, to “lay out.” YSX 03.6 follows this reading, taking 陳 in the sense of either “employ” or “promulgate,” citing from the “Qian sheng” 千乘 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*: “凡犯天子之禁，陳刑制辟，以追國民之不率上教者” (“Whenever the prohibitions of the Son of Heaven are violated, punishments are laid out and laws are crafted, so as to track down those people of the state who do not follow the teachings of their superiors”); he also makes the point that neither 屯 nor 試 has to be viewed as an error for the other. I (GSK 04.12, pp. 69–70) have also suggested the additional possibility of reading 屯 or 㓡 as 懲, to “discourage by threat.” Most likely, however, is that the SBCJ graph was a variant form of 鈍 (often written 頓), to be “blunt” or “blunted”; in that case, 㓝(刑) here would carry the more concrete meaning of the “implements of punishment,” such as dismembering axes, that would not be “blunted” through overuse. Cf. FSJ 07.4, who, citing ZFH, presents a similar interpretation. See also such related lines as that from the “Ci guo” 辭過 chapter of the *Mozi*: “兵革不頓，士民不勞，足以征不服” (“Weapons and armor are not blunted, warriors and citizens are not toiled, and yet all is sufficient to subdue those who would not submit”). Note that in LJ the two lines here are reversed, reading “刑不試而民咸服.”

[12] 《寺(詩)》員(云): LJ has〈大雅〉曰, “the ‘Da ya’ says.” The line comes from the ode “Wen Wang” 文王 in the “Da ya” section of the *Shi jing*. In SBCJ, 寺 is written 峕 (here and throughout). 員 stands for 云 throughout many of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts; for an extensive discussion of examples of the two characters’ correspondence in competing editions of received classics, see YWL 02.2; for more on the form of the graph itself, see HXQ 98.12.

[13] 悉(儀)㓝(型): for 悉(儀), SBCJ writes 我 over 土, which YWL 02.2 suspects might be a corruption of 我 over *ting* 壬, i.e., an alternate form of 我, read 儀. The *xing* here is also written 刑 in both LJ and the *Mao Shi* 毛《詩》, but in this case taken in the sense of 型, or “model.”

[14] 邦: LJ has 國, likely the result of a taboo on Han Emperor Liu Bang’s given name; *Mao Shi* has 邦. Some LJ editions also have 家 added after 國.

[15] 乍(作): CYM 99.10 reads 則; WP 03.7 takes in the sense of 始, “only then.” SBCJ writes 复.

Our Master said: "If one is as fond of beauty as one is of black [courtly] robes (as in the ode "Ziyi"), and as despising of the wicked as one is of [slanderers] (as in the ode "Xiangbo"), then the people will all submit, and yet the implements of punishment will not be blunted [through overuse]." The Ode says: "Model after the pattern of King Wen, and the myriad states will place their trust in you."

2 (LJ 11)

子曰：「又（有）或阝（國）者章好章亞（惡）[17]，以視（示）[18]民毛〈厚〉[19]，則民（2）青（情）不紝（忒）[20]。」《寺（詩）》員（云）[21]：「情（靖）[22]共[23]尔（爾）立（位），好氏（是）貞（正）[24]植（直）[25]。」■

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[16] 孚: LJ and the *Shi jing* both have 孚. SBCJ has a graph rendered 㞋, but LL 02.3b suggests it is a corruption of 包, read 孚; HXQ 02.3 sees it rather as an abbreviated variant of 伏, still read 孚. YWL 02.2 observes that the SBCJ graph is indeed close to the right side of 服 and that 孚 and 服 were relatively close in sound; as WP 03.7 notes, 㞋 and 孚 were in fact likely cognate.

[17] 章好章亞: LJ reads 章善㦸惡, "manifest the good and reject the bad" (some LJ editions read 義, "propriety," for 善). In spite of this, I read 好 and 惡 here as "likes and dislikes" rather than "good and bad," as this is more concordant with other uses of the pair in this text. Cf. JXS 05.8, who also argues for this reading on this and a number of other grounds; see also KH et al. 03 and SE 06 (pp. 68–69). YWL 02.2 suggests that if "章善㦸惡" was indeed not the original form of the line, it may well have been later altered on the basis of the "Bi ming" 畢命 chapter of the (so-called) "ancient script" *Shang shu*, which also contains the line, written "彰善癉惡."

[18] 視: SBCJ writes this graph as 眂; LJ gives 示. CWZ 06.11 sees the graph here as 見 instead, read 現, also "show," "manifest."

[19] 毛〈厚〉: SBCJ has a slightly different graph, also rendered 厚, but which WYH 02.3 would instead render as 厂 over 亯, or the early form of 庸(/墉), and LSK 02.10 would similarly see as 石 over 亯, both still reading as 厚. I treat 厚 in a putative sense here, though it might also be understood more generally as [a sense of] "generosity."

[20] 紝: GDCMZJ reads 弋; LJ has 貳, "duplicitous." As QXG 98.5 notes, (Tang) Lu Deming's 陸德明 *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (hereafter *Shiwen*) cites its base edition as having *te* 忒 (to "change" or "fall into error") instead, which QXG believes is the proper reading. This is also how the 弋 of strip 5 below is read in accordance with the received text. SBCJ here simply gives 弋, which CPF 01.11 reads 代, but which YWL (02.2 and 02.3) also supports as reading 忒, noting (Qing) Wang Yinzhi's 王引之 theory (in reference to a *Shi* ode) that 貳 may have derived from a corruption of 貣, itself in turn a loan for 忒.

[21] This line is from the ode "Xiao ming" 小明 in the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, in which an officer toiling away on distant service addresses his colleagues back at the court. The preceding lines read: "嗟爾君子，無恆安息" ("Ah, you noble men, do not long feel secure in your repose!").

> The Master said: “If those who possess the state manifest their likes and dislikes so as to show the people what to emphasize, then the people’s affections will not go astray.” The Ode says: “Earnestly fulfill your positions, and hold fondness for the correct and upright.”

3 (LJ 10)

> 子曰：「為上可賍（望）[26]而智（知）也，為下（3）可頪〈頛（述）〉而等（志）[27]也，則君不悘（疑）[28]其臣，臣不惑於君[29]。」《寺（詩）》員（云）

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[22] 情: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 靖, “pacify,” “hold steady,” but it may also be possible to take 情 in the sense of “sincerely”; SBCJ, however, gives 靜, “quietly.” YWL 02.2 suspects that this 情 and the 青 at the beginning of the strip may have mistakenly been reversed.

[23] 共: SBCJ writes the graph as 龏. *Shiwen* notes that some *Li ji* editions give 恭, “[treat] respectfully.”

[24] 貞: GDCMZJ reads this directly as 正, as in LJ and *Mao Shi*.

[25] 植: SBCJ also writes the graph as 植. Note that these graphs would be more strictly rendered as 㮚, the “ancient form” of 直 given in the *Shuowen*, and which according to YWL 02.2 should not be thought of as equivalent to 植.

[26] 賍(望): SBCJ has a graph rendered 㝐, but both XZG/HDK 02.3 and LL 02.3b suggest the basic components are 亡 over 人, read 望, and which ZPA 02.3a sees as an elaborate variant of the ancient form of 望; YWL 02.2 would affirm the original rendering, but interpret similarly. That graph also contains a middle element resembling 八, which YZS 02.3 somewhat imaginatively sees as a signifier for the idea of the “eight directions.” SXJ 10.8 more convincingly interprets the SBCJ graph as 亡 over 州, a variant of 巟, here read 望.

[27] 可頪而等: LJ has 可述而志, “can be followed and recorded.” GDCMZJ reads 頪 and 等 in accordance with LJ, but QXG 98.5 reads 類 and 等 (“categorized” and “ranked”), respectively (頪 can be seen as the ancient form of 類; see YWL 02.3). YSX 99.1 supports QXG’s reading of the first by citing a parallel passage from the “Deng qi” 等齊 chapter of the *Xinshu* that reads “可類而志”; as YSX notes, the forms of 米 and 朮 are easily confused. As LXF 00.5 notes, however, 類 and 述 could also plausibly constitute phonetic loans for one another. SBCJ instead has graphs rendered 椬 and 齿; XZG/HDK 02.3 would render the first graph as 頛, read 述, and suggest that the GDCJ 頪 is an error for 頛, read 述; LL 02.3b renders similarly, and notes that either 米 or 朮 must be in error for the other, arguing that both 類 and 述 can have similar senses of “emulate” or “follow after.” LLX 02.3 also sees the GDCJ graphs as graphic errors for what we see in SBCJ, whereas WYH 02.3 sees 頪 more as a variant form of 述 rather than an error for it. HXQ 02.3 sees the lower element in the SBCJ graph for 志 as a variant of a phonetic 囟 rather than 因; ZJZ/JXS 04.7 tentatively render the lower element instead as 角; and CWW 05.12 sees that element as a form of 目, seeing the graph as perhaps a variant of 覘. Citing (Qing) Wang Yinzhi 王引之, CW 02.3 argues that both 類 and 述 can have the sense of “to follow”; YWL (02.2 and 02.3), however, suggests the sense of “類而等” is indeed “categorize and rank” for both the GDCJ “Ziyi” and *Xinshu* lines, whereas the received and SBCJ versions represent not scribal errors, but rather different transmissions of a similar statement with variations in wording. SE 06 reads 述 in the causative sense of “have passed along.” In the Shanghai Museum text “Ji Kangzi wen yu Kong Zi” 季庚(康)子問於孔子, strip 7 (SBCZCZS, v. 5, p. 212), 等 corresponds to 志 (= 誌), “record.”

[30]：「弔（淑）[31]人君子，其義（儀）不（4）弋（忒）。」《尹昇（誥）[32]》員（云）：「隹（惟）尹身（允）[33]及湯[34]，咸又（有）一[35]悳（德）。」■

The Master said: "When superiors can be looked up to and understood, and subordinates can be followed after and taken note of,[36] then rulers will not hold

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[28] 俟(疑): LJ has 疑於, "suspected *by*," as does the *Xinshu* line. PP 00.5b suggests that the 心 radical highlights the sense of "doubt" here as a mental state.

[29] LJ has an 而 at the beginning of this phrase, a 其 before 君, and an 矣 at the end.

[30] In LJ, the order of the *Shi* and "Yin gao" quotes are reversed; YWL 05.11 (pp. 164, 168) would attribute this to an accidental transposition of strips. The line here comes from the ode "Shijiu" 鳲鳩 from the "Cao feng" 曹風 section of the *Shi jing*, an ode that would appear to have been written in praise of the lord of a state.

[31] 弔(淑): for more on the relationship between 弔 and 淑, see WP 02.2 or 03.7.

[32] 尹昇(誥): LJ has 尹吉, but (Han) Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 argues that 吉 is a graphic error for 告 (in turn read 誥), states that 尹誥 refers to a pronouncement of Shang minister Yi Yin 伊尹, and notes that the *Shu xu* 書序 ascribes it to the now-lost "Xian you yi de" 咸有壹德 chapter of the *Shang shu* (the LJ quote here was since included in that chapter of the so-called "ancient-script" *Shang shu*). Note that 伊 was most likely the minister's clan name, and 尹 either his style or administrative title. Further note that if 尹 is properly read 伊 below (as GDCMZJ reads it), it might make more sense to call this the "Yi gao" rather than "Yin gao," even though Zheng Xuan takes it here as Yin; ZJZ/JXS 04.7 also note this possibility. Note also, however, that a short, four-strip text bearing a version of this quotation has since been found among the Qinghua manuscripts (v. 1), which the editors have equated with this lost chapter and labeled "Yin gao" 尹誥; copied along with it is a related text that the editors have labeled "Yin zhi" 尹至. In both of those manuscripts, the minister is referred to consistently as 尹, which suggests that it would not in fact stand for his clan name.

[33] 尹身: GDCMZJ renders the second graph more loosely as a left-right construction: 躳; SBCJ has roughly the same graph, which it renders 夋. LJ has 尹躬. GDCMZJ sees LJ's 躬 as a corruption of 躳 (cf. YWL 02.2 or 02.3); it reads 躳(身) as 尹 and the preceding 尹 as 伊. Note that the combination "尹躬" also appears in a second "尹吉〈告〉" quotation found in the received *Li ji* (LJ 16; see the final footnote below), which seems to support reading it as the name 伊尹. QXG 98.5 instead interprets 身 as an elaborate form of 允, "truly," noting the same reading for this graph in strip 36 below; like GDCMZJ, LXF 00.5 would still read this 允 as 尹; LXD 00 takes 允及 as a kind of compound term similar in use to 以及. The Qinghua-manuscript "Yin gao" version of this line—which opens the text—reads "隹(惟)尹既及湯，咸又(有)一悳(德)." While 既 is phonologically not too distant from 尹 or 允, it seems more sensible to treat it as an adverbial particle distinct from the 身 of this text, which, however, I tentatively follow QXG in reading as an adverbial 允.

[34] 湯: SBCJ has 康. YWL (02.2 and 02.3) suggests the latter is a graphic error for 唐, read 湯. SXJ 10.8 (pp. 7–8), noting the lower element in the SBCJ graph is actually 水 and not 米, sees the SBCJ graph as simply a variant form of 湯, the 庚 phonetic substituting for 昜; cf. ZKH 03.1.

[35] 一: LJ writes 壹.

[36] Alternatively, we might take this phrase in the active voice, i.e., "and subordinates can follow and commit to [them]," but read in conjunction with passage 4 below it appears that this line, like the parallel one before it, was intended to be read in the passive, as it is in fact traditionally read.

their ministers in doubt, and ministers will not be perplexed by their rulers.” The Ode says: “The good and noble men, their standards do not diverge.” The “Admonition of Yin” says: “Truly, [Yi] Yin and [King] Tang came to be of uniform virtue.”

4 (LJ 12)

子曰：「上人悆（疑）則百眚（姓）賊（惑），下難（5）智（知）則君倀（長）[37]裳（勞）。[38]」古（故）君民者，章好以視（示）民悆（欲）[39]，慬（謹）[40]亞（惡）以渫（遏）[41]民淫[42]，則民不賊（惑）[43]。臣事君，（6）言其所

[37] In SBCJ, the bottom of the strip, covering the next ten graphs, is missing.

[38] As discussed in the introduction above, the presence of the following 故—here and in other such instances—would appear to signal that the quotation of Confucius ends at this point.

[39] 視民悆: LJ has 示民俗, “show the people [the proper] customs”; LH 01.9 suggests the received 俗 is somehow a corruption of 悆. SBCJ has just 谷 (used here and throughout for 欲). On reading the graph here as 欲, cf. YWL 02.2; the same graph is also read 欲 at the end of strip 8 below. CWZ 06.11 sees 視 as 見 instead, read 現, also in the sense of “show.”

[40] 慬(謹): LJ has 愼; SBCJ writes 歏. LMC 99.1 (p. 41) reads 瘽, “consider as ill.”

[41] 渫: GDCMZJ renders 渫; QXG 98.5 would instead render 渫, taking it in its sense of “to purge”; LJ has 御 (禦), “prevent,” and also has a 之 after 民. LL 99.8 sees the upper-right phonetic element as 亡, and reads 御 after LJ; XZG/HDK 02.3 concur; YWL sees the right side of the graph as equivalent to the 宗 found in strip 26 of “Liu de” and also reads 御. BYL 01 affirms QXG’s rendering, but reads 遏, also “prevent,” noting other examples of interloaning between the two phonetic series. LXF 00.1 renders 滸, with the sense of to “treat” or “manage”; HLY 99.12 agrees with LXF’s rendering, but sees the graph as phonetically equivalent with 御 and takes it in the sense of “prevent.” CW 02.3 sees the main element of the graph as 困 rather than 枼, and reads this 涃 as 困, in the sense of “block.” HXQ 02.3 sees the right-side element most likely as a variant of 芒, with the graph either equivalent to 茫 in the sense of “extinguish” or else read as 亡; or, alternatively, as 困, but with the graph interpreted or read as 根, in the sense of “uproot.” LMC 03.6b instead sees the upper right element as 止 and reads the entire graph as 止, “put a stop to” (though he also suggests that 止 and 御 may have been phonetically interchangeable in the Chu dialect). SBCJ has 虞, which, as LMC 00.5b notes, probably also read 御(禦); CW 02.3 supports this reading of the SBCJ graph, as does LLX 02.3, who sees the GDCJ graph as a miscopied graph. QXG 03.6 concurs with LLX’s view of 渫 as miscopied, but further argues that it is a corruption of the graph seen more clearly in SBCJ. YSX 10.5 agrees with the original rendering of 渫 and supports BYL’s reading of 遏 with additional loan evidence.

[42] 淫: GDCMZJ renders 涇, but sees this as error for 淫; ZGY/YGH 99.1 and LL 99.8 render directly as 淫. SBCJ has a graph more clearly rendered as 淫.

[43] LJ has an 矣 at this point.

不能，不訌（詒）[44]其所能，則君不褮（勞）。[45]《大頸（雅）[46]》員（云）[47]：「上帝板板[48]，下民卒（瘁）[49]担（癉）[50]。」《少（小）頸（雅）》員（云）[51]：「非[52]其（7）歨（止）{之}[53]共[54]，唯[55]王〔之〕蛬（恐）[56]。」■

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[44] 訌: QXG 98.5 reads 辭; which we could take here in the sense of "decline." LXF 00.5 reads 詒(/紿), "deceive [about]," which works somewhat better in context.

[45] In LJ, the entire line is quite different: "臣儀行，不重辭，不援其所不及，不煩其所不知，則君不勞矣"—which, as traditionally interpreted, may be rendered as: "If the ministers act out of propriety, do not place value on [mere] words, do not lead [the ruler] into what he his not capable of, and do not exasperate him with what he does not know, then the ruler will not be toiled." The Guodian line, at least, seems to make better sense if we take the 其 to refer to the ministers rather than the ruler. With that in mind, LMC (00.5b and 00.8d) argues that 不重辭 is essentially equivalent in meaning to the 言其所不能 of GDCJ, i.e., "not emphasizing [his own abilities] in words," whereas the next two phrases more or less correspond to the 不辭其所能 of GDCJ.

[46] 頸 is equivalent to 夏, here read 雅. For more on this graph, see WYH 02.2.

[47] These lines come from the opening of the ode "Ban" 板 in the "Da ya" section of the *Shi jing*, and ode ostensibly written in criticism of Zhou King Li 周厲王. As Zheng Xuan explains, this and the following ode are cited as negative examples of each case respectively. For a summary of previous interpretations of these lines, see LMC 00.8d.

[48] In SBCJ, the bottom of the strip, covering the next twelve graphs, is missing. SE 06 translates 板板 as "oppressive."

[49] 卒: LJ and *Mao Shi* also have 卒, but, as (Qing) Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 argued, it likely read there in the sense of 悴/瘁, "suffering," "worn out" (though traditional commentaries take 卒 adverbially, "all," "completely"). Cf. LMC 00.8d, who also argues for 瘁, and WP 02.2 or 03.7.

[50] 担: GDCMZJ reads 疸; LJ has 癉; *Mao Shi* has 癉, "exhausted." As (Qing) Ma Ruichen notes, these are all variants of the same word.

[51] These lines come from the ode "Qiao yan" 巧言 in the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, ostensibly written in criticism of Zhou King You 周幽王 and the slanderers he heeded.

[52] 非: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 匪.

[53] This 之 appears to have been displaced from its proper position after 王 (where LJ and *Mao Shi* have it); as LMC 00.8d notes, 共 should come at the end of this phrase, rhyming with 邛 below (GDCMZJ leaves the entire line unpunctuated). In SBCJ, though the portion of the strip carrying the first line is missing, 之 does appear in its proper place after 王 in the second line. SE 06 suggests that the GDCJ version resulted from a copyist's "eye-skip," though it is unclear how this would account for what is effectively the transposition of a single character here; see also SE's much different translation of these lines.

[54] 歨(止)共: partly following the earlier interpretation by Gao Heng (though it ultimately derives from [Qing] Ma Ruichen; cf. WP 03.7) of 止 as "etiquette" or "deportment" and 共 as 恭 (as some *Shi* editions and citations have it), LMC 00.8d takes the former in the sense of "knowing when to stop," in this case knowing not to "express what one is incapable of," and the latter "humility" in the sense of "declining 辭 to do that of which they are capable." Zheng Xuan's annotation on the Ode takes 止共 in the sense of "not attending to duties" (不共其職事), possibly reading 止 as 職; the *Han Shi waizhuan* gives a similar interpretation, though with a

The Master said: "When superiors are cast in doubt, the men of the hundred surnames will be perplexed; when subordinates are difficult to know, their rulers will be in toil." Thus if he who rules the people manifests his likes so as to show the people [what to] desire, and is cautious over his dislikes so as to block them from excess, then the people will not be perplexed. If the ministers, in serving their ruler, express what they are incapable of and do not deceive [regarding] that of which they are capable, then the ruler will not be toiled. The "Da ya" says: "The lord, on high, is astray; the people, down low, are exhausted." The "Xiao ya" says: "Not content with tending to their duties, they rest not till they anguish their king."

5 (LJ 17)

子曰：「民以君為心，君以民為體，[57]心好則體[58]安之，君好則民忩（欲）[59]（8）之。」[60]古（故）心以體灋（廢）[61]，君以民[62]芒（亡）。[63]《寺（詩）》員

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reading of 恭, "reverently [attend to]." Reading the GDCJ lines in the sequence given, WRZ 02.3 takes 共 in the sense of "altogether."

[55] 唯: LJ has 惟; *Mao Shi* has 維; SBCJ has 隹.

[56] 𢙐: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 邛, "toil," "debilitate" (according to Zheng Xuan's glosses). LXF 00.5 reads 恭. Both KZW 00.7 and LMC 00.8d see 𢙐 as a variant of 恐, "fear" or "frighten," and 邛 as a loan for 恐 as well—following an earlier reading of 邛 by Liu Yunxing 劉運興; LMC would gloss this 恐 as "worry" and sees it as equivalent in meaning to the 勞 that ends the line preceding this quotation. LMC would thus read the whole citation as: "Denying the [proper] restraint and humility, this [from the ministers] is what worries the king." XZG 01.9 sees the graph as a double-phonetic graph of 共 over 忈(恐), but still reads 邛 as per *Mao Shi*. LZ 03.12 analyzes instead as 恭 plus an added 工 phonetic and reads 恭, understanding the sense of the line much differently. SBCJ has 功, which most still take as standing for 邛.

[57] At this point, LJ has an additional pair of phrases: "心莊則體舒，心肅則容敬" ("When the heart-mind is stately, the body will be at ease; when the heart-mind is solemn, the demeanor will be respectful"). Note that these lines, along with the previous two, are quoted, with slight variations, in Li Shan's 李善 annotations to the *Wenxuan* as coming from the *Zisizi*, whereas they are lacking in a *Chunqiu fanlu* citation of this passage; see LMC 99.1 (pp. 41–42), CYM 99.1 (pp. 30–32), and LXD 00. LXD argues that this and other such instances of overlap between LJ and the *Zisizi* citations (see also the *Shi* discrepancies later in this passage) suggest a common origin for their two versions of the text, whereas CYM contends that the additional lines were added into LJ on the basis of the *Zisizi* version, thereby distorting the sense of an originally clear passage (for a criticism of CYM's contention, see YWL 09.4, pp. 435–36). PH 98.12 (pp. 47–48) and LCS 99.1b (p. 274) also both argue that the additional lines constitute a later addition; XW 00.5 (pp. 155–56) suggests they were added by the LJ editor by means of elaboration; and SE 06 (pp. 89–90) similarly suggests that they were added (along with the extra 之 following 好 and 欲 in the next two phrases) by the LJ editor in order to resolve ambiguities in

（云）[64]：「隹（誰）秉或（國）[65]成，不自為貞（正）[66]，卒（瘁）[67]裳（勞）百眚（姓）。」《君舀（牙）》員（云）[68]：「日㫑（暑）雨[69]，少（小）（9）

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the text. ZFH 03.11 (p. 103) contends that the added phrases reveal a misunderstanding of the original text. SBCJ appears equivalent to GDCJ, but the portion of the strip with the following six graphs (心好則體安之) is missing; it also writes 僼 for 體, here and below.

[58] 體: LJ has 身 in the corresponding position.

[59] 𠆸: LJ has 欲; LXF 00.5 read 裕, in the sense of "relax." SBCJ has 㕣; YWL 02.2 sees this as an abbreviated form of 谷, read 欲, whereas HXQ 02.3 sees it as a phonetic loan for 欲, rather than as 公 or as an abbreviation of 谷.

[60] The syntax in LJ is slightly different: 心好之身必安之，君好之民必欲之, giving an extra sense of "invariability." ZFH 03.11 (p. 103) argues that the lines were later altered due to a misunderstanding of the original passage.

[61] 灋(=法): QXG 98.5 reads 廢. ZGD 99.1 opts to take 法 at face value, "take as [its] principle"; LXF 00.5 similarly reads "take as model"; QXG 00.6 (pp. 122–24) disputes this possibility. SBCJ has 廌, which as LL 02.3b observes, must be a graphic error, rather than phonetic loan, for 灋, read 廢; as LL notes, 廌 is elsewhere read 存 (see strip 9 of "Yucong 4"). FSJ 02.3 would in fact read the SBCJ graph here as 存 as well, corresponding to what we find in LJ at roughly this point (see below), pointing out, along with LLX 02.3, how 灋 is written in the "ancient-script" form of 金 in SBCJ strip 14 (corresponding to GDCJ strip 27 below).

[62] SBCJ lacks this 民, perhaps due to scribal omission. YZS 02.3, however, suggests that the coarse black marker that follows 亡 here in SBCJ might actually be a repetition marker, with 亡亡, somewhat forcibly, read as 民亡.

[63] The corresponding lines in LJ are more elaborate: "心以體全，亦以體傷；君以民存，亦以民亡" ("The heart-mind stays intact on account of the body, [but may] also be harmed by the body; the ruler subsists on account of the people, [but may] also perish by the people"). FSJ 02.3 (reading 廌 as 存; see above) suggests that the SBCJ text here might be closer to this elaborated received form; he also avers, along with LXD 00 and LLX 02.3, that the LJ 全 may be a graphic error for 金, the "ancient-script" form of 灋 (cf. SE 06, p. 89). YWL (02.2 and 02.3) concurs with the latter point, but opts to view both the SBCJ 廌 and LJ 全 as abbreviation/error for 灋/金; both he and LLX suggest that the LJ elaboration, with its rhyme, resulted from an attempt to logically account for the erroneous 全. SE 06 (p. 89), on the other hand, uses the LJ rhyme to suggest that GDCJ may be defective at this point. Regarding the 芒 of GDCJ, ZGD 99.1 suggests it may not have been a loan at all, but fails to explain what it might have meant; LXF 00.5 understands it in the sense of "indicator." Both of these latter views have been roundly rebuked by QXG 00.6 (pp. 122–24); note that 芒 also appears for 亡 elsewhere in Chu manuscripts, as in "Yucong 4," strip 3. SBCJ has 亡 for the final graph.

[64] These lines are found in the ode "Jie Nan Shan" 節南山 from the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, a poem written in criticism of Grand-Master Yin 尹氏大師 and his misadministration of the Zhou kingdom. LJ begins the quote with an additional five lines not found in the *Shi jing*: "昔者有先正，其言明且清，國家以寧，都邑以成，庶民以生" ("Of old, there was a former ruler; his words were bright and clear: the state and households were thus at peace; cities and towns were thus complete; the many people thus made their living"), following these with the three given here (note that the first four lines are quoted in Li Shan's annotations to the *Wenxuan* as coming from the *Shi* as quoted in the *Zisizi*; see LMC 99.1 [p. 42] and CYM 99.1 [pp. 30–32]). LJ (but not *Mao Shi*) also has a 能 before 秉 ("Who can take hold . . . ?"), giving it an uneven five characters like

the first two of the additional lines (some suspect that the Qi 齊 transmission of the *Shi* also had this 能, and others believe that the *Mao Shi* originally had it as well, for more on which see CYM 99.10 and YWL [02.2 or 02.3]). CYM 99.1 (p. 32) argues that the additional lines were added from the lost ode cited in the *Zisizi* in order to provide better explanatory support for the LJ version of the passage, which had itself been augmented with lines from the *Zisizi*. LMC 00.8d (p. 71) argues that the additional lines are a later interpolation, resulting in the anomaly of what he sees as the second *Shi* quote in the passage not being preceded by "'Xiao ya' *yun*," as would otherwise be the case in the standard LJ citation format. WRZ 02.3 (pp. 16–18) contends unequivocally that the first five lines in LJ are quoting from a different “ode,” despite the absence of any quotative clause separating them from the last three, but suggests that the style of those lines make them more likely to have been a Warring States rather than Han addition. Note though that the rhymes of those lines do rhyme with the three found here, and it is possible they may all have been taken together from a now-lost ode, as (Tang) Lu Deming suggested. SE 06 (pp. 87–90), however, also noting that the five-character lines are atypical of the *Shi*, suggests that these twenty-two extra characters resulted instead from a misplaced strip, which probably came from some other source altogether (assuming that there could have been a change of strip just after 詩曰 in the *Li ji* source text, which in turn assumes a number of graphs that would entail that the preceding LJ lines resulted from an addition of twelve characters over its source text; see the note preceding “心好” above, and turn to SE’s book for further details). See also SE’s somewhat different translation of the quoted ode here. YWL 05.11 (pp. 165, 168–69) also suspects the lines were mistakenly transposed here from another text (most likely from an adjacent chapter of a *Zisizi* source text), due to their common rhyme, having been written upon two consecutive strips of eleven characters each.

[65] SBCJ is missing the end of the strip containing the next four graphs.

[66] 貞: LJ and SBCJ both have 正; *Mao Shi* has 政, “governance.” YWL 02.3 suggests that 政 may have resulted from taboo avoidance of Qin Shihuang’s 秦始皇 given name.

[67] 卒: LJ and *Mao Shi* also have 卒, but it likely read in the sense of 瘁 (traditional commentaries take in the sense of “all,” “completely”).

[68] “Jun Ya” 君牙 is one of the lost chapters of the *Shang shu*, ostensibly taking the form of an address by Zhou King Mu 周穆王 to his minister of education. LJ writes the title as “君雅.” LSG 99.10 attempts to use the fact that the GDCJ 舀 is more or less equivalent to the 牙 we find in the title as given in the ostensible “ancient-script” *Shang shu* text to suggest that the corresponding lines found in the latter work were in fact *not* copied from the *Li ji*; given that the titles themselves were likely never lost, however, evidence from this variant is inconsequential, other than perhaps demonstrating that the *Shu xu* 書序 itself preserved authentic “ancient-script” titles (and in this case [Han] Zheng Xuan’s annotation itself already notes the *Shu xu* variant). LSG goes so far as to argue that the rather difficult lines from the chapter quoted in this manuscript are in fact “easy to understand” and somehow demonstrate that the chapter as a whole was originally clear and simple, thus, in his mind, invalidating (Qing) Yan Ruoju’s 閻若璩 argument that the unnatural clarity of the “ancient-script” chapter served to demonstrate its inauthenticity.

[69] 日昼雨: LJ reads 夏日暑雨, “summer days, hot and rainy.” GDCMZJ renders the second graph as 俗, read 溶, “copious (rain).” HDK/XZG 98.12 (and XZG/HDK 02.3) render this graph as 尻(处) over 日 and interpret it as a variant of 暑; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 in like manner renders 昝, also seeing it as an elaborate form of 処(處) and reading 暑; and LL 99.8 similarly renders as 仉 over 日 and reads 暑. LJH 99.1 and YGH 98.12 both see the graph as 昼, also taking it as a variant form of 處 and here reading 暑. CYM 99.10, however, would reaffirm the GDCMZJ rendering/reading; XKH 03.1, also assuming a rendering of 俗, reads 溽, “hot and humid.” SBCJ has a graph rendered 倶, but which is in fact composed of the same elements as the GDCJ graph. BYL 02.10 once again affirms LJH’s (and others’) rendering of 昼 and takes this as a variant form of 暑.

民隹（惟）日[70]悁（怨）[71]；晉冬旨（淒）滄[72]，少（小）民亦隹（惟）日悁（怨）。」■

The Master said: "The people take the ruler as their heart-mind, and the ruler takes the people as his body: if the heart-mind is fond of something, the body will find comfort in it; if the ruler is fond of something, the people will desire it." Thus the heart-mind [may] go to waste on account of the body, and the ruler [may] perish on account of the people. The Ode says: "Who has hold of the state's execution? Not serving as the standard himself, he exhausts and toils the people of a hundred surnames." The "Jun Ya" says: "In hot [summer] days of copious rain, the common folk only complain more each day; and so too,

[70] 日: LJ has instead the quotative 曰, but both GDCJ and SBCJ clearly have 日, which I take as "daily" (here and below). CYM 99.10 reads 日 as I do here; LXF 00.5 takes it instead as the preposed object of "complain" 怨, in the extended sense of "weather"; TZL/LZX 00.5 take this "sun" to stand for the ruler.

[71] 悁: QXG 98.5 reads 怨, in accordance with LJ, here and below. HDK/XZG 98.12 interpret the graph as 悁, read 怨, and LL 99.8 interprets likewise, further noting the close connection between this graph and 悁 in other Chu texts; KZW 00.7 gives an equivalent interpretation; ZKH 03.1 reads this 悁 ("indignant") as is. WYH/ZY 00.7 see the phonetic element here instead as that of 猒, noting how 猒 is interpreted as 厭 in strip 46 below (cf. TYH/WLB 01.9), but still read 怨. SBCJ has graphs rendered 命 here and 令 in the parallel phrase below, but both XZG/HDK 02.3 and LL 02.3b would render them both as 夗, read 怨; YWL 02.2 sees them as variants of the ancient form of either 怨 or 宛; BYL 02.10 similarly sees them as abbreviated forms of 怨, minus the 心 radical; and LSQ 02.11 and ZKH 03.1 also see them as variants of the ancient form of 怨. LLX 02.3 would interpret the first of the SBCJ graphs as 肙, read 怨, and the second as a further abbreviation of the same graph. CJY 04.12 would instead render the graphs as 邑 and read 悒, understood in the sense of "uneasy," "disconcerted."

[72] 晉冬旨滄: GDCMZJ takes 晉 in the sense of "advance." LJ reads 資冬祁寒, (Han) Zheng Xuan seeing 資 as a loan for 至 and 祁 as a dialectical variant of 是. CYM 99.10 and LMC 00.2 both note how the GDCJ's 晉, composed as it is of two 至 over 日, supports Zheng Xuan's reading of 至; YWL (02.2 and 02.3) offers further phonological evidence for this and the notion of dialectic influence therein. We might also perhaps take 晉冬 in the sense of "height of winter." QXG 98.5 reads 旨 as 耆, equivalent to 祁, which he takes, following an alternate gloss, in the sense of "extremely" or "bitterly." BYL 02.10 argues on the basis of attested interloaning that 旨, and the 祁 and 耆 of the other versions, are all loans for 凄 (/淒), noting that the compound 淒滄 also appears in early texts. For the last GDCJ graph 滄, LL 99.8 renders 寒, without further explanation. SBCJ has 晉夅耆寒. QXG 03.6, on the basis of comparison with the SBCJ graph, also sees the GDCJ 滄 as a miscopying of 寒 rather than an oddly written 滄. In the received *Shang shu*, 晉/資 is written 咨 and repeated again after the next 怨 below, as if taking 怨咨 as a compound; LMC 00.2 notes how this likely resulted from a scribal attempt to "correct" the misunderstood LJ quotation of the chapter, after substituting 咨 for the graphically similar 資—all serving as further evidence of the inauthenticity of the *Shang shu*'s "ancient text" chapters; SE 06 (pp. 57–58) makes much the same argument. YWL (02.2 and 02.3) also sees 咨 as likely resulting from the willful substitution of a graphically similar character due to the failure to understand the sense of 資 in the source text.

when the bitter cold of winter comes around, the common folk only complain more each day.”

6 (LJ 6)

子曰：「上好𢚩（仁）則下之為（10）𢚩（仁）也𥝩（爭）先[73]。」古（故）倀（長）民者，章志以卲（昭）[74]百眚（姓）[75]，則民至（致）行𢀛（己）[76]以敓（悅）上[77]。（11）《寺（詩）》員（云）[78]：「又（有）共（拱）[79]悳（德）行，四方[80]𢘃（順）[81]之。」■

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[73] 先: LJ has 先人, to “come before others.” See also the related lines from the “Zilu” 子路 chapter of the *Lunyu*: “上好禮，則民莫敢不敬；上好義，則民莫敢不服；上好信，則民莫敢不用情” (“If superiors are fond of ritual, none of the people will dare to not be reverential; if superiors are fond of propriety, none of the people will dare to not submit to it; if superiors are fond of trust, none of the people will dare to not employ the truth”). The direct rendering of 爭 as 𥝩 follows ZGY/YGH 99.1.

[74] 卲: GDCMZJ reads 昭. SBCJ writes 卲. ZJZ/JXS 04.7 suggest the possibility of reading 詔, in the related sense of “instruct.”

[75] In LJ, the line is somewhat different: “故長民者章志、貞教、尊仁以子愛百姓” (“Thus [if] he who presides over the people manifests his intentions, rectifies his instruction, and honors humanity, so as to love and cherish the people of a hundred surnames”); it also lacks the following 則, though the conditional is still implied. YWL 02.2 suspects the more elaborate LJ lines may have resulted from explanatory notes introduced during the process of instruction.

[76] 𢀛: SBCJ writes 吕; YWL 02.2 notes that its “口” is also most likely an abbreviation of the secondary phonetic 其.

[77] 敓上: LJ has 說其上; SBCJ has 兌上.

[78] These lines come from the ode “Yi” 抑 of the “Da ya” section of the *Shi jing*, an ode apparently written by an old minister in both self-admonition and admonition of the Zhou King. The same ode is quoted again several times in passages 14-16 below.

[79] 共: GDCMZJ does not render; LJ has 梏, which (Han) Zheng Xuan glosses as 大, “great”; *Mao Shi* has 覺, usually glossed as “straightforward” (for more on these traditional glosses, cf. WP 02.3). SBCJ has a graph equivalent to that of GDCJ. HXQ 98.12 suspects the graph might be a variation of an early form of 共, here read as either 梏 or 覺, but expresses uncertainty. ZFW 99.1 interprets it as two hands holding up (拱) a large jade disk, having the sense of “great” by extension, and sees 梏 and 覺 as phonetic loans for the graph; WP 02.3 follows. CYM 99.10 sees the graph as an abbreviation of 言 over 廾 (an interpretation that HXQ had considered but rejected), read in the sense of 拱 (which he sees in turn as cognate with 梏); LMC 00.5b interprets the graph similarly, but reads 覺. YSX 99.3 interprets it as 共, read 洪 in the sense of “great,” and notes (Qing) Zhu Junsheng’s 朱駿聲 view that LJ’s 梏 and *Mao Shi*’s 覺 are loans for 峼 and 嚳, respectively. ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 共, but give a reading of 格 for it; KZW 00.7 also renders 共, but reads 恭, “reverent.” LL 99.8 interprets the graph as 𢍏, read 覺 after *Mao Shi*. LXQ 99.2 suspects the graph might be an ancient, pictographic form of 梏, “shackles” (though glossed as per LJ commentaries); LXD 00 gives an equivalent interpretation of the graph

The Master said: "If superiors are fond of humanity, subordinates will vie to be the first to practice humanity." Thus if those who preside over the people manifest their will so as to enlighten the people of a hundred surnames, then the people will exert efforts to practice it of themselves so as to gratify [their] superiors. The Ode says: "[If the ruler] upholds virtuous conduct, the four quarters will follow suit."

7 (LJ 5)

子曰：「壐（禹）立三年，百眚（姓）以[82]悬（仁）道[83]。剴（豈）必（12）晝（盡）悬（仁）？」[84]《寺（詩）》員（云）[85]：「成王之孚，下土之弋

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as an early form of梏/搼, and WXC 02.7 likewise sees it as a variant form of梏. ZFH (cited in QXG 04.12c) sees the graph as an early form of匊(/掬), which could be read as 梏 or 覺. KH et al. 03 suggest it may be a variant form of 弁, here read like 槃, in the sense of 大. SE 06 reads 誥, translating the line as "having proclaimed virtuous conduct." I read 共 here like 拱, in the sense of "uphold."

[80] 四方: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 四國, and SBCJ has 四或(國) (but *Mao Shi* has 四方 in the prior line).

[81] 㳅(順): HXQ 98.12 and CYM 99.10 both interpret the graph as a variant of 訓, here read 順. WXC 02.7 sees it as a direct variant of 順. PP 00.5b suggests that the 心 radical highlights the sense of "accord" here as a mental state; on this point, cf. YWL 02.2. SBCJ has just 川.

[82] 以: TZL/LZX 00.5 take this in the sense of 用, "employ."

[83] 道: LJ has 遂, which (Han) Zheng Xuan understood as 達, to "attain," "realize." SBCJ has a graph rendered 䫘, but which LL 02.3b sees the right side of as 首 and reads 道; LLX 02.3 similarly sees 頁 as the ancient form of 首, and QXG 03.6 suspects the left side might be a miscopying of the 辵 radical, thus also reading 道. HXQ (98.12 and 02.3) interprets the SBCJ graph as composed of an early form of 犢 as phonetic on the left, and 頁 as radical on the right, suggesting the graph may be a variant of 儥/覿, in turn phonetically interchangeable with both 遂 and 道; cf. SJZ 11.12 (pp. 617–61), who suggests that it would be better to interpret the graph as a corruption of 犢 rather than a variant per se. SBCJ is missing the portion of the strip containing the subsequent nine graphs, but enough remains to ascertain that its quotations conformed to those of GDCJ.

[84] An alternate interpretation to this line is that of (Yuan) Chen Hao 陳澔, *Liji jishuo* 禮記集說: "Why must everyone [in court] be humane [before the people will transform]?"—i.e., as long as there is "one man" to serve as the standard, all the people will become humane"; cf. TZL/LZX 00.5.

[85] These lines come from the ode "Xia Wu" 下武 of the "Da ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode written in praise of Zhou King Wu 周武王. In LJ, this quote (quoted as "'Da ya' yue") comes after the "Lü xing" quote below, but in its place here comes the quote from the ode "Jie Nan Shan" that in GDCJ comes instead at the end of the following passage (GDCJ 8). Note that that passage is the fourth one in LJ, where it thus comes just before this one, and where, moreover, it is one that uniquely lacks *any* quotes from either the *Shi* or the *Shu* (whereas here we have the odd example of three quotations in LJ). The "Jie Nan Shan" quotation also seems to fit the context better in the GDCJ arrangement. LMC 00.8d (pp. 717–72) suspects the LJ arrangement may have resulted from

（式）。」《郘（呂）坓（刑）》員（云）[86]：「一人又（有）慶，壖（萬）民[87]贎（賴）[88]（13）之。」■

The Master said: "When Yu had been on the throne for three years, the people of a hundred surnames came to follow the way of humanity. How must it have been that they were all humane [from the outset]?" The Ode says: "He fulfilled the integrity of a King, and laid down the model for the lands below." The "Lü xing" says: "One man possesses goodness, and the myriad people depend upon him."

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a displaced strip, without elaborating on precisely how this would have happened given the number of characters involved. SE 06 (pp. 80–82) speculates that the quotation of this ode in the *Li ji* source text may happen to have begun at the top of a new strip (following two strips of about 21 graphs each, equivalent to the preceding portion of GDCJ 8), was mistakenly transposed to this passage during recompilation of the text, and then subsequently switched places with the "Xia Wu" quotation due to some uncertain editorial reason. YWL 05.11 (pp. 165, 169) would also attribute the LJ arrangement here to the accidental transposition of strips in its source text, but in his scenario they would have been short strips of ten to eleven graphs each.

[86] "Lü xing," or "Punishments of Lü," is a chapter of the *Shang shu* in which Zhou King Mu commands the Marquis of Lü 呂侯 to carefully craft a set of punishments, and the various officials to be reverent and cautious in their hearing of law cases. LJ writes the chapter as "Fu xing" 甫刑 (here and throughout). It might well be the case, as CYM 99.10 suggests, that 甫 is a phonetic loan for 呂 (cf. ZJZ/JXS 04.7), but the initials are somewhat distant. Alternatively, there is some evidence to suggest that 呂 may have referred to the Marquis's clan name and 甫 to his territory of enfeoffment; see YWL 02.2 for details.

[87] 壖(萬)民: LJ and the *Shang shu* have 兆民. CYM 99.10 notes that a number of early citations of this ode in other texts also give 萬民 and argues that 兆, as a relatively late graph, likely resulted from later alteration; cf. LSQ 02.11. YWL 02.2 expresses doubts about this conclusion, noting other early citations to the contrary.

[88] 贎: this would appear to be a phonetic loan for the 賴 that we find in LJ and the *Shang shu*, the 萬 element perhaps being an abbreviation of 厲 (see CYM 99.10 and YWL 02.2); KZW 00.7 takes it as a direct loan for 賴; LXD 00 sees it as the ancient form of 賴. YWL reads 利 ("[derive] benefit [from]"), with which it can also interloan (賴 has also long been glossed as 利). CGZ 99.1 argues that the phonetic should more properly be rendered as 苗 over 虫. CFL 02.2 contends that 賴 is a relatively late graph and tries to argue on this basis that "Lü xing" did not achieve its final form until the end of the Warring States (allowing him to still partially cling to a now-untenable earlier view of Qian Mu and others that the chapter had been written under the influence of Zhanguo "Legalist" thinkers). SBCJ instead has a graph rendered 訦; XZG/HDK 02.3 and BYL 02.10 (expanded version) all see 大 as the phonetic element and read 賴; ZKH 03.1 tries to argue that the 大 is actually 而 and sees the graph as a variant of 說, read like 賴.

8 (LJ 4)

子曰：「下之事上也，不從[89]其所以命[90]，而從其所行。上好[91]此勿（物）也[92]，（14）下必又（有）甚安（焉）[93]者矣。」[94]古（故）上之[95]好亞（惡），不可不誓（慎）[96]也。民之蘗（表）[97]也。《寺（詩）》（15）員（云）[98]：「虞（虢）虞（虢）[99]帀（師）尹，民具爾贍（瞻）[100]。」■

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[89] 從: SBCJ has a similar graph also rendered 從, but which CW 02.3 would render 㐅, read as 比 in the sense of "emulate."

[90] 所以命: LJ has 所令, without the 以; it also lacks the following 而. YWL 05.11 (pp. 165) suspects that this 以, along with the 也 that is absent two phrases below, may have both broken off from the end of eleven-character strips in the *Li ji* source text.

[91] SBCJ is missing the end of the strip containing the next eleven graphs.

[92] LJ lacks this 也 and has 是 for 此.

[93] 安(焉): this character is absent in LJ.

[94] An almost verbatim version of this entire quote is to be found, unattributed, in "Zun deyi" strips 36-37; the second half of it is also closely paralleled in strip 7 of "Cheng zhi." Close parallels are also to be found in the "Da xue" 大學 chapter of the *Li ji* (commentarial sections 9 and 10), and in the "Teng Wen Gong, shang" 滕文公上 chapter of the *Mengzi*, where it also appears attributed to Confucius. Given that none of these other quotations contains what follows here, it appears likely that the quotation should indeed end at this point before *gu* 故. Note that echoes of these phrases may also be found in the "Fa fa" 法法 chapter of the *Guanzi*.

[95] LJ has a 所 before 好惡.

[96] 誓: see the note to this graph in "Laozi A," strip 11.

[97] 蘗: GDCMZJ renders 蔌, read 柬, "selection"; LJ has 表, "standard." LXF 00.5 also takes 柬 in the sense of "selection." MPS 02.11 reads 憲, in the sense of "model," "standard." LL 99.8, however, identifies the interior element as 少 and interprets the graph as 標; BYL 00.6 similarly identifies 少 as the phonetic element and sees the graph as a variant of 杪, in turn roughly equivalent in both sound and meaning to 標, similar in sense to 表; LXD 00 interprets in roughly the same manner, seeing it as a loan for 幖. SBCJ has the same graph as GDCJ, but with an additional 火 in the middle, rendered 蘗. LL 02.3 elaborates on his interpretation of the GDCJ graph as 蘗 or 標, read 表, analyzing the graph (as fully written in SBCJ) as composed of 艸 over 覀 over 木, the 覀 being the original form of 票. XZG/HDK 02.3 concur with LL's interpretation, and LZ 02.3 similarly analyzes as 艸 over 標, read 表. YWL 03.3 (p. 75) also concurs with the interpretation of the graphs as 蘗, but sees this as equivalent in sense to the 蕝 found in a parallel phrase in strip 21 below, bundles of couch grass used as markers to indicate ceremonial positions in various meetings of state—"standards" by extension—seeing 蘗 as a kind of ideograph of couch grass bundled atop a stick, with the 火 element of the SBCJ graph an optional signifier emphasizing the sense of "clarity."

[98] These lines come from the ode "Jie Nan Shan," for more on which see the notes to strip 9 above. In LJ, this quote is displaced to LJ passage 5 (GDCJ 7), and this LJ passage 4 is thus left with no *Shi* or *Shu* quotations at all (for speculation on possible reasons for this, see the note to the *Shi* quotation in strip 13 above); cf. PH 98.12,

> The Master said: “In serving their superiors, subordinates do not follow that which they command, but rather follow the example of their conduct. If the superior is fond of something, then among the subordinates will invariably be those even more so.” Thus the superior cannot but be cautious over what he likes and dislikes—he is the standard for the people. The Ode says: “Awesome and prominent, Master Yin, all the people look up to you.”

9 (LJ 9)

> 子曰：「倀（長）民者衣備（服）不改[101]，[illegible]（琮〔從〕）[102]頌（容）又（有）
> 祟（常）[103]，[104]則[105]民悳（德）（16）弌（一）[106]。」《寺（詩）》員（云）

p. 49.

[99] 虩虩: LJ and *Mao Shi* read 赫赫. KZW 00.7 argues that the former is a loan for the latter, whereas YWL 02.2 cites evidence from bronze inscriptions to observe that the term was at times written 虩虩 at least as early as the Chunqiu period.

[100] [illegible]: LJ has 瞻. SBCJ has a graph rendered [illegible]; ZJZ/JXS 04.7 suggest this may be a variant of 甔. LL 02.3b contends that the 畐 element in the SBCJ graph is actually 酉, whereas YWL 02.2 sees that element as an elaboration or corruption of 言, and thus the graph as a whole as 詹.

[101] 改: LJ has 貳 (*Shiwen* cites some editions as having 貣), which has a similar sense of “alter.” LR 11.7 would see this 改 (but not the next) as properly 攺 and read 弍, also “alter,” seeing the LJ 貳 also as an error deriving from 弍 (see also the note to [illegible] in strip 3 above).

[102] [illegible]: GDCMZJ does not render; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render [illegible]; LJ has 從. ZFW 99.1 sees the graph as an elaboration of the ancient form of 倉 over 止 and reads 從. HDK/XZG 98.12 render it as 啇 over 止, or 適 (“suitable,” “fitting”), considered as a semantic loan here; CSP 02.7 (p. 409) supports a similar interpretation of the graph. LXF 00.5 would also render 適, and YWL 03.3 further supports this interpretation (with 容 taken in the sense of “demeanor”). LH 01.9 and ZGG 01.9 both interpret the graph as 夏, here read 雅, “elegant.” SBCJ has roughly the same graph as GDCJ (also left unrendered), but with a 彳 on the left, which together with the 止 would appear to amount to an abbreviated form of 辶; LL 02.3b suspects the phonetic element in these graphs might be 甬; XZG/HDK 02.3 again interpret them both as 適. LJH 03.11 accepts the possibility of 適 (while noting that the SBCJ form appears to rule out both 倉 and 夏), but notes that the graphs could also be rendered either 逕 or as an abbreviated form of 逯; he argues for the latter, reading this as 從, and understanding 從容 in the traditional interpretation of “at leisure.” Forms of the graph have since been seen in a couple of other Shanghai Museum manuscripts (though lacking the uppermost element), most notably strip 14 of the v. 3 “Zhou Yi” 周易 manuscript, where it corresponds to 簪 in the received text, to 讒 in the Mawangdui manuscript, and with a variant of 宗 noted in a citation in the *Shiwen*; as LLX, FSJ, and WYH have all discussed (see the citations in CJ 07.4b), the phonetics of these various graphs are all close in sound and have attested examples of loaning for one another (LLX suspects the phonetic may be 疌). On the basis of these clues and a lengthy examination of inscriptional evidence from both bronze vessels and oracle bones, CJ 07.4b interprets the central element of the graph (亞) as deriving from a simplified form of the ancient ideograph for the jade *cong* 琮 vessel, with the graph here read 從.

[107]：「其頌（容）不改，出言又（有）丨（及〔極〕）[108]，利（黎）民所訁（急）[109]。」■

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[103] 𥛚(常): YWL 03.3 discusses at some length how the 示 element in the graph 𥛚 may be a sort of corruption/variant of 市 (*fu*) or 巾, and thus suggests that the graph should be directly rendered as 常.

[104] LJ has and additional line here: "以齊其民" ("so as to bring his people into line"). This line is also included in a citation found in the "Deng qi" 等齊 chapter of the *Xinshu* (not to mention in the Mao "Preface" to the ode quoted below), and thus YWL 05.11 (p. 169) suggests that the line may have long been included in "Ziyi." As CYM 99.1 (p. 38) notes, the line is also found in a Song dynasty citation of these lines from the *Gongsun Ni Zi*.

[105] SBCJ, as it stands, is missing the portions of the strips containing the next fifteen graphs (till just before 所訁), but the fragment containing the first eleven of them is one of those from the corpus that made its way instead into the Chinese University of Hong Kong collection ("CUHK" below). For more on the initial discovery of this fragment, see RZY 96.12.

[106] 戈(一): LJ writes 壹; SBCJ (CUHK) writes 一. On 戈 as a variant form of 弌, see WXC 02.7 (p. 366).

[107] These lines would appear to come from the opening of the ode "Du ren shi" 都人士 from the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, and ode of yearning for the prosperous days of old. LJ (which conforms exactly with *Mao Shi*), however, contains three additional lines, two at the beginning and one in the middle, as well as a couple of word variations, reading as follows: "彼都人士，狐裘黃黃；其容不改，出言有章；行歸于周，萬民所望" ("That handsome man, his fox-fur so yellow; his demeanor does not vary, and the words he utters show design; his actions adhere to the ideal, and he is looked up to by the myriad people") (note also that a paraphrase of this "Ziyi" passage in the "Deng qi" 等齊 chapter of the *Xinshu* cites essentially the same *Shi* lines as LJ, but leaves out the middle pair of phrases). As it stands, GDCJ (and SBCJ) loses not only the symmetry but, for all we know, the rhyme as well. Worth noting, however, are the following facts: (Han) Zheng Xuan notes that these lines are lacking in the *sanjia* 三家 transmissions of the *Shi*, a fact later corroborated by the discovery of remnants of the ode's inscription (based on the Lu 魯 transmission) in the Xiping stele 熹平石經 fragments; the content of this first stanza (in the *Mao* transmission) appears at odds with that of the other four stanzas; the lines "行歸于周，萬民所望" are quoted in the *Zuo zhuan* (Xiang 襄 14), and (Han) Fu Qian 服虔 ascribes them to a "lost ode"; and Mao's introduction to the ode in his "Preface" seems to be lifted from the preceding lines of the "Ziyi." It is thus possible that Mao may have simply tacked this extra stanza onto the head of "Du ren shi" based on the wording that ode shares with the first of its lines; for details see the comments of (Qing) Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi sanjia yi jishu*, pp. 801–2. Given all this, we should be cautious in ascribing too much to the fact that LJ more closely follows *Mao Shi*. LMC 00.8d, however, suggests that the commonality between the *Li ji* and *Mao Shi* here may derive from their ostensible common ancestral transmission through the figure of Xun Zi 荀子. XW 00.5 (p. 157) sees the extra lines simply as evidence of additional quotation by the LJ editor. WRZ 02.3 (pp. 157–16) observes that, given the differences in wording and rhyme, the received and excavated versions of "Ziyi" might well be citing lines from different stanzas of the same "lost" ode, an ode that may thus have still have been circulating intact in the final years of the Warring States; YWL 03.3 makes a similar observation (cf. YWL 05.11 [pp. 165, 169] for more on how the discrepancies may have occurred). I (GSK 12.10) also support this interpretation. SE 06 (pp. 547–55 n. 108), on the other hand, suggests there may have originally been two odes entitled "Du ren shi," the Mao version later grafted onto the remnant lines of the other version by the LJ editor. As for the absence of the line 行歸于周, LXF 00.5, taking 周 to refer to the Zhou dynasty, speculates that this was an intentional omission and provides evidence that "Ziyi" (the Guodian version ostensibly more "original") may have been authored by a southern author with little allegiance to the Zhou dynastic tradition. I have suggested the further possibility that this

> The Master said: “If those who preside over the people do not vary their [own] clothing, [but rather] maintain a self-composed constancy in their demeanor, then the people’s virtue will be uniform.” The Ode says: “His demeanor does not vary, and the words he utters have standards; this is what the common people urgently need.”

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particular line may not have been in the original ode at all, given that all three of the lines cited here, as I read them, appear to rhyme without it (i.e., 改 would also rhyme with 極 and 急).

[108] ㇁: GDCMZJ suspects this to be a graph that was not written completely; the ostensibly corresponding graph in LJ and *Mao Shi* is 章. CGZ 99.1 suggests that the graph may represent the side view of a jade 璋 tablet, here read 章. LL 99.8 sees the graph as an abbreviation of 川, read 訓; LMC 00.8d follows, taking this in the sense of “standards.” LXF 00.5 sees it as equivalent to the graph 丨 found in the *Shuowen* and reads it as 引, understood in the sense of a “citation,” “source,” or “basis.” YSX 00.8 similarly accepts the graph’s equivalence to the *Shuowen*’s 丨, considered to be read like 棍, but here reads 文, “design” or “pattern”; LR 03.11 follows, but reads 悃, “sincerity.” BYL 01.9 renders 乀, read like 弗 or 白, but does not elaborate on how that would be read here in context. YWL 03.3 sees the graph as an incomplete form of 人, taken here in the sense of 仁, “humanity,” and seen as rhyming with 信 below. QXG 03.11, noting that the same graph appears in the Shanghai Museum (v. 4) manuscript “Rongcheng shi” 容成氏, interprets it as the earliest form of 針 and, relating it to forms of the graphs 弇 and 慎, reads either 遜, “humility,” or 慎, “cautiousness.” JXS (see ZJZ/JXS 04.7) follows QXG’s interpretation, but instead reads 信 for this graph. YZS 07.7 sees the graph as equivalent to the 乁 listed as an ancient-script form of 及 in the *Shuowen*; he identifies this with the 針 of QXG’s interpretation, but still reads it as 及 here, taking “有及” in the sense of “reaching up to [the standards of the past].” I (GSK 12.10) also see the graph as an early form of 及 (*gĭəp), but find justification for reading it as 極 (*gĭək), here and in other manuscripts, understood in the sense of “standards.” WN 11.9 would, like others, relate the graph to the *Shuowen*’s 丨, but interprets this graph as an early form of 細, “thin,” reading it here as 次, “order.”

[109] 利(黎)民所言㇁: the ostensibly corresponding line in LJ and *Mao Shi* reads 萬民所望 (see two notes above). For 言㇁, GDCMZJ renders 信, “trust”; the SBCJ graph (also rendered 信) is slightly damaged, but appears to be equivalent to that of GDCJ. BYL 01.9 points out that no other instances of 信 are written this way and that the graph’s phonetic element is equivalent to the ㇁ of the previous line, with which it rhymes; he would thus render the graph as 言乀, though he is unable to suggest any reading. YWL 03.3 still sees the right-hand element as an incomplete form of 人 and reads the graph as 信. QXG 03.11 reads either 訓, “emulate,” or 信, seeing the phonetic here as 針 (see the note on ㇁ above). LR 03.11, based on the phonetic reading given to a similar graph in a later character book, tentatively reads 歡, “delight in.” YZS 07.7 reads 慎, in the sense of “treat with importance.” I (GSK 12.10) see the phonetic element as a form of 及 (see the previous note) and would interpret the graph as an alternate form of 急, “urgently need,” or perhaps 喜, “be pleased with.” WN 11.9, seeing the phonetic instead as an early form of 細, interprets the graph as an alternate form of 咨, “seek advice from.”

10 (LJ 15)

子曰：「大人不新（親）[110]其所臤（賢），而（17）信其所戔（賤）[111]，teaching-graph（教）此以遊（失）[112]，民此以緐（繁/煩）。[113]」《寺（詩）》員（云）[114]：「皮（彼）求我則，女（如）不我得，執我（18）𢦏（仇）𢦏（仇）[115]，亦不

[110] 新: LJ has 親; SBCJ has 罬, read 親 (here and throughout).

[111] 戔: LJ and SBCJ write 賤. YWL 03.3 observes that 戔 would appear to be an early form of 殘 and suggests that it might impart semantic as well as phonetic information here.

[112] 遊(失): For more on this graph, see the notes to "Laozi A," strip 11. ZFW 99.1 would instead interpret the graph as 佚; LXF 00.5 interprets it as 亡.

[113] 緐: GDCMZJ reads 變 (SBCJ has the same graph, which CPF 01.11 reads likewise). ZGY reads the graph like a variant of 笲 and reads 煩, after LJ (see ZGY/YGH 99.1, preface p. 13); LL 99.8 also reads 煩. LXF 00.5 and CW 02.3 both note that the graph is equivalent to one listed as a variant of 緐 in the *Shuowen* and would read either 煩 or 繁. YWL 03.3 argues for reading 繁, with the sense of "disordered," rather than its homophone 煩, "irritated," "vexed." Note that the same graph appears in the phrase "民道繁多" in strip 19 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 6) text "Yong yue" 用曰. In LJ, the subjects of these two lines are more or less reversed: "民是以親失而教是以煩" ("The people thereby lose [their proper sense of whom] to hold dear and instruction is thereby confounded"). CW 02.3 cites the lines "若民煩，可教訓" ("if the people are vexed [/disordered], they can be instructed") of the "Chuyu, shang" 楚語上 chapter of the *Guoyu* to suggest that the assignment of attributes in the excavated versions here is likely correct. ChS 09, still reading 變, takes in the sense of "will defect."

[114] These lines come from the ode "Zheng yue" 正月 of the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode written in criticism of Zhou King You.

[115] 𢦏𢦏: GDCMZJ renders 戟戟 and reads 考, "inquiring"; LJ has 仇仇, and as CYM 99.10 points out, 考 could work out as a phonetic loan for 仇. QXG 98.5, however, expresses doubts about this rendering. LL 99.8 sees the left-side element of the graph as 來, one often confused with the proper element 求, and would thus see the phonetic as 求 and read 仇; WH 01.9 interprets similarly, seeing the graph as a variant of 救. LGS 99.5 also renders 𢦏, but sees it as a variant of 賴, taken in a sense similar to 仇 (an oppositional *fanxun* 反訓 gloss). LXF 00.5 and KZW 00.7 also render thus (KZW seeing the graph itself as equivalent to 來), but see the graph here as a direct phonetic loan for 仇; as YWL 03.3 suggests, however, the discrepancy between the initials of these two words makes this unlikely. HDK/XZG 98.12 and YSX 99.1 all see the phonetic element instead as an abbreviation of 棗, and read the graph as 仇; HLY 99.12 also supports this interpretation. Note that the same graph appears again in strip 43 below, where it corresponds to 逑 in *Mao Shi*. CJ 01.4 sees the left side of the graph (here and there) as one ultimately deriving in common origin from the graph 𠦪 (often read like 禱, "beseech," in oracle-bone inscriptions) and which would later be displaced by 求, and he would recommend for convenience rendering that element directly as 求; he also notes instances from excavated texts and vessel inscriptions where 𢦏 is to be read as 仇 (he further suggests [pp. 35–36] that 棗 also derived in common origin from 𠦪, but at a later time than the graph in question here). Following the lead of LL and CJ, YWL 03.3 would (like WH) see the graph as a variant of 救, read 仇, noting other examples in excavated texts where 救 is written 𢦏; he also notes a close semantic relationship between the graphically related forms of 拜, 來, and 求. SBCJ has 戧戧; XZG/HDK 02.3, LL 02.3b, LLX 02.3, and MPS 02.3 all see 各 as an abbreviation or corruption of 咎

我力。」《君迧（陳）[116]》員（云）[117]：「未見聖，如其[118]弗克見；我既見[119]，我弗迪聖[120]。」■

The Master said: “If men of importance do not hold dear those they consider worthy, but rather place trust in those they consider inferior, instruction will thereby be lost, and the people will thereby be vexed.” The Ode says: “When he [first] sought me, it was as if [fearing] he would not attain me; [but now he] holds me in animosity, and fails to make the most of me.” The “Jun Chen” says: “Having yet to see a sage, it was as if [fearing] I could not get sight of one; but now that I have seen the sage, I make no use of him.”

11 (LJ 14)

子（19）曰：「大臣之不新（親）也[121]，則忠敬不足[122]，而䝼（富）貴已[123]〓（過）也。邦豪（家）[124]之不寍（寧）（20）也，[125]則大臣不台（治），而埶

and read 仇; YWL 03.3 concurs, but sees 咎 in turn as an abbreviation of 咎 over 心, a graph which, along with its variant form of 怵, itself had the sense of “animosity.” Following an earlier interpretation of Yang Shuda 楊樹達, CW 02.3 instead sees 叴 as a variant form of 戟, here read 仇, and would see the GDCJ form, analyzed as 㦸, as yet a further variant of 戟.

[116] 迧: SBCJ has 緟; LJ has 陳. YWL 03.3 suggests that the 辶 element of the GDCJ graph may have derived from a corruption of 陳 written with a 土 underneath.

[117] The “Jun Chen” is a lost chapter of the *Shang shu*, ostensibly written as a charge to the Duke of Zhou’s 周公 successor. LJ has 曰 for 云.

[118] 其: LJ has 己. In SBCJ, a small 其 is inserted in the margin between 女 and 弗, with a “=” marker underneath it; as LSQ 02.11 observes, this probably served as a kind of insertion marker used to note the addition of a graph that had been inadvertently omitted when the text was first copied.

[119] 我既見: LJ has 既見聖.

[120] 我弗迪聖: LJ reads 亦不克由聖. CYM 99.10 argues that the LJ wording of this quotation represents an attempt to polish off a more colloquial original. Given that both LJ and the inauthentic “Jun Chen” chapter of the received *Shang shu* lack these two 我, and in the latter (which also adds the characters “凡人” to the beginning of the quotation) the lines are stitched into a context where having 我 would make no sense, LMC 00.2 suggests its presence in these two lines serves to further demonstrate how an “ancient-script” *Shang shu* chapter was forged directly on the basis of poorly understood quotations from the *Li ji*; LSQ 02.11 reiterates similar arguments. SBCJ reads like GDCJ, but for 迪 (“employ”) has a graph rendered 貴 (“value”), which, however, XZG/HDK 02.3, LZ 02.3, BYL 02.10, and ZKG 03.1 all see instead as 由 over 目, interpreted as 胄 and read like 由 or 迪 (though as YWL 03.3 argues, the 目 element would have to be considered a graphic error for 冃 or 肉[月]); LSQ sees it instead as simply a variant form of 迪.

（褻）臣[126]恀（託）[127]也。」[128]此以[129]大臣不可不敬[130]，民之蕝（蕝）[131]也[132]。古（故）[133]（21）君不與[134]少（小）悔（謀）[135]大[136]，則大臣不悁（怨）[137]。曾

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[121] LJ lacks the 之 and 也 in the corresponding positions, here and below. As commentators note (cf. LXF 00.5), the presence of these particles would appear to effectively turn the clause from a conditional one into a prestated outcome for which what follows is the reason. Nonetheless, this use of 之 can also sometimes suggest a conditional clause, especially as it is here still followed up with 則 below, so the cause-and-effect relationship here remains somewhat ambiguous—an ambiguity I have tried to retain in the translation.

[122] LCS 99.1b (p. 266) holds that this refers to the ruler lacking sufficient loyalty and respect *toward* his ministers, which is certainly one possible reading. If we follow the traditional reading of (Han) Zheng Xuan, "loyalty" is that of ministers toward their ruler, "respect" that of the ruler toward his ministers.

[123] 已: SBCJ has a graph rendered 月, which both XZG/HDK 02.3 and LL 02.3b see as a corruption of 已; CW 02.3 notes that this seems to be a "regular error," occurring also in a form of 改 seen in the CUHK "Ziyi" strip.

[124] 邦豙(家): LJ has 百姓, "people of a hundred surnames," in the corresponding position.

[125] In SBCJ, the bottom portion of the strip containing the next fourteen graphs is missing.

[126] 埶(褻)臣: LJ has 邇臣, "nearby ministers." YSX 99.3 notes that, while 褻 and 邇 are semantically close, the two phonetic series commonly interloan and thus 埶 might also be read directly as 邇.

[127] 恀(託): LJ has 比. ZGD 99.1 argues on this basis that LJ's 比 should be read 庇 "[find] shelter," and interprets 恀(託) similarly; YSX 99.3 concurs. LXF 00.5, however, suggests that 比 is the result of a graphic error. LZ 03.12 reads 託 in the sense of "are entrusted [with important duties]."

[128] In LJ, the two "conditions" in these two sentences are combined (with certain word variations) at the head of a single sentence, which reads as follows: "大臣不親，百姓不寧，則忠敬不足而富貴已過也，大臣不治而邇臣比矣" ("When great ministers are not held dear, and the people of a hundred surnames are unsettled, then loyalty and respect will be insufficient and wealth and nobility will be in excess; the great ministers will lack order and the nearby ministers will form cliques"). PH 98.12 (pp. 487–49) and XW 00.5 (p. 156) cite these and other variations below as evidence of conscious revision and elaboration—for Xing, revision done at the hands of the LJ editor.

[129] 此以: LJ has 故.

[130] LJ has an extra 也 here, and then a 是 before 民.

[131] 蕝(蕝): LJ has 表; SBCJ also has 蕝. 蕝 refers to bundles of couch grass used to mark places in the rehearsal of court rituals, and thus by extension "indicators" or "standards." See also the notes to the similar phrase "民之蔈(表)也" in strip 15 above. The term also appears in the phrase "義也者，群善之蕝(蕝)也" in strip 13 of "Xing zi ming chu."

[132] LJ has an additional parallel line here: "邇臣不可不慎也，是民之道也" ("[The ruler] cannot fail to be cautious over the nearby ministers—they are pathways for the people [to follow]"). ZFH 03.11 (p. 103) argues that these and the other additional lines below either contradict or are otherwise unrelated to the rest of the passage and must represent later additions.

[133] LJ lacks the 故 at this point.

[134] 不與: LJ has instead 毋以. XW 00.5 (p. 156) argues that the LJ 以 completely loses the sense of the original.

（晉〔祭〕）公[138]之㝵（顧）命員（云）[139]：「毋以[140]少（小）悔（謀）[141]敗大（22）惛（圖）[142]，毋以卑（嬖）御[143]憩（息〔疾〕）[144]妝（莊）句（后）[145]，毋以卑（嬖）士[146]憩（息〔疾〕）[147]大夫、卿事（士）[148]。」■

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[135] 悔: LJ has 謀. LXF 00.5 instead reads 侮, to "disgrace."

[136] LJ has two additional conditions here: "毋以遠言近，毋以內圖外" ("must not speak of nearby [affairs] with [those] far-off; must not plan the outside [affairs] with [those on] the inside").

[137] 情: LJ has 怨; SBCJ has a graph rendered 令, but which is actually an abbreviated form of 怨; see the notes to strip 10 for more details on these graphs. LJ has two additional parallel outcomes here: "邇臣不疾而遠臣不蔽矣" ("the nearby ministers will not be anguished and the far-off ministers will not be kept in the dark").

[138] 晉公: GDCMZJ leaves 晉 unrendered; SBCJ has the same graph minus the 日, rendered 𢍏; LJ has *she* 葉. Zheng Xuan equates She Gong with Zigao, Lord of the She district in Chu 楚縣公葉公子高. [Song] Wang Yinglin 王應麟 and later scholars, however, have argued that 葉 is an error for 祭, and his "last words" can be found in the "Zhai Gong" 祭公 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*; for details and other theories, see CYM 99.10 and YWL 03.3. This Lord of Zhai is identified as Moufu 謀父, who spanned the reigns of Kings Zhao 昭 and Mu; LXQ 98.7b notes the location of Zhai, a fief first given to a son of the Duke of Zhou, as northeast of modern-day Zhengzhou 鄭州, Henan province. LXQ interprets the top part of 晉 as 彗 minus the bottom hand 又 and reads 祭; he also argues that LJ's 葉 is likewise a phonetic loan for 祭. CYM 99.10 supports LXQ's interpretation, noting that the nature of the early script discounts the possibility of 葉 as a graphic error for 蔡 (i.e., 祭, [Qing] Wang Yinzhi's theory). CGZ 99.1 instead sees the GDCJ graph as 晉 (though, as LXQ notes, 晉 is written differently in strip 10), and he reads this as 祭, while admitting that the finals are relatively distant; he would also see this graph as structurally equivalent to the 晉 of strip 26 below. XZG 01.9 (and XZG/HDK 02.3), following Yang Shuda's etymology, sees the graph as two inverted arrows inserted into a vessel and similarly interprets it as 晉, or the ancient form of 箭, here read 祭; a similar analysis was previously mentioned in passing by LJH 99.7 (pp. 987–99), who noted the graph's similarity to 晉 as seen inscribed on a Chu bronze vessel. KZW 00.7 and WH 01.9 likewise identify the graph as 晉, read 祭, WH suggesting that the LJ 葉 derived from a misread corruption of the same graph. YWL 03.3 provides further support for the possibility of interloaning between 晉 and 祭. LL 02.3, seeing the upper element as a hand holding two arrows, interprets the graph as a variant of 射, arguing that 射 is phonetically interchangeable with 葉. LXD 00 contends that the upper element of the graph is actually a 戔 phonetic and that it can be read 祭 on that basis. LMC 00.2 (pp. 58–59) suggests that since the "Zhai Gong zhi gu ming" is cited directly by name, as are all other *Shu* quotations in "Ziyi," it too must have been considered part of the *Shu* at the time; cf. SE 06, pp. 587–60. A self-titled "Zhai Gong zhi gu ming," roughly equivalent to the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter, has been found among the recently discovered Qinghua manuscripts, now published in the first volume of that series. "Zhai" 祭 is there written with a graph tentatively rendered 𦤎, with *jie* 丯 considered the phonetic element of the graph.

[139] The term *guming* 顧命 refers to the last words of admonition of a man on his deathbed, in this case the Lord of Zhai. In the "Zhai Gong" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* and its Qinghua-manuscript equivalent, the Lord of Zhai provides Zhou King Mu with several admonitions, among which are the three lines that follow here (though with the first two reversed). GDCMZJ sees the 㝵 here as an abbreviation of 寡, read 顧, but CYM 99.10 raises the additional possibility of interpreting it instead as the right half of 顧. SBCJ has the same graph; the Qinghua manuscript writes 賻. LJ has 曰 in place of 云.

[140] 毋以: *Yi Zhou shu* writes 汝無以, and the Qinghua manuscript writes 女毋以, here and below.

The Master said: "When great ministers are not held dear, loyalty and respect will be insufficient and wealth and nobility will be in excess. Where the state and households are unsettled, the great ministers will lack order and the intimate ministers will seek refuge." Therefore, [the ruler] must not fail to respect the great ministers—they are standards for the people. Thus if only the

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[141] 少悔: LJ and *Yi Zhou shu* both have 小謀. LXF 00.5 instead reads 小侮, taken as a derogatory term meaning "servant." The Qinghua manuscript conforms to GDCJ here.

[142] 大愭: LJ and *Yi Zhou shu* both have 大作, "great undertakings," and GDCMZJ reads accordingly; the Qinghua manuscript writes 大慮, also read 大作. For the GDCJ graph, LMC 00.2 proposes the alternative reading of 大著. LXF 00.5 reads 大都, in the sense of [those of] "great [moral] beauty." MPS 02.11 instead reads 愭 as 圖, as does CSP (cited in CW et al. 09.9). 愭 appears as if it should be read 圖 in a couple of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts as well; see Li Chaoyuan's 李朝遠 note to the graph in strip 7 of the volume 5 manuscript "Gu Cheng Jiafu" 姑成家父 (pp. 246–47).

[143] 卑御: for 卑, "lowly," LJ and *Yi Zhou shu* have 嬖, "favored" (here and below); SBCJ has 辟, and the Qinghua manuscript writes 俾. LJ gives the term as 嬖御人. CYM 99.10 suggests that 嬖 may be considered as simultaneously a semantic variation and phonetic substitute for 卑, and that as 御 is properly a nominal here, the LJ 人 is superfluous. The Qinghua manuscript writes 御 as �.

[144] 憩: GDCMZJ renders directly as 息 and reads 塞; LJ has 疾. HDK/XZG 98.12 see the phonetic element of the GDCJ graph as the doubled 自 and read 疾. ZGD 99.1 and LXF 00.5 both take the graph as 息 and read as is, in the sense of "dismiss." LMC 00.2 reads 息 as a loan for 肅, but taken in the sense of 疾. CW 02.12 suggests that the lower element might not be 心 at all, but actually an ancient form of 疾, noted in the *Shuowen* as being written something like "廿." LL 99.8 sees the GDCJ graph as an abbreviation of 蠹, also meaning to "hurt" or "anguish"; SBCJ similarly has 𦘦, both here and below, and CPF 01.11 notes a likely equivalence in sound to 譆. *Yi Zhou shu* has 固 here, 疾 below; CYM 99.10 notes that, like the GDCMZJ reading of 塞, 固(/錮) can have the meaning of "obstruct[ed]," whereas (Qing) Wang Niansun 王念孫 would read the 固 as 媢, in the sense of 疾/嫉, "[make] jealous." YWL 03.3 sees the GDCJ graph as 皕 over 心 and takes it as an abbreviated variant of 㥲, understood in the sense of to make "angry" or "jealous"; he sees the SBCJ graph as a loan for the same word. MPS 02.11 suggests a reading of 疾, citing examples of its interloaning with both 息 and 塞; ZJZ/JXS 04.7 read 疾 in the sense of "detest" or "reject"; LZ 03.12 reads 塞 in a similar sense. The Qinghua manuscript has 息 both here and below, also read 塞 by its editors.

[145]妝(莊)句: for 句, LJ, SBCJ, and *Yi Zhou shu* all have 后. The Qinghua manuscript writes 臧句.

[146] 卑士: LJ has 嬖御士; CYM 99.10 argues that the 御 here was erroneously added to seek parallelism with the equally erroneous 嬖御人 above; cf. LMC 00.2. *Yi Zhou shu* parallels LJ here, but the Qinghua manuscript has simply 俾士.

[147] LJ has an additional 莊士 here, which seems superfluous; *Yi Zhou shu* also originally lacks it, though some later editions have added it on (see CYM 99.10); the Qinghua manuscript also lacks it. KM 05b (p. 307) notes that the GDCJ citation here is more rhythmically coherent than that of LJ.

[148] 卿事: LJ and *Yi Zhou shu* have 卿士; SBCJ writes 向使, read likewise; the Qinghua manuscript writes 卿李, which the editors also read as 卿士. CYM 99.10 argues that 事 rather than 士 is the proper graph here. LLX 02.3 sees the SBCJ 向 as resulting from a miscopying of 卿 as 鄉.

ruler does not consult with the petty in making plans for great [affairs], the great ministers will not be resentful. The last words of the Lord of Zhai stated: “Do not wreak great designs with petty schemes; do not anguish stately consorts with concubines of favor; do not anguish great officers and high ministers with men of favor.”

12 (LJ 3)

子曰：「倀（長）民者[149]𧦝（教）[150]之（23）以惪（德），齊之以豊（禮），則民又（有）懽（勸）[151]心；𧦝（教）之以正（政），齊之以坓（刑），則民又（有）𡥈（免）[152]心。」[153]（24）古（故）[154]孳（慈）[155]以㤅（愛）之，則民又

[149] 倀民者: LJ has 夫民; *Lunyu* (see below) omits the subject/topic altogether.

[150] 𧦝: LJ writes 教; *Lunyu* has 道, “to guide.”

[151] 懽: GDCMZJ reads 歡, “delighted”; QXG 98.5 suggests 勸, as we also read the same graph again in passage 13 below. LJ has 格 (“reform”); *Lunyu* has 恥且格 (“[will have] a sense of shame and reform”; the Dingzhou 定州 manuscript writes 恥 as 佴). YWL 03.3 argues that there are some phonological grounds for interloaning between 懽 and 格, and suggests that the intended original sense here may have been either “forthcoming” or “respectful” (i.e., 恪). SBCJ has 昱, which LL 02.3b suspects equals 咠, read 恥; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) supports this reading, but reads the graph directly as 恥. As the 心 below the SBCJ graph is written with scarcely any separation from it, YWL 03.3 (p. 78 n. 3) suspects that the two might in fact form a single graph with a combined-graph marker (indicating repetition of the 心 element as a separate word, like the case with SBCJ’s 羕心 below) inadvertently omitted, and he wonders if the graph might be a variant form of 恪.

[152] 𡥈: LJ has 遯, “eluding”; *Lunyu* has 免而無恥 (“will evade and lack a sense of shame”). CW 98.4 interprets the GDCJ graph as equivalent to 其 over 子, read 欺, “deception,” as does BYL 00.7, who further reads the LJ and *Lunyu* equivalents as 遁 and 謾 respectively, also glossing both of these as 欺. LL 99.8 interprets the graph as the ancient form of 娩, read 免, and LJH (cited in ZPA 01.9) affirms this interpretation; for more on this graph, see ZPA 01.9. WYH/ZY 00.7 instead interpret the graph as 孩, read 駭, “frightened,” reading 歡 for 懽 above. SBCJ has a graph rendered 免, though written differently; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) suggests that it is an early form of 冕. BYL 02.3 accuses LL of basing his interpretation of the GDCJ graph on his pre-publication access to the SBCJ materials, and sticks to his own interpretation of the GDCJ graph as 欺. See, however, the Shanghai Museum manuscripts “Rongcheng shi” 容成氏 (v. 2, strip 14, p. 260) and “Nei li” 內豊 (v. 4, strip 10, p. 228) for other examples of where the same graph likely reads 免. Cf. YWL 03.3, who further argues against BYL’s interpretation here and in support of the reading of 免.

[153] A version of this quotation is also found in the “Wei zheng” 爲政 chapter of the *Lunyu*, but with the two halves reversed (other variations noted above). This is another notable instance where the quotation from Confucius appears to end just before the *gu* 故.

[154] LJ has 君民者, “he who rules the people,” as the subject of this sentence. YWL 03.3 suggests that this subject may have been added here for clarity after the 長民(者) at the head of the Confucius quotation above

（有）新（親）[156]；信以結之，則民不伓（背）；共（恭）[157]以位（涖）[158]之，則民（25）又（有）愻（遜）心[159]。《寺（詩）》員（云）[160]：「虗（吾）大夫[161]共（恭）[162]叡（且）[163]韹（儉）[164]，林（靡）[165]人不斂（斂）[166]。」《呂坓

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had been inadvertently miscopied as 夫民.

[155] 孥(慈): LJ has 子; SBCJ writes 慈.

[156] 又(有)新(親): LJ has 親之.

[157] 共: LJ has 恭. SBCJ has a graph rendered 龍, read 恭; SP 03.6 (p. 72 n. 1) notes that the graph would be more accurately interpreted as an abbreviation of 龍 plus a secondary 兄 phonetic (same for the upper half of 龏 below).

[158] 位: LJ has 涖; SBCJ writes 立.

[159] 愻(遜)心: LJ writes 孫心. PP 00.5b suggests that the 心 radical highlights the sense of "submissive" here as a mental state. SBCJ has 㤅= (㤅心), written as a combined (partial-repetition) graph, tentatively read 遜心; XZG/HDK 02.3 would render the graph as 忩= and also read 遜心. SP 03.6, who renders the phonetic element 关/龹 by its corrupted *Shuowen* form of 弅, notes that this also forms the phonetic of the graph for 尊 in strip 1 of "Zun deyi," and argues that 弅 likely carried an *-ŋ (rather than *-m) ending in the Chu dialect of this time and could thus function as the phonetic for such *-n ending words as 遜 and 尊. Cf. the note to the graph 尊 in strip 1 of "Zun deyi."

[160] This ode, now lost, is neither cited in LJ nor included in the *Shi jing*. As CYM 99.10 suggests, LJ scribes may have purposely deleted the line during transmission precisely because it was not to be found in the *Shi jing*; YWL 05.11 (pp. 166, 169) argues similarly, suggesting that it may have ended up getting transposed to another text, but in part inadvertently because it (in his scenario) happened to occupy a single strip. LSY 07.11 (pp. 206–7), conversely, argues that the quote bears no relationship to the theme of the passage and does not belong here, and that it probably *resulted* from some sort of misplaced strip.

[161] 夫 = (大夫): GDCMZJ reads this as a repeated graph: 夫夫; QXG 98.5 reads it instead as a combined (partial-repetition) graph: 大夫.

[162] 共(恭): SBCJ writes 龏; cf. the note to 共 in strip 25 just above.

[163] 叡: QXG 98.5 reads 且.

[164] 韹: QXG 98.5 reads 儉; SBCJ writes 㑣. For other textual instances of 恭 and 儉 paired together, see YSX 99.3.

[165] 林: LLX 99.1, HDK/XZG 99.2, and LL 99.8 all read 靡, noting the equivalence of 林 and 麻; XBG 03.3 also supports this interpretation. Somewhat implausibly, KZW 00.7 instead takes 麻人 in the sense of an official in charge of weaving hempen fabrics, who no longer needs to "collect" (歛) tax contributions of hemp.

[166] 斂: GDCJ directly renders this as 斂; SBCJ has the same graph as GDCJ. XBG 03.3 reads this as a loan for 欽, "respect," "admire."

（刑）》員（云）[167]：「非[168]甬（用）[169]敔（令）[170]，斳（斷）[171]以[172]坓（刑），（26）隹（惟）乍（作）五瘧（虐）[173]之坓（刑）曰法[174]。」[175]■

[167] On the "Lü xing" chapter of the *Shang shu*, which LJ writes as "Fu 甫 xing," see the relevant note to passage 7 above.

[168] LJ, *Shang shu*, and SBCJ all give 苗民, the "Miao people," as the subject of this sentence. (Han) Zheng Xuan takes the 苗民 here to refer to the Miao ruler, and thus reads in the sense of: "The Miao subject did not employ instruction, [but rather] controlled [his people] through punishments . . ." CFL 02.2, on the basis of an untenable interpretation of "Lü xing" itself, attempts to argue that 苗民 was added to the text for political reasons in Han times, but SBCJ serves only to further discredit this argument. SBCJ writes 苗 as 髟 (i.e., 覒); ZKH 03.1 reads this as 眊, "dim-sighted," and suggests that 眊民 may have referred simply to the "bewildered people" rather than the Miao people specifically. For 非, LJ has 匪; *Shang shu* has 弗.

[169] 甬: Both LJ and *Shang shu* have 用.

[170] 敔: LJ has 命, "commands," which could be taken here in the more general sense of "instruction." *Shang shu* has 靈, and SBCJ has 霝; though these could be phonetic loans for 令 (/命) (see Qu Wanli, *Shangshu shiyi*, p. 192), both 靈 and 令 also carry the gloss of "goodness," *shan* 善 (perhaps also interchangeable with 良), and this more likely represents the intended meaning here. The "Shangtong, zhong" 尙同中 chapter of the *Mozi* has 練 in its citation of this line; as (Qing) Duan Yucai 段玉裁 has pointed out, 練 is close in sound to 靈 and the text of that chapter itself appears to interpret it in the sense of 善. YSX 99.1 reads 敔 as 至, in the sense of "goodness," as does LMC 00.2; YWL 03.3 further supports this reading. LL 99.8 similarly reads 臻, taken in the sense of "perfection" or the "wholly good," and CYM 99.10 reads similarly; CFL 02.2 reads 至 to refer more specifically to the "five ultimates" (*wu zhi* 五至) enumerated in the "Kong Zi xian ju" 孔子閑居 chapter of the *Li ji* (which finds a parallel in the Shanghai Museum [v. 2] manuscript "Min zhi fumu" 民之父母). ZKH 03.1 reads 敔 directly as 靈, but taken in the sense of "the spiritual." CGZ 99.1 (p. 367) and HLY 99.12 both see the graph as an abbreviation of 晉, taken as a loan for 命. BYL 01.2 also sees it as 晉, but read like 善. RZY 02.12 also interprets the graph as an abbreviation of 晉, but, noting its close phonetic relationships to both 進 and 齊, takes it here in the sense of "rectification" (正) and sees it as a kind of gloss on the 齊 ("bring into line") of the Confucius quotation just above. LXF 00.5 reads 旨, "intentions" [of their superiors]. LH 01.9 makes an interesting case for reading 矢/誓, so that it is "oaths" that the Miao did not heed; he suggests this represents the "true" ancient-text *Shang shu*. However, in the Shanghai Museum strip tentatively assigned to the volume 5 manuscript "Dizi wen" 弟子問 (*fujian* 附簡; see p. 281), a variation of the same graph appears in the phrase 考言銍色, which corresponds to the known phrase 巧言令色; from this it appears almost certain that 敔 is a variant form of the word represented by 靈/令.

[171] 斳: GDCMZJ renders 折, read 制; LJ and *Shang shu* have 制; SBCJ has 折, read 制. YSX 99.1 sees 折 as the original reading, understood in the sense of "determine," and the LJ 制 as the loan here; ZGD 99.1 takes 折 in the sense of "oppress." The "Shangtong, zhong" chapter of the *Mozi* also writes 折. HLY 99.12 would instead interpret the graph as a variant of 斬, but still reads 制; CWW 00.7 would similarly render 斳, but take it as a variant of the 釰 seen elsewhere (as in "Liu de" strips 42-44), equivalent to 斷. I follow this latter interpretation, though I suspect it may still be a graphic error for 折.

[172] 以: the "Shangtong, zhong" chapter of the *Mozi* has 則 instead.

[173] 瘧(虐): GDCMZJ renders the graph directly as 瘧. XZG/HDK 02.3 would instead render the interior element more strictly as 虐, noting, however, that 虐 is listed in the *Shuowen* as the ancient form of 虐 (actually written 虐). SBCJ has 虖, which both XZG/HDK 02.3 and LL 02.3b equate with 虖, and XZG/HDK would also

The Master said: "If he who heads the people instructs them through virtue and brings them in line through ritual, they will have minds that are motivated [to do good]; [but] if he instructs them through governance and brings them in line through punishments, the people will have minds bent on evasion." Thus if he cherishes them with fatherly devotion, the people will endear themselves to him; if he binds them with trust, the people will not betray him; if he oversees them with reverence, the people will be of a submissive mind. The Ode says: "My great officers are reverent and frugal, and there is [thus] no one who lacks restraint." The "Lü xing" says: "[The Miao people] did not employ positive instruction, [but rather] constrained through punishments, creating five abusive punishments and calling them 'laws.'"

13 (LJ 13)

子曰：「正（政）之不行[176]，𡥈（教）之不成也[177]，則[178]坓（刑）罰不（27）足恥[179]，而雀（爵）[180]不足懽（勸）也。」古（故）上不可以埶（褻）坓（刑）而

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interpret directly as 虐. Given that 虖 is usually read 呼, and sometimes 號, in Chu manuscripts, I (GSK 08.9) have previously speculated that the 五虐之刑 of "Lü xing" and "Ziyi" may have ultimately derived from a misreading of 五號之刑, "five categories of punishments"; here, however, I retain the more traditional reading. The "Shangtong, zhong" chapter of the *Mozi* has 殺, either "killing" or, perhaps, "gradations." ZJZ/JXS 04.7 instead see the upper element of the SBCJ graph as 无 and read the graph as 祄, understood in the sense of "frightening."

[174] 法: SBCJ has a graph rendered 金; CPF 01.11 explains that the 全 component is the ancient form of 百, here serving as the phonetic element, and thus reads 法. LL 02.3b notes that that element would be more correctly rendered 佱, or 㚎, the ancient form of 灋(法) (cf. PP 02.3), whereas XZG/HDK 02.3 see the whole graph as a corruption of that ancient form. BYL 02.10 also sees the SBCJ graph as an ancient form of 法.

[175] LJ has an additional couple of lines tagged to the end of this passage: "是以民有惡德，而遂絕其世也" ("Thus the people came to have decadent virtue, and consequently met with the extinction of their line"). As no other passage in this text contains an editorial comment following the *Shi*/*Shu* quotes, CYM 99.10 (p. 38) suggests that this line was a later addition, taken from the context of the *Shang shu* chapter; YWL 05.11 (p. 169) suggests that it may have been a line of commentary that was accidentally copied into the text. In any event, it certainly adds more clarity to the purpose of the quotation here as a negative example of the principles expressed earlier in the passage.

[176] LJ has an additional 也 here.

[177] In SBCJ, the bottom portion of the strip containing the next eleven graphs is missing.

[178] LJ lacks this 則, and the order of the following two outcomes is reversed. The 則 in GDCJ gives a stronger implication that success in governance and teaching is the condition for effective rewards and punishments (as

翌（輕）雀（爵）[181]。《康昇（誥）》員（云）[182]：「敬（28）明[183]乃罰。」《呂坓（刑）》員（云）[184]：「翻（播）[185]坓（刑）之迪[186]。」■

The Master said: "When governance and teachings are not successfully implemented, punishments and penalties will be insufficient to cause shame, and noble ranks will be insufficient to motivate." Thus superiors must not administer punishments partially or bestow noble ranks lightly. The "Kang gao" says: "Make reverent and enlightened your penalties." The "Lü xing" speaks of the "proper way of administering punishments."

[Han] Zheng Xuan apparently takes it), rather than the reverse (as [Tang] Kong Yingda, following Huang Kan 皇侃, takes it)—though to a certain extent the success of either aspect is implicated in the other.

[179] LJ has 也 at the end of both phrases here.

[180] 雀(爵): LJ has 爵祿, "noble ranks and salaries."

[181] 翌(輕)雀(爵): SBCJ writes the second of these as a graph rendered 㷉, but XZG/HDK 02.3, noting (along with LL 02.3b) the implausibility of the loan, would render the graph directly as 爵. Both CW 02.3 and FSJ 02.3 see the SBCJ graph as 少 plus 斗, with 少 as the phonetic element, and view the graph as a variant of 爵; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) gives a similar interpretation, though taking the 少 as an abbreviated 爵 phonetic. HXQ 02.3 concurs with taking 少 as the phonetic, but sees the other element itself as an abbreviated variant of 爵. LBH 03.4 sees the lower element of the SBCJ graph instead as an abbreviation of 隹 and thus the graph itself as an abbreviated form of 雀.

[182] The "Kang gao" ("Announcement to Kang") chapter of the *Shang shu* consists of a charge made to Prince Kang 康叔, traditionally thought to have been delivered by Zhou King Cheng 周成王 (or the Duke of Zhou 周公旦 on his behalf) upon the prince's enfeoffment to Wei 衛, but which a number of later scholars have since attributed to King Wu 周武王 on the occasion of Kang-shu's initial enfeoffment to Kang; for details, see Qu Wanli, *Shangshu shiyi*, pp. 143–45.

[183] For 明, some *Li ji* editions erroneously have 民 in their citation of this line.

[184] On the "Lü xing" chapter of the *Shang shu* (again written 甫刑 in LJ), see passage 7 above.

[185] 翻(播): SBCJ writes the graph as 䎽, which CPF 01.11, XZG/HDK 02.3, and LL 02.3b all see as the ancient form of 番 (蹯), read 播. LL suggests that the 月 element in GDCJ is a corruption of 冂; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) sees the GDCJ graph instead as 膰, "cooked meat," here a loan for 播. YWL 04.1 observes how various sources suggest that 䎽 was likely the form of the graph found in the original "ancient-script" *Shang shu*; cf. LSQ 02.11.

[186] 迪: LJ reads 不迪, but (Han) Zheng Xuan considered the 不 to be erroneous; SBCJ has just 由, read 迪. In the *Shang shu* chapter, which also lacks the 不, it is here Boyi's 伯夷 way of dealing out punishments that is proffered as the model. Various attempts to account for the LJ 不 have been made in the past, ranging from alternate interpretations of the line to reading 不 as 丕 or taking it as a meaningless particle (for details, see LR 03.6, and YWL 04.1), but the excavated texts would appear to vindicate Zheng Xuan's early assessment. CFL 02.2, taking the LJ line to read in the sense of "apply punishments to those who do not follow," attempts to argue on rather tenuous grounds that the 不 was purposefully added to the LJ in the Han to better conform to legalist principles.

14 (LJ 7a)[187]

子曰：「王言女（如）絲，其出女（如）緍（緡）[188]；王言女（如）索[189]，（29）其[190]出女（如）綍（紼）[191]。」古（故）大人不昌（倡）流〔言〕[192]。《寺（詩）》員（云）[193]：「誓（慎）[194]尔（爾）出話[195]，敬尔（爾）愄（威）[196]義（儀）。」■

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[187] In LJ, GDCJ 14 and 15 read as one connected passage (lacking the first *Shi* quotation), LJ passage 7. The *Shi* quotation of GDCJ 14 appears instead in the middle of LJ 8 (GDCJ 16). ZGD 99.1 (pp. 209–11), arguing for the better logic of the GDCJ arrangement, suggests that the LJ misplacement may have resulted from a displaced strip; cf. PH 98.12 (pp. 46–47), LXF 00.5, and LMC 00.8d (p. 72), who all argue for the logical superiority of GDCJ here. SE 06 (pp. 82–86) elaborates on the misplaced-strip possibility, suggesting that the *Shi* quotation may have happened to begin on a separate strip in the *Li ji* source text, accidentally been reassigned to LJ 8 because of thematic similarities, and then subsequently re-placed before the "Da ya" quote of that passage to yield better parallelism with the passage's alternating focus on "words" and "actions"; the equivalent of GDCJ 14 and 15 may then have been combined, he adds, because of similarity in content (with the 子曰 atop the latter either broken off in the source text or overlooked by the copyist). ZFH 03.11 (pp. 102–3) similarly suggests that the two passages may have gotten combined in LJ following the displacement of the *Shi* quote and the subsequent loss of the 子曰; YWL 05.11 (pp. 143, 166–67, 169–70) also offers much the same line of argument, but would have the displaced quote occurring on a fully written strip of ten graphs in length.

[188] 緍: LJ has 綸. GDCMZJ renders 絬; LXF 00.5 sees this as variant of 綎, a kind of ribbon for pendants, similar to one of the senses of 綸. QXG 98.5 would render 緍, read 緡, which, like 綸, can mean "fishing line" (which is thicker than mere "silk thread"); CW 02.3 concurs, citing other similar variant forms of 昏, including in the graph for 聞 in strip 38 below; PYS 02.7 makes much the same observations. SBCJ has roughly the same graph as GDCJ, rendered 緍. As YWL 04.1 notes, both 綸 and 緡 can be found in different paraphrases of these lines in Han texts.

[189] 索: LJ here instead repeats the 綸 that it has at the end of the previous line.

[190] In SBCJ, the bottom portion of the strip containing the next fifteen graphs is missing.

[191] 綍: GDCMZJ sees this as loan for 紼; LJ has 綍, which the *Shiwen* cites instead as 紼. QXG 98.5 explains that the phonetic element in 綍 might have been read 筆, phonetically exchangeable with 綍/紼. 紼 describes a particularly thick rope of the kind used for mooring boats or pulling coffins. LXF 00.5 sees the graph instead as a phonetic variant of 繂, though with similar meaning; YWL 04.1 argues likewise.

[192] 流: LJ has 游言, on which basis the omitted 言 is here supplied.

[193] LJ lacks this quote here (which appears instead in LJ 8), continuing directly with GDCJ 15 as part of the same passage, but without the next 子曰 ("The Master said"); for possible reasons for these discrepancies, see the note at the head of this passage above. The quotation comes from the ode "Yi" 抑, on which see the note to passage 6 above.

[194] 誓(慎): GDCMZJ renders 誓, read 慎. CYM 99.10 notes that 誓 and 慎 have both been glossed as 謹, "cautious," as does LMC 00.8d. The rendering of 誓, however, is likely in error; see the note to this graph in "Laozi A," strip 11.

The Master said: “The King’s words [may be] like silk threads, [but] they go forth like fishing line; the King’s words [may be] like twine, [but] they go forth like thick ropes.” Thus the man of importance does not initiate baseless 〔words〕. The Ode says: “Be cautious over the words you utter; be reverent over your imposing demeanor.”

15 (LJ 7b)

子曰[197]：「可言[198]（30）不可行，君子弗言[199]；可行不可言，君子弗行。則[200]民言不陒（危）[201]行，[202]〔行〕[203]不陒（危）（31）言[204]。」《寺（詩）》員

[195] 話: further support for the rendering of this graph is provided by HDK/XZG 99.2. BYL 01.2 (p. 55) interprets the upper right-hand element as ⺙ and sees it as the phonetic in this graph.

[196] 愄: SBCJ (like LJ 8 and *Mao Shi*) has 威.

[197] LJ, where this passage is the second half of its passage 7, lacks this “The Master said,” and thus it is ambiguous there whether these words are to be attributed to Confucius or form part of a commentary to his words quoted at the beginning of that passage. As CYM 99.10 (pp. 36–37) suggests, it is likely that these two graphs were deleted sometime after the two originally separate passages were conflated into a single passage. As KM/HM 11 observe, much the same quotation—up until the 則—appears in the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) manuscript(s) “Cong zheng” 從政, but there in the form of an anonymous “I have heard it said,” potentially raising some interesting issues concerning questions of attribution and authority: “聞之曰：可言而不可行，君子不言；可行而不可言，君子不行” (“Cong zheng, jia” 甲, strip 11).

[198] LJ additionally has a 也 here (and in the parallel position below).

[199] LJ additionally has a 也 here as well (and in the parallel position below).

[200] I take the 則 here more in the sense of 然則, rather than treating the foregoing as fully conditional clauses. It is also possible that what follows 則 here was not intended as part of the Confucius quotation, but rather as commentarial elaboration thereof, given that the “Cong zheng” version of the citation lacks that portion; for more on this point, see KM/HM 11.

[201] 陒: QXG 98.5 sees 禾 as the phonetic of this graph and reads 危, as LJ has it (here and below); (Han) Zheng Xuan glosses 危 as 高, “tower over,” while (Qing) Wang Yinzhi reads 詭, in the sense of “run counter to,” “contradict” (note that 違 might also be a plausible loan). HLY 99.12 sees the right side of the GDCJ graph as a variant of 委 and the whole graph as a variant of 倄, “pile on.” LXF 00.5 would render 恑, which, as TZL/LZX 00.5 note, also carries a gloss of “stand independent.” OK 03.10 provides further phonological justification for reading a 禾 phonetic as 危, and sees the 阝 element of this graph as a kind of corruption of 石 and the 禾 element as a kind of phoneticized form-alteration of 人, and thus he interprets the graph as a whole as a variant form of 危 with an added 心 element below, understood here in the sense of “imperil.” ZJ 04.10 also supports taking 禾 as a phonetic for 危. SBCJ has a graph rendered 僉, which LL 02.3b sees as a corruption of 危, and which XZG/HDK 02.3, HXQ 02.3, and OK 03.10 all see as a person standing on a rock or cliff, i.e., as 产, or a variant of 危; ZPA 02.3a and YWL 04.1 interpret similarly. YSX 03.6 interprets the SBCJ graph as 峉, also with the sense of “tower over,” and thus argues in favor of Zheng Xuan’s reading. Less tenably, YZS 02.3

（云）[205]：「雪（淑）[206]誓（慎）[207]尔（爾）歨（止），不侃（諐）[208]于義（儀）。」■

The Master said: "The noble man does not mention that which can be mentioned yet not put into practice, and he does not put into practice that which can be practiced yet not mentioned. As a result, the words of the people will not tower over their actions, and 〔their actions〕 will not tower over their words." The Ode says: "Refine and make cautious your comportment; do not go to excess in [your] demeanor."

16 (LJ 8)

子曰：「君子道（導）人以言，而𨒅（恆）[209]以行[210]。」古（故）言（32）則[211]慮（慮）[212]其所終，[213]行則𩛚（稽）[214]其所幣（敝）[215]，則民誓（慎）[216]於言，

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would read the GDCJ graph as either 過 or 禍, taking 禾 as the phonetic, and the SBCJ graph as either 蠹 or 度, taking 石 as the phonetic—all as semantic equivalents to 危.

[202] LJ has an 而 here.

[203] 〔行〕: as GDCMZJ points out, either this graph or, more likely, a repetition mark on the 行 graph just written, seems to have been accidentally left off in GDCJ, and is supplied here on the basis of LJ. The repetition mark is present in SBCJ.

[204] LJ has an 矣 at the end of this line.

[205] These lines also come from the ode "Yi" 抑, on which see the previous passage and the note to passage 6 above.

[206] 雪(淑): it might also be possible to take this adverbially: "well [make cautious]."

[207] 誓(慎): refer to the note on this graph in the previous strip.

[208] 侃: LJ writes 諐 and *Mao Shi* writes 愆; GDCMZJ notes that the former is given as the *zhouwen* 籀文 form of the latter. For more on these graphs, see CYM 99.10. In SBCJ (which also writes 侃), the bottom portion of the strip containing the next fourteen graphs is missing.

[209] 𨒅: GDCMZJ suspects this should read 恆; LJ has 禁人, traditionally taken in the sense of "cautions people." CW 98.4 sees the graph here as 亟, read as either 極 ("[make] cautious") or 忌, "forbid." YSX 00.5 reads 恆 as 競, understood here in the sense of "caution." LXF 00.5 interprets the graph as an elaborate form of 亙, taken in the sense of "carry through to the end." LZ 03.12, reading 恆, takes this to refer to the ruler's need for consistency in his own conduct when leading the people with his words; this is an intriguing possibility presented by the lack of any explicit object following this verb in GDCJ, but it is also possible that the object 人 was meant to carry over to this second phrase. YWL 04.1, taking the LJ 禁 in the sense of "forbid" or "prevent," suggests that 𨒅 represents a word equivalent in meaning, with 止 as the radical and 亙 as the phonetic, and provides phonological grounds for speculating that it might be directly read as 禁. Both LXF 00.5

而慬（謹）[217]於行。《寺（詩）》員（云）[218]：「穆穆（33）文王，於偮（緝）[219]逦（熙）敬歨（止）。[220]」■

The Master said: "The noble man guides people with his words and makes [them] consistent with his actions." If thus, in speaking, one [first] considers where it will end up, and in acting, one [first] examines where it will conclude, then the people will [likewise] be cautious in their words and careful in their actions. The Ode says: "How majestic was King Wen; oh, how bright and splendid was his reverence!"

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and JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7), on the contrary, suspect that it is the LJ 禁 that resulted from phonological confusion.

[210] In SBCJ, the portion of the strip containing the preceding twelve characters of this passage (and last two of the previous one) is missing.

[211] 則: LJ has 必, "must," here and below.

[212] 慮: LJ and SBCJ write 慮.

[213] LJ has an 而 here.

[214] 餡: GDCMZJ renders 餡; HLY 99.12, LXF 00.5, and others point out that the left side of this graph is actually 食. LJ has 稽, "examine"; SBCJ writes 旨. CWW 05.12 would read this instead as 䚷, a variant form of 視, which is what appears for 旨 in the SBCJ equivalent to strip 42 below.

[215] 幣: LJ has 敝; SBCJ writes 蔽, "cover up," "conceal."

[216] 誓(慎): in LJ, the positions of 慎 and 謹 are reversed.

[217] 慬(謹): see previous note. SBCJ writes 歎.

[218] In LJ, the "Yi" quotation seen in GDCJ 14 above is cited here first, introduced by "詩云," followed then by this ode, introduced instead by "大雅曰." These lines come from the ode "Wen Wang" 文王, on which see the note to passage 1 above (note that the same ode is also cited by "大雅曰" in the LJ version of that passage).

[219] 偮(緝): QXG 98.5 calls the 人 radical of this rendering into question and suspects that the graph is a corruption of 咠.

[220] Whereas GDCJ closely parallels LJ and *Mao Shi*, SBCJ writes this phrase with graphs rendered 於幾義之; XZG/HDK 02.3 suggest that 義 can be read 熙, but, as KM 05a notes, their finals are too distant for this to be possible. QXG 03.6 sees 義 as a miscopying of 敬; he also suspects 幾 could be a miscopying of a conflated 緝 and 熙. YWL 04.1 questions this latter possibility and tentatively suggests that 緝 may have dropped out of SBCJ and that 幾 could be a phonetic loan for 熙. KM 05a suggests that the SBCJ 幾義 may be an alliterative binome, as opposed to the near-rhyming binome 緝熙; JXS (in JXS/ZJZ 04.7) also argue that is likely a corresponding binome of some sort, without necessarily constituting a precise loan.

17 (LJ 23)

子曰：「言從[221]行之[222]，則行不可匿。[223]」古（故）君子顋（顧）[224]言而（34）行，以成其信，則民不能[225]大其媺（美）而少（小）其亞（惡）。《大虽（雅）[226]》云[227]：「白珪[228]之石〈砧（玷）〉[229]，尚可（35）砉（磨）也[230]；此[231]言之砧（玷），不可為也。」《少（小）頣（雅）》員（云）[232]：「躳（允）[233]

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[221] 從: LJ has 從而. SBCJ has a graph rendered 衍, a form of 率, which can also have the sense of "follow"; XZG/HDK 02.3 and CW (02.3 and 02.12), however, all see it as a slight variation of 彷, or 道, here most likely a graphic error for 從. YWL 04.1 also sees the SBCJ graph here as an error for 從, and even suggests that the glossing of 率 in the sense of "follow" itself derived from the common graphic confusion of these two forms. JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) reads the SBCJ 率 as is, taking it in the adverbial sense of "in all cases."

[222] 之: ZSP 02.1 takes this as an error or graphic loan for 止 and reads the phrase in the sense of "if [one] follows words but ceases [to implement them] in action."

[223] In LJ, 飾 replaces 匿, and this "quotation" is more elaborate: "言從而行之，則言不可飾也；行從而言之，則行不可飾也" ("If words are followed up by acting upon them, the words cannot be adorned; if actions are followed up by speaking about them, the actions cannot be adorned"); note that in GDCJ it is essentially the second of the two LJ consequences that is given as the outcome for the first of the two LJ conditions. YWL 05.11 (p. 170) speculates that words from a line of commentary may have crept into the LJ text here. For 匿, TZL/LZX 00.5 read 慝, "fall into error"; CW 02.12 reads 慝, or 忒, in the sense of "alter," "change," and suggests that the extra LJ lines represent an emendation of the original text.

[224] 顋: LJ has 寡, but (Han) Zheng Xuan considers this a loan for 顧; the presence of the 見 (or perhaps 視) radical in GDCJ would seem to confirm Zheng Xuan's reading, as QXG 98.5 points out. SBCJ writes 顨.

[225] 不能: LJ has 不得.

[226] 虽(雅): 虽 is an abbreviated form of the graph elsewhere written 頣, equivalent to 夏 (here read 雅). On how the form, with its 虫 element, derived from a gradual process of graphic corruption, see WYH 02.2.

[227] LJ simply has "詩云" here. These lines come from the ode "Yi" 抑, on which refer to the notes to the previous two passages and passage 6 above.

[228] 珪: LJ and *Mao Shi* write 圭.

[229] 石: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 玷, "flaw, imperfection," both here and in the parallel position below. As LL 99.8 notes, the 石 here is likely a scribal mistake for the 砧 (玷) that appears below; SBCJ has 砧 (玷) here. Cf. the discussion in KM 02, pp. 160–61. The *Shuowen* citation of this Ode line has the graph written with the 刀 radical instead of 玉, prompting much debate over the origins and precise sense of the graph 玷; as YWL 04.1 observes, the functional equivalency of the forms 砧 and 玷 and the presence of the former in these manuscripts suggests that the latter was by no means the anomalous loan for the *Shuowen* graph that some had taken it to be.

[230] SBCJ lacks the 也, here and at the end of the next phrase.

[231] 此: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 斯.

[232] These lines are the final two from the ode "Ju gong" 車攻 of the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode

也[234]君子，臺〈廛（展）〉[235]也大成。」《君奭》員（云）[236]：（36）「昔才（在）[237]上帝，戠（割〔蓋〕）紳（申）觀文王悳（德）[238]，其集大命于氒（厥）身[239]。」■

The Master said: “If words are followed up by acting upon them, then the [truth of one’s] actions cannot be concealed [by one’s words].” Thus if the

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celebrating a hunting expedition held by Zhou King Xuan 周宣王 for the feudal lords paying him a court visit; the “noble man” below likely refers in the original ode to King Xuan himself. LJ has 曰 for 云.

[233] 㑥: GDCMZJ renders this graph left-right as 躳 and reads 允; see also the note to this graph in strip 5 above. SBCJ has the same graph, but renders it 夋.

[234] 也: *Mao Shi* has 矣.

[235] 臺: GDCMZJ renders 壐, read 則; QXG 98.5 would instead render 廛, read 展. LL 02.3 interprets the graph as 石 over 貝 over 土, and similarly sees it as a corruption of 廛. LJ and *Mao Shi* have 展, which (Han) Zheng Xuan glosses as 誠, “sincere.” SBCJ has a graph rendered 垦, but which LL 02.3b would instead interpret as 貝 over 土, and which he, along with ZPA 02.3a, sees as roughly equivalent to the GDCJ graph. YZS 02.3 sees the “貝” element of both graphs instead as 鼎, functioning as a phonetic ostensibly interloaning with 展.

[236] The “Jun Shi” chapter of the *Shang shu* takes the form of an address by the Duke of Zhou to Shi, Duke of Shao 召公奭, calling for his continued assistance in the preservation of the Zhou’s rule. This chapter is also quoted extensively in “Cheng zhi.” LJ reads 曰 for 云. In SBCJ, the bottom portion of the strip containing the next eleven graphs is missing.

[237] 昔才(在): *Shang shu* reads 在昔, save for a variant Song edition that reads as here; see LH 01.9. GDCJ corroborates the argument of (Qing) Duan Yucai that 昔在 was in fact the correct reading.

[238] 戠紳觀文王悳: LJ reads “周田觀文王之德.” (Han) Zheng Xuan cites both the text of the ancient-script 古文 *Shang shu*: “割申勸寧王之德” (same as the received version), and the reading of his contemporaneous erudites 今博士讀: “厥亂勸寧王之德,” arguing that the reading of the former is the correct one (with 割 read 蓋) and the first three graphs in LJ the result of graphic errors (more recent scholars such as Jin Lüxiang 金履祥 and Yu Xingwu 于省吾 have since elaborated on 周 as an error for 害). GDCJ would seem to corroborate Zheng Xuan’s suspicions, at least for the first two characters. ZGD 99.1 takes 割 in the sense of “separately”; LMC 00.2 reads 蓋; LH 01.9 reads 害, as an interrogative particle (曷/何). In explaining the variations in the erudites’ reading, CYM 99.10 notes the phonetic similarity of 割 and 厥, and observes that 亂 could be a graphic error for 率, phonetically interchangeable with 申 by Han times (cf. LMC 00.2, who, however, sees the LJ 田 as a phonetic loan for 申, and 亂 as an error for a complicated form of 申). ZKH 03.1 would interpret the second graph here as an elaborate form of 紬 rather than 紳, and thus reads the first two words as 曷由, “wherefore.” On 觀, “observe,” versus 勸, “encourage,” the former, present in both the “Ziyi” citations (GDCJ and LJ), seems to fit the local “Ziyi” context better; as CYM 99.10 and LH 01.9 both note, both words were originally written with just 雚 in the early Zhou. On 寧 as a graphic error for 文, see CYM 99.10, LMC 00.2, and LSQ 02.11; as CYM notes, the 之, not found in GDCJ, is also lacking in some LJ editions.

[239] 氒身: LJ and *Shang shu* write 厥躬; CYM 99.10 argues that 身 is the earlier and more proper graph. A Dunhuang 敦煌 hand-copied edition also has 身. SBCJ has 氏身, read 是身, but both LL 02.3b and QXG 03.6 suspect 氏 to be a miscopying of 氒 (厥).

noble man looks back upon his words before acting, so as to fulfill his trustworthiness, then the people will [likewise] be unable to exaggerate their [own] beauty or minimize their [own] failings.[240] The “Da ya” says: “Flaws in a white [jade] *gui*-tablet can still be polished [out], [but] flaws in one’s words cannot be managed.” The “Xiao ya” says: “Genuine is that noble man; veritable are [his] great achievements.” The “Jun Shi” says: “In former times, the Lord-on-High doubtless observed repeatedly King Wen’s virtue, and [thus] concentrated the great mandate upon his person.”

18 (LJ 18)

子曰：[241]「君子[242]言又（有）勿（物），行又（有）（37）𨑥（格）[243]，此以[244]生[245]不可敓（奪）志，死不可敓（奪）名。」古（故）君子多𦖞（聞），齊[246]而

[240] Cf. SE 06, who takes the 其 to refer still to the ruler: “the common people will not be able to expand upon what he considers as beautiful or to trivialize what he considers as hateful.”

[241] In LJ, there is an extra “子曰” quote at the beginning of the passage, lacking in GDCJ/SBCJ: “下之事上也，身不正言不信，則義不壹行無類也” (“The Master said: ‘If subordinates, in serving their superiors, are not rectified in their persons or trustworthy in their words, their propriety will not be uniform and their actions will have no correspondence”). Kong Yingda treats this as part of the same passage as 18, probably because of potentially close thematic continuity and the fact that there are no intervening *Shi* or *Shu* quotes. PH 98.12 (p. 46) argues that the line was a later addition. SE 06 (pp. 77–78) suggests that the quote may have filled a single bamboo strip and thus been misplaced from elsewhere, perhaps another text altogether; he also suggests (p. 66) that this strip may not have been included in the text that Zheng Xuan based his commentary on.

[242] 君子: LJ lacks this “noble man” as an explicit subject to the sentence.

[243] 𨑥: LJ has 格也, and GDCMZJ reads 格 on this basis; (Han) Zheng Xuan glosses 格 as “long-held standards” (舊法). CN 98.4 (p. 41) sees this graph as equivalent to the graph 逹 of strips 10, 11, and 17 of “Xing zi ming chu,” where he also reads 格 (seeing *jie* 丯 as the phonetic); MPS 02.3 concurs with the equivalence, but sees the phonetic element instead as a variation of 屰, affirming the interpretation of HDK/XZG and LL of 逆 for the “Xing zi ming chu” graph, and thus sees this graph as 逆 as well, but still reads it as 格; a roughly similar, though less detailed interpretation is given by LXD 00. YSX 99.1 interprets the graph as 辵 plus the left side of a variant form of 戟 (丯, sometimes also written 各), which thus can read 格 (here) or 略 (below) (MPS also sees this 丯 element as 屰). SBCJ writes 𨺗, here and below; MPS 02.3 argues that this is the original form of 格, which had an initial sense of “ascend.” SE 06 takes 格 in the sense of “objective” or “impartial,” both here and below.

[244] 此以: LJ has 是以 (*Shiwen* cites this as 是故).

[245] LJ has a coordinative 則 after both this 生 and 死 below.

[246] 齊: LJ has 質, which (Han) Zheng Xuan glosses in the sense of “moderately” 少. QXG 98.5 notes that 齊 and 質 are homophonous; YWL 04.1 provides further support for this. (Song) Lü Dalin 呂大臨 takes 質 in the

獸（守）[247]之；多志[248]，齊而（38）新（親）[249]之；精[250]智（知），洛（略）[251]而行之。《寺（詩）》員（云）[252]：「𠱾（淑）[253]人君子，其義（儀）弋（一）[254]也。」《君迪（陳）》員（云）[255]：「出內（入）[256]自尔（爾）帀（師），于（虞）[257]（39）庶言同。[258]」■

sense of 正, with the meaning of "correct [oneself] against"; note that both 質 and 齊 can have the sense of "seek conformity with." LXF 00.5 interprets 齊 in the sense of "selectively" (cf. JXS [in ZJZ/JXS 04.7], who also reads 質 the same way); LZ 03.12 takes 齊 in the sense of "reverently." LR 03.6 reads it as 質, in the sense of "cautiously." SBCJ also has 齊. I read 齊 here as is, in the sense of "evenhandedly"—though not "equally" per se, as the sense here certainly involves the process of cautious selectivity in accordance with prudent standards.

[247] 獸: Like LJ, SBCJ writes the customary 守.

[248] 志: SBCJ writes this here as 旨, whereas it writes 志 above; CPF 01.11 sees this graph as a variant of 齒, but XZG/HDK 02.3, LL 02.3b, and HXQ 02.3 (pp. 28–29) all dispute this.

[249] 新(親): LXF 00.5 reads 新, "renew," rather than LJ's 親.

[250] 精: LJ also has 精, but (Han) Zheng Xuan notes that some editions give 清. SBCJ writes 青.

[251] 洛: GDCMZJ reads 略 on the basis of LJ. See the note on this graph at the head of strip 38 above; given that these two graphs are equivalent, YWL 04.1 would opt to take both instances in the sense of "standards," as 洛(格) is read above; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) reads both as 格 in the sense of "properly."

[252] In LJ, the order of the *Shi* and *Shu* quotes here is reversed; YWL 05.11 (pp. 167, 170) proposes that this may have resulted from the transposition of source-text strips of ten and twelve characters each. These lines come from the ode "Shijiu" 鳲鳩, for which see the note to passage 3; the same lines are quoted also in strip 16 of "Wu xing."

[253] 𠱾: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 淑; the "Wu xing" citation writes 叓.

[254] 弋: GDCMZJ renders 弍; ZGY/YGH 99.1 more accurately render 弋. LJ, *Mao Shi*, and SBCJ have 一; "Wu xing" writes 罷.

[255] "Jun Chen," a lost chapter of the *Shang shu*, is also quoted in passage 10 above. LJ has 曰 for 云.

[256] 出內(入): CYM 99.10 explains this in the sense of "proclaiming" and "adopting [opinions]." LSQ 02.11 would render 內 directly as an elaborate form of 入.

[257] 于: LJ has 虞; SBCJ has 雩. ZKH 03.1 suspects this may be functioning as an empty particle here. On the basis of an ancient form of the graph as found cited in early sources, LSQ 02.11 would read it as 旅, apparently reading 帀于 together as 師旅; JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) affirms her analysis of that graph, but reads it and all the other variants instead as 慮, "consider."

[258] I have tried to interpret this quote in such a way as it may have been intended for this context, though (Han) Zheng Xuan explains it in a slightly different context. GDCMZJ punctuates after 于 (虞), but this would seem to reflect more the context given to the line in the forged *Shang shu* version of the chapter.

The Master said: "The noble man has substance behind his words and standards behind his actions; thus in life, he cannot be robbed of his will, and in death, he cannot be robbed of his [good] name." Thus the noble man inquires of many [things] but abides by them evenhandedly; he takes note of many [things/people] but holds them dear with equanimity; he comprehends [things] precisely but practices them sparingly. The Ode says: "The well-refined noble man, singular is his manner." The "Jun Chen" says: "In your comings and goings, take from your multitude, [but] consider [whether] the numerous words are in conformity."

19 (LJ 22)

子曰：「句（苟）又（有）車，必[259]見其⿰⿱呂丙攴（轍）[260]；句（苟）又（有）衣，必見其㡀（蔽）[261]。人〔句（苟）又（有）[262]言[263]，必𦖞（聞）其聖（聲）〕[264]；

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[259] 必: SBCJ writes 朼 (here and below), and the bottom portion of the SBCJ strip containing the next fourteen characters is missing. LXF 00.5 takes the sense of this passage to stress the idea of "not giving up halfway," in which case the 必 here might better be rendered as "must," "needs to."

[260] ⿰⿱呂丙攴: GDCMZJ renders ⿰⿱呂丙攴 and reads 笰, in the sense of "[carriage] canopy," but QXG 98.5 suggests reading 蓋 instead, in a similar sense. The rendering follows the earlier interpretation of an equivalent Chu silk-manuscript graph by Zhu Dexi 朱德熙; the same graph also appears in strip 10 of "Yucong 4." LL 99.8 reads 轍, "carriage tracks"; LXF 00.5 reads likewise. BYL 02.7 interprets the left side of the graph as 呂 over 丙, with 呂 as the phonetic, and reads ⿰⿱呂丙攴 as 禦, a kind of bamboo mat draped over the crossbar at the front of a carriage. XZG 03.12 follows BYL's rendering, but sees the graph as a variant form of 敞, here read 轍; QXG (as cited in CJ 12.1c) and ZFH (as cited in XZG) have similar interpretations. See the note to strip 10 of "Yucong 4" for further details. CGZ 99.1 would instead render the left side of the graph as 酋 and read the graph as 楢, understood in the extended sense of "wheels." LXD 00 reads the graph as 鎋, "linchpin." LJ has 軾 (crossbar on a carriage); SBCJ has the same graph as GDCJ, but with a 車 underneath. JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) suggests that 轍 later got changed to 軾 as the result of both phonetic and semantic proximity.

[261] 㡀: GDCMZJ directly renders 幣; the precise form of this graph as written is actually 㡀. LJ has 敝, which (Han) Zheng Xuan takes in the sense of 敗, "worn out," a reading that appears somewhat forced in this context; *Shiwen* quotes Yu 庾氏 as reading 蔽, "covering" [the body] (cf. LXF 00.5, JXS [in ZJZ/JXS 04.7]); "worn" seems to cover both these possibilities. CGZ 99.1 reads the graph like 韠, 韍, etc., taken in the sense of 蔽膝, a kind of insignia-bearing covering worn hung from the front of the waist; LZ 03.12 reads 黻, referring to the insignia itself. Following (Qing) Wang Yinzhi, YWL 04.1 reads the graph like 袂, "sleeves," suggesting that parallelism demands a noun here; YWL also notes that the 蔽膝 reading represents an early view once rejected by Wang Yinzhi. It might also be possible to take the 幣 here simply as "fabric."

[262] 又(有): LJ has 或, here and in the next line.

[263] 言: LJ has 言之.

句（苟）又（有）行[265]，必見其成。」（40/40 背）《寺（詩）》員（云）[266]：「備（服）之亡懌[267]。」■

The Master said: "Where there is a carriage, one will surely see its tracks; where there is clothing, one will surely see it worn. When someone utters words, one will surely hear his voice; when he takes action, one will surely see its outcome." The Ode says: "Never tire of wearing it."

20 (LJ 21)

子曰：「厶（私）惠不壞〈壞（懷）〉[268]悳（德），君子不自窗（留）女〈安（焉）〉[269]。」《寺（詩）》員（云）[270]：「人之好我，（41）旨（示）[271]我周行。」■

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[264] These seven bracketed graphs were apparently accidentally omitted from the strip but then subsequently supplied on the back of the strip at the appropriate position.

[265] 行: LJ has 行之.

[266] LJ cites this specifically as "葛覃曰" ("Ge tan" says); these lines come from the ode "Ge tan" from the "Zhou nan" 周南 group of the "Guo feng" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode which appears to sing of a young woman about to return home to visit her parents.

[267] 亡懌: LJ has 無射 (*Shiwen* has a citation of it as 毋射); *Mao Shi* has 無斁. (Qing) Wang Xianqian ascribes the LJ variant to the Qi and Lu *Shi* lineages, but YWL 04.1 suggests that the excavated versions of "Ziyi" serve to call such an ascription into question. For 懌, SBCJ writes the same graph minus the heart radical, transcribed as 臭.

[268] 壞: LJ has 歸, but (Han) Zheng Xuan notes an alternate witness with 懷. As CGZ 99.1, LLX 02.3, and YWL 04.1 all observe, 懷 and 歸 are both phonetically and semantically similar and may even share common origins, though YWL suggests that 歸 here may represent a Han alteration of 懷, the more commonly found graph in early instances of phrases similar to the one found here. LL 99.8 sees the GDCJ graph as an error for 懷; CW 98.4 and CGZ 99.1 both see it as an error for 壞, read 懷. HLY 99.12 reads the graph as 撓, in the sense of "cower," and sees 懷 instead as the corruption. Both WYH/ZY 00.7 and LH 01.9 read or interpret the graph as a variant of 擾, "wreak havoc." JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) takes 衣 as the graph's phonetic and reads it directly as 懷. SBCJ has 褱 (read 懷), a graph quite similar in form to the GDCJ graph; LLX 02.3 suggests that the latter is a corruption of the former; cf. LL 02.3b and CW 02.12. See also the "Li ren" 里仁 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "子曰：「君子懷德，小人懷土；君子懷刑(型)，小人懷惠」" ("The Master said: 'The noble man embraces virtue; the petty man embraces his land. The noble man embraces the model; the petty man embraces favors'").

[269] SBCJ has 安, corroborating the fact that 女 here is an error for 安(焉). WXC 02.7, however, would argue that this 女 is a variant of rather than error for 安. YWL 04.1 suggests that the 宀 of 安 may have accidentally been miscopied at the head of the preceding 留 (written 窗) instead. My translation of the line follows the reading of (Han) Zheng Xuan; it might also be possible to understand the line, as do TZL/LZX 00.5 and others,

The Master said: "With [those who] bestow private favors and do not embrace virtue, the noble man does not keep himself." The Ode says: "Those who are fond of me show me the well-rounded way."

21 (LJ 19)

子曰：「唯[272]君子能好其駜（匹）[273]，少（小）＝[274]人剴（豈）能好其駜（匹）[275]？」古（故）君子之友也[276]（42）又（有）向[277]，其亞（惡）又（有）方。此以[278]徲（邇）[279]者不賊（惑）[280]，而遠者不俟（疑）[281]。《寺（詩）》員（云）[282]：「君子好敕（逑）[283]。」■

in the sense of the noble man's not "accepting" gifts given without the embrace of virtue.

[270] These lines come from the ode "Lu ming" 鹿鳴 from the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode written in honor of banquet guests.

[271] 旨: LJ and *Mao Shi* have 示; GDCMZJ reads 指, though as QXG 98.5 notes, it could also read 示. SBCJ has 䚄, which could be seen as a variant form of 視, in turn cognate with 示; see CWW 05.12.

[272] 唯: SBCJ writes 隹.

[273] 駜 (here and below): GDCMZJ reads 匹; LJ has 正, but (Han) Zheng Xuan considers this a graphic error for 匹, "peers." YWL 04.1 suggests that the LJ error was most likely introduced during the Han. SBCJ has a graph rendered 匹, but which LL 02.3b would render 它, i.e., 庀, read 匹; as YGH 03.3 notes, the graph is essentially equivalent in form to the 匹 of "Tang Yu zhi dao" strip 18. YSX 03.6 interprets the SBCJ graph instead as 佖. SE 06 translates the term here as "adversaries."

[274] As GDCMZJ notes, this mark seems to be in error; as JL 02.11 (p. 472) notes, it probably derived from the scribal habit of writing 小人 as a combination graph.

[275] 剴(豈)能好其駜(匹): LJ has 毒其正 (正 again an error for 匹), "holds contempt for his peers." SBCJ writes 豈 as 敳; for more on this form, see CWW 05.12.

[276] 友也: LJ has 朋友 (no 也). SBCJ writes 友 as 峟.

[277] 向: LJ writes 鄉. CGZ 99.1 suggests 亯 as a possible alternate rendering of the graph here. SBCJ has 晵, which XZG/HDK 02.3 and ZPA 02.3a see as variant of 香, read 鄉(向); LL 02.3b sees it as an elaborate corruption of 向; and YSX 03.6, taking the bottom element as 目, sees it as a variant of 相, read 嚮/向. SJZ 11.12 (pp. 38–45) would interpret the SBCJ graph as 林 over 甘 and see it as a variant of 杏, also read 向 here.

[278] 此以: LJ has 是故.

[279] 徲: QXG 98.5 interprets the right side of this graph as an abbreviated form of 埶, and reads the graph as 邇, as LJ has it. For more on this graph, see YSX 99.12, pp. 207–8. SBCJ writes 迩. YWL 04.1 would also interpret the GDCJ graph as a corruption of 迩.

[280] 賊: like LJ, SBCJ writes 惑.

> The Master said: “Only the noble man is able to be fond of his peers—how could the petty man be fond of his peers?” Thus the noble man has [a sense of] direction in making friends and [a sense of] orientation [about whom] he dislikes. Thus those nearby are not perplexed while those far-off are not in doubt. The Ode says: “The noble man is fond of his match.”[284]

22 (LJ 20)

> 子曰：（43）「翌（輕）丝（絕）貧戔（賤），而垕（重）[285]丝（絕）䝞（富）貴，則好㤅（仁）[287]不臤（堅）[288]，而亞（惡）亞（惡）不紅（著）[289]

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[281] LJ has a 也 at the end of this line.

[282] This line comes from the ode “Guan ju” 關雎, from the “Zhou nan” group of the “Guo feng” section and the opening ode of the *Shi jing*, singing of a man’s longing for a joyful union with a young woman.

[283] 戟: this same graph, which GDCMZJ renders 戟, appears also in strip 19 above, there read 仇; see the interpretations there of LL, HDK/XZG, CJ, etc. Here, LJ has 仇; *Mao Shi* has 逑, though many citations of the *Shi* give 仇; on the relationship of the two characters, see LMC 00.8d. SBCJ has a graph rendered 㚇, which LL 02.3b would render 㚇 and read 逑, with 來 seen as a corruption of 求, but which XZG/HDK 02.3 would instead render as an abbreviation of 㪤, read 仇. CW 02.3 concurs with the latter interpretation, noting that the rendering of 土 mistakenly incorporates the passage marker into the graph, and sees the graph, like he sees the GDCJ graph, as a variant of 戟, read 仇. LXF 02.3b, also taking note of the passage marker, would render the SBCJ graph as 㪀.

[284] The original line of the ode might better be read “a fine match for the noble man,” but the “Ziyi” context would seem to demand that 好 be taken verbally here.

[285] 垕: GDCMZJ renders 厚; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 垕, read 厚; LJ has 重. LXF 00.5 interprets the GDCJ graph as 重; cf. CW 99.10a (p. 12). On the basis of SBCJ, LL (02.3 and 02.3b) and XZG/HDK 02.3 all note that the graph’s lower element is actually 主, and thus likewise read 重; both LL and LLX 02.3 also see 垕 as equivalent with or an abbreviation of 冢; WYH 02.3 concurs with the rendering, but suggests we may still read it as 厚.

[286] 丝(絕): YWL 04.1 would interpret this 丝 instead as 繼, understanding it in the extended sense of “interact with.” Taking the preceding graph as 厚, he argues that 厚 was later changed to 重 after this graph was mistakenly “miscopied” as its inverse, i.e., the graph for 絕; note, however, that he still takes the 丝 of the preceding phrase as 絕.

[287] 㤅(仁): LJ has 賢, “worthies,” which conforms to its reading of the similar line in LJ 2 (GDCJ 1).

[288] 臤: LJ has 堅; SBCJ writes 臤.

[289] 紅: LJ has 著; SBCJ has 䖋. The structure of the SBCJ graph would seem to imply a meaning of “manifest” here, whereas the GDCJ form might lend itself to a sense of “steadfast.” YWL 04.1 suspects that the 糸 radical of the GDCJ graph may be a corruption of 見.

也。人唯（雖）[290]曰不利，虗（吾）弗信（44）之矣[291]。」《寺（詩）》員（云）[292]：「倗（朋）[293]友卣（攸）䙴（攝）[294]，䙴（攝）以愄（威）[295]義（儀）。」■

The Master said: "If one thinks little of rejecting the poor and humble but much of rejecting the rich and noble, then he is neither firm in his love for the humane nor manifest in his dislike for the loathsome. Though [such] a person may claim he reaps no advantage, I would not believe him." The Ode says: "The assistance given by friends is to be given with imposing decorum."

23 (LJ 24)

子曰：「宋人[296]又（有）言曰：『人而亡亙（恆）[297]，不可[298]為（45）卜簭（筮）也[299]』，其[300]古之遺言與（歟）[301]？黽〈龜〉[302]峕（筮）猷（猶）弗智

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[290] 唯: LJ has 雖; SBCJ writes 隹.

[291] 弗信之矣: LJ reads 不信也.

[292] These lines come from the ode "Ji zui" 既醉 of the "Da ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode in which the impersonator of the deceased expresses the satisfaction of the ancestors toward a sacrifice performed by the Zhou king, along with their blessings for his posterity.

[293] 倗(朋): SBCJ writes 堋.

[294] 䙴: QXG 98.5 reads 攝, as LJ and *Mao Shi* have it. SBCJ writes 図, which the *Shuowen* reads like 聶(攝), "take in"; see CPF 01.11 and YWL 04.1. JXS (in ZJZ/JXS 04.7) suspects the SBCJ graph should be interpreted as a combination of 函 and 又.

[295] 愄: LJ, *Mao Shi*, and SBCJ write 威.

[296] 宋人: LJ has 南人 ("people of the south"). HLY 99.12 suggests that 南 is a graphic corruption of 宋; LXD 00 notes that the corruption could have gone either way. YSX 00.8 cites ZFW's view that 南 is a corruption of 商, the ancestral state of 宋, and cites ample textual and graphical evidence to support this view. CYM 99.10 argues for 宋 over 南 by noting that Confucius, himself a descendent of Song, would not so vaguely refer to "people of the south"; similarly, LXF 00.5 (p. 180) argues that 南人 is the result of "northern" copies of the text lacking the specificity of the graph found in what he sees as a "southern" original. On the implausibility of LXF's theory, see YWL 04.1. HLY and YWL both suggest that 宋 makes better sense here as the source of an adage on prognostication, and YWL argues that it was most likely later changed to 南 on the basis of the *Lunyu* version of the quotation (see below)—especially given that the LJ passage also includes the same *Yi jing* citation found in the latter; YWL also suspects that the 南 of the *Lunyu* may itself have originated as a graphic error for 宋.

[297] 亡亙: LJ has 無恆. SBCJ writes 亡死, and the portion of the SBCJ strip containing the subsequent eight graphs is missing. LXF 00.5 sees this notion of "constancy" as the overriding concept of the entire text.

（知）[303]，而㞷〈皇（況）〉於人虖（乎）！」《寺（詩）》員（云）[304]：「我黽〈龜〉[305]既猒（厭）[306]，（46）不我告猷[307]。」[308]■[309]　　二十又三[310]
（47）

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[298] 可: LJ has 可以.

[299] LJ lacks this 也. A slightly different version of this quotation is seen in the "Zilu" 子路 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "子曰：「南人有言曰：『人而無恆，不可以作巫醫。』善夫！不恆其德，或承之羞」" ("The Master said: 'The people of the south have a saying: "Those who lack constancy may not serve as mediums." How fine [are these words]! Those who do not make constant their virtue may end up suffering disgrace for it'"). Cf. the *Yi jing* quotation given in the notes to strip 47 below.

[300] LJ lacks this 其.

[301] 舉: LJ writes 與.

[302] 黽: GDCMZJ renders 龜, but QXG 03.6 notes that it is actually written 黽, likely a corruption for 龜, here and below.

[303] 弗智: LJ has 不能知.

[304] These lines come from the ode "Xiao min" 小旻 of the "Xiao ya" section of the *Shi jing*, an ode satirizing the Zhou King for his inability to adopt wise counsel.

[305] 黽〈龜〉: SBCJ has a graph also rendered 龜, but which LZ 02.3 renders 昆, read 龜; QXG 03.6 instead argues that it is a graphic corruption of the latter.

[306] 猒: LJ and *Mao Shi* write 厭; TYH/WLB 01.9 note that 猒 is the original graph for 厭, "satiated," and that the 占 in the Chu script here derives originally from a 甘 element, but further note that 占 itself is also phonetically interchangeable with 猒.

[307] 猷: LJ and *Mao Shi* write 猶; (Han) Zheng Xuan explains this here as 道, the "[proper] way," but in his *Shi* commentary he glosses it instead as 圖, "plans."

[308] LJ has two additional (two-part) quotations tacked on to the end of this passage. The first comes from the lost "Yue ming" 兌(說)命 chapter(s) of the *Shang shu*: "〈兌命〉曰：「爵無及惡德，民立而正」；「事純〈煩〉而祭祀 ，是爲不敬；事煩則亂，事神則難」" ("The 'Yue ming' says: 'Noble ranks must not be given to [those of] decadent virtue, [as] the people will immediately take them as their standard.' 'If sacrifices are conducted with great complexity, this is disrespectful [to the spirits]. When affairs are complicated, there will be chaos, and thus serving the spirits, it will be difficult [to obtain their blessings]'"). The second comes from the *yaoci* 爻辭 to the third and fifth lines of the Heng 恆 hexagram in the *Yi jing*: "易曰：「不恆其德，或承之羞」；「恆其德偵，婦人吉， 夫子凶」" ("The *Yi* says: 'One who does not make constant his virtue may end up suffering disgrace for it.' 'To have a constant virtue of seeking rectification [from others]—this is auspicious for a woman, but inauspicious for a man.'"). The "Yue ming" was ostensibly written as a charge to Shang King Wu Ding 武丁 by his minister Fu Yue 傅說. PH 98.12 and CYM 99.10, arguing that the additional quotes are superfluous and noting the fact that the *Yi jing* is nowhere else quoted in the text, both suggest that these quotations are later additions. For more on the (non-)significance of the absence of the *Yi* quote, see the expanded version of LMC 98.5; cf. KM/HM 11. SE 06 (pp. 79–80) suggests that the *Shi* quotation may have ended precisely at the end of a strip, and thus these two quotations, which may also have filled up exactly two strips (of twenty-two graphs each), may have simply been tacked onto the end.

The Master said: “The people of Song have a saying: ‘Those who lack constancy may not be subject to divination.’ Are these not indeed words handed down from antiquity? [If] even the tortoiseshell and milfoil stalks [can]not comprehend them, how much less so [can] other men!” The Ode says: “Once our tortoise has had enough, it informs us not what course to take.”

Twenty-three [passages in all]

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[309] In SBCJ, a thick, horizontal band serves here as a text-ending marker.

[310] This is the count of passages in the text, appearing after the end of the last passage with a space equivalent to about four graphs in between; LJ and SBCJ lack any similar notation. Whereas LJ has twenty-four passages (by one way of counting), GDCJ and SBCJ have twenty-three. We have seen already that LJ has an additional passage at the opening, but it also has GDCJ (/SBCJ) 14 and 15 combined into one passage, LJ 7. Beyond this, then, LJ has one further additional passage, LJ 16, not found in GDCJ(/SBCJ), which runs as follows: “子曰：「小人溺於水，君子溺於口，大人溺於民，皆在其所褻也。」 夫水近於人而溺人，德易狎而難親也，易以溺人。口費而煩，易出難悔，易以溺人。夫民閉於人而有鄙心，可敬不可慢，易以溺人。故君子不可以不慎也。《太甲》曰：「毋越厥命，以自覆也。若虞機張，往省括于厥度則釋。」《兌命》曰：「惟口起羞，惟甲冑起兵，惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。」《太甲》曰：「天作孽，可違也；自作孽，不可以逭。」《尹吉〈告（誥）〉》曰：「惟尹躬天〈先〉見于西邑夏，自周有終，相亦惟終」” (“The Master said: ‘The common man gets drowned by water, the noble man gets drowned by his mouth, and the man of importance gets drowned by the people—it all lies in what they take too lightly.’ For water lies close to the people and yet drowns them; its character makes it easy to approach yet difficult to become intimate with, [and thus] it easily drowns people. The mouth is wasteful and verbose; it utters [words] with ease but [comes to] regret [them] with difficulty, [and thus] drowns people easily. And the people are closed-off to others and have uncouth minds; they may be treated with reverence but not with contempt, [and thus] they drown people easily. Thus the noble man must not fail to be cautious. The ‘Tai Jia’ says: ‘Do not overreach your commands, so as to topple yourself. Be like the hunter stretching his crossbow, and release the trigger [only] after lining up your arrow with your target.’ The ‘Yue ming’ says: ‘It is the mouth that gives rise to disgrace; it is armor[ed soldiers] that give rise to battle. Formal robes [when not used in ceremony] belong in the chest; [the proper use of] shields and dagger-axes [requires] examining yourself.’ The ‘Tai Jia’ says: ‘Calamities wreaked by Heaven can be evaded, but calamities brought upon oneself cannot be escaped from.’ The ‘Yin gao’ says: ‘I first witnessed for myself in the Xia capital to the west how [its early kings] maintained their ideals till the end, as did its ministers’”). The “Tai Jia” is also a lost chapter of the *Shang shu*, ostensibly Yi Yin’s remonstrance to the Shang King Tai Jia. On the “Yue ming,” see the note just above; on the “Yin gao,” see the notes to passage 3; for an alternative interpretation of the “Yin gao” quotation here, cf. CJ 03.10. With all of its seemingly random and somewhat irrelevant *Shu* quotes, PH 98.12 (p. 46) and CYM (99.1 and 99.10) both argue that LJ 16 was a late addition to the text and that the first two lines were borrowed from the *Zisizi*, given that the same lines are attributed to that work in the Tang dynasty compilation *Yilin* 意林.

| 4 |

"LU MU GONG WEN ZISI"

"Lord Mu of Lu Asked Zisi"

〈魯穆公問子思〉

Comprising only eight short strips, this is by far the briefest text in the Guodian corpus, but by no means the least significant. It consists of the simplest of narratives: Lord Mu of Lu (also written 魯繆公, r. 407–377 BC) asks Zisi 子思 (483–402 BC) what it is that makes for a "loyal minister," and Zisi replies that he is one who "consistently mentions his ruler's flaws." Taken aback, Lord Mu recounts this response to minister Chengsun Yi 成孫弋, who promptly becomes a secondary advocate for Zisi's philosophy, explaining that only the most devoted minister is willing to risk the loss of rank and salary to engage in such frank admonition. The text is important because it is the only historically situated dialogue in the Guodian corpus and thus serves as a major impetus for scholars to explore possible connections of that corpus as a whole with the philosophy of Zisi.[1] Moreover, the fact that the temperament of Zisi as portrayed in this text is precisely the one extolled in the *Mengzi* might lend further credence to the notion that there may indeed have been a "Si-Meng" lineage of sorts.

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[1] See, for instance, Liao Mingchun, who, in "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," p. 43, speculates that the text could have been written by one of Zisi's disciples and may well have belonged to the *Zisizi*; cf. Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," pp. 607–8. Xi Panlin suggests that the ostensibly Zisi-authored "Ziyi," with its emphasis on guiding the ruler's manifestations of likes and dislikes, is a direct reflection of the concerns of "minister as teacher" seen in this text; see his "Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi: Guodian Chujian 'Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi' ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu," pp. 208–10. Jiang Guanghui goes so far as to suggest, improbably, that Zisi wrote this dialogue himself; see his "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*," p. 87. Du Weiming proposes more generally that the text represents the early Confucian "spirit of governmental critique"; see his "Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin Ru-Dao sixiang de chongxin dingwei," p. 3.

The association of Lord Mu of Lu and Zisi can be found in a number of early texts, the *Mengzi* references being the most frequent.[2] The "Gongsun Chou, xia" 公孫丑下 chapter, for instance, has Meng Zi stating how "In former days, if Lord Mu of Lu had no one in attendance upon Zisi, he could not appease him" 昔者魯繆公無人乎子思之側，則不能安子思—a model of ministerial self-worth that Meng Zi seemed intent on emulating.[3] A narrative of similar sentiment appears in "Wan Zhang, xia" 萬章下, wherein Zisi, angered that Lord Mu repeatedly "gifted" him with cooked meat while making inquiries of him rather than raising him to any position of real authority, exclaims: "Only now do I understand how the ruler rears me like a dog or horse!" 今而後知君之犬馬畜伋.[4] In the passage that immediately follows, Meng Zi again cites Lord Mu and Zisi in defense of the idea that a ruler may not "summon" a worthy:

> 繆公亟見於子思，曰：「古千乘之國以友士，何如？」子思不悅，曰：「古之人有言：曰事之云乎，豈曰友之云乎？」子思之不悅也，豈不曰：「以位，則

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[2] According to the bibliographic note to the *Zisizi* 子思子 entry in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapter of the *Han shu*, Zisi, grandson of Confucius, served as tutor (*shi* 師) to Lord Mu; see (Han) Ban Gu et al., *Han shu*, p. 1724. This may be borne out in our text by the fact that Lord Mu dismisses Zisi with a hand-clasped bow, a deferential sign of respect not normally given to ordinary ministers. Xi Panlin suggests that Zisi was in fact a kind of "teacher-guest," a high-level consultant who was not under the salaried employment of the ruler, the same kind of position later occupied by Meng Zi, who would boast about how he could come or go (進退) as he pleased (綽綽然有餘裕); see Xi Panlin, "Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi," pp. 183–84. If Zisi were not receiving a salary, however, his "holding rank and salary at a distance" would appear somewhat meaningless. In his lengthy article on the text, Xi places Zisi at the forefront of Lord Mu's reform efforts in Lu (with the assistance of prime minister Gongyi Xiu 公儀休), which consisted of attempts to weaken the power of ministerial families through the crafting of a new bureaucracy designed to replace traditionally hereditary posts, the establishment of a clear division between military and administrative positions of authority, the institutionalization of a system of promotion, and an economic stimulus policy that lessened the burdens of taxation and corvée labor (see pp. 184–91). Drawing largely on the relatively late *Kongcongzi*, Xi portrays Zisi's political philosophy as one that combined the "traditional Ruist ideology of Lu" with the more "practical Legalist economic outlook of Qi 齊," one that would wrest both political goodwill and economic profits out of the hands of the ministerial families and back into the proper ruling household of the Marquis, that placed equal emphasis on familial affection and the promotion of worthies, and which promoted a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence with Lu's more powerful neighbors—reforms that failed to succeed only because, in Xi's estimation, Lord Mu failed to thoroughly implement them; see pp. 192–205.

[3] 4.11 (2B.11); (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 248–49.

[4] 10.6 (5B.6); (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 322.

> 子，君也；我，臣也。何敢與君友也？以德，則子事我者也。奚可以與我友？」
>
> Lord Mu frequently had audience with Zisi, and once asked: “In ancient times, how would it be for the ruler of a large state to befriend a scholar-gentleman?” Zisi was displeased, and said: “When the ancients discussed this, they spoke of ‘serving’—how could they have spoken of ‘befriending?’” Was Zisi’s displeasure not as if to say: “In terms of position, you are the ruler and I the minister—how dare I be friends with the ruler? In terms of virtue, though, you are the one to serve me—how could you be friends with me?”[5]

Such exchanges, endorsed by Meng Zi, reveal a spirit of ministerial audacity in critique that is closely shared by our excavated text.[6] Further instances of Zisi’s frank instruction to Lord Mu may be found in the “Nan, san” 難三 chapter of the *Hanfeizi*, the “Tan Gong, xia” 檀弓下 chapter of the *Li ji*, and the “Shen li” 審禮 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, as well as in various Han sources.[7] It may be true that none of these sources *directly* expresses the sentiment that a minister should repeatedly criticize his ruler’s flaws, but they certainly reveal instances of that spirit in action.[8]

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[5] 10.7 (5B.7); (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 323.

[6] This point of similarity was first noted by Liao Mingchun, “Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue,” p. 43. Cf. the comments of Zhou Fengwu as quoted in Huang Ren’er, “Guodian Chujian ‘Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi’ kaoshi,” p. 402. For more on the *Mengzi* references, see also Peng Lin, “Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai,” pp. 53–54, and Xi Panlin, “Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi,” pp. 210–11.

[7] Peng Lin notes that “Tan Gong” has in fact long been unfairly suspected of being a Han fabrication in part because of the conversation it records between the two; for details, see his “Guodian Chujian yu *Li ji* de niandai,” pp. 53–54. The verifiably Han (and later) sources that recount conversations between the two figures include the “Zayan” 雜言 chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, the “Fei Han” 非韓 chapter of the *Lunheng*, and the *Kongcongzi*; see Huang Ren’er, “Guodian Chujian ‘Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi’ kaoshi,” p. 402. For more on the *Kongcongzi* references illustrating Zisi’s conception of self-aggrandizement, see Xi Panlin, “Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi,” pp. 217–18.

[8] In this sense, Yi Sŭng-ryul probably goes too far in asserting that “none of these episodes has any bearings on the question of ‘loyal ministers’”; see his “The View of Loyal Ministers in the Ch’u Bamboo-Slip *Lu Mu-kung wen Tzu-ssu* from Kuo-tien,” p. 55, or “Kakuten Sokan ‘Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi’ no chūshinkan ni tsuite,” p. 343. It is also worth noting that a sentiment similar to that of our excavated text is in fact placed in the mouth of Zisi in the “Kang zhi” 抗志 chapter of the *Kongcongzi*, where, as Yang Rubin has pointed out, Zisi is given to criticize the ruler of Wei 衛 for his failure to welcome frank admonition, such that “no one dare denounce the lord’s faults” 莫敢有非君之非; see Yang Rubin, “Zisi xuepai shitan,” p. 607.

More direct expressions of such a ministerial ideal may, however, be found in other texts dating from the Warring States period, as Yi Sŭng-ryul has observed in his study of the text and its philosophical parallels. Yi notes especially the "Chen dao" 臣道 chapter of the *Xunzi*, with such statements as "to benefit the ruler while disobeying commands we call 'loyalty'" 逆命而利君謂之忠, a form of the highest loyalty (*dazhong* 大忠), wherein the minister "transforms his ruler by enveloping him in virtue" 以德復(覆)君而化之; as well as examples in the "Lu wen" 魯問 chapter of the *Mozi*, the "Zhizhong" 至忠 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, and other texts noting how the task of the loyal minister is to remonstrate his lord's faults, even if they grate the ears—though, Yi adds, none going so far as to use the abrasive term *e* 惡 for the ruler's transgressions.[9] Yi goes on to assert on the basis of these references that "emphasis on remonstrations against the ruler's 'faults' by 'loyal ministers' begins in earnest in the final years of the Warring States period," and around the same time, when such writings as the *Han Feizi* appear to be defining the ruler-minister relationship in terms of self-interest, other texts, like the "Geng Zhu" 耕柱 chapter of the *Mozi*, are seen to extol the ostensibly rare ideal of "striving toward propriety while turning one's back on salary" 倍祿而鄉義者 that is emphasized in "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi."[10] Yi concludes by arguing, on the

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[9] Yi Sŭng-ryul, "View of Loyal Ministers," pp. 60–66, or "Kakuten Sokan 'Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi' no chūshinkan ni tsuite," pp. 347–52. It should perhaps not be too surprising that texts produced by members of the ministerial class would encourage such a view, but of course such works as the *Han Feizi*, as Yi notes, do in fact make the more or less opposite argument, that "one referred to as a 'loyal minister' does not imperil his ruler" 所謂忠臣不危其君 ("Zhong xiao" 忠孝). For the references in question, see (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 249, 254; (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, p. 471; Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu xinjiaoshi*, p. 584; and (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, p. 467. For more on "Chen dao," cf. Xi Panlin, "Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi," pp. 207–8; and Yuri Pines, "Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-Imperial China," pp. 68–71. The term 惡 does in fact appear from time to time in the context of ministerial remonstrance, as in the "Za shang" 雜上 ("Nei pian" 內篇) chapter of the *Yanzi chunqiu*: "If subordinates are not straightforward in speech, superiors will have their flaws concealed" 下無直辭，上有隱惡; see Liu Zhao, *Guodian Chujian jiaoshi*, p. 179. Note, however, that a number of editions have 隱君 for 隱惡; see Zhang Chunyi, *Yanzi chunqiu jiaozhu*, p. 132. Note also the words of Meng Zi as cited in the "Gao Zi, xia" chapter (12.7 [6B.7]) of the *Mengzi*: "長君之惡其罪小，逢君之惡其罪大" ("It is a minor crime to foster the flaws/vices of the ruler, but a major crime to actively welcome them"); see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 248–49.

[10] Yi Sŭng-ryul, "View of Loyal Ministers," pp. 65, 66–69, or "Kakuten Sokan 'Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi' no chūshinkan ni tsuite," pp. 351, 352–55. For the "Geng Zhu" reference, see (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, pp. 433–34. As Satō Masayuki observes, however, the more general framing of such broad moral values as humanity or propriety in opposition to individual interests or personal benefits is already clearly evident in somewhat earlier texts, such as in the opening passage of the *Mengzi* or in such core *Mozi* chapters as "Jian ai" 兼愛 and "Fei gong" 非攻; see his *Zhongguo gudai de "zhong" lun yanjiu*, p. 77. Note that a lacuna in strip 7

tenuous *ex silentio* basis that the term *zhongchen* 忠臣 does not appear in texts prior to the *Xunzi*, that "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" must certainly postdate the *Mengzi*, and that it was probably written just prior to the other texts in question.[11]

This argument, however, not only ignores the tenor of the *Mengzi* references themselves, but rests largely on a highly disputable assertion, given that the term *zhongchen* does in fact appear a number of times in the "core chapters" of the *Mozi*, which almost certainly predate the *Xunzi* and may well precede the *Mengzi* as well.[12] The notion that frank remonstrance is the inherent responsibility of the minister is, moreover, wholly in line with the longstanding Confucian notion that loyal service to the ruler must be predicated on his relative willingness to implement the proper ways of governance, and is never blindly unconditional. An expressed emphasis on the ideal of straightforward remonstrance in the face of immoral rulership can be seen in relatively early texts ascribed to or associated with such figures as Zeng Zi 曾子 or, once again, Zisi 子思. These include the notion that the "noble man speaks and acts straightforwardly" 君子直言直行 in the "Zeng Zi zhi yan" 曾子制言 chapters of the *Da Dai Li ji*, or the idea that "when the ruler's commands are perverse, the minister may oppose the commands" 君命逆則臣有逆命 seen in the "Biao ji" 表記 chapter of the *Li ji*—texts that may well be generally contemporaneous with those of the Guodian corpus.[13] It thus

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makes it uncertain whether propriety (*yi* 義) is the sole virtue expressed in opposition to rank and salary in "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," or whether it is in fact, as I supply, both "humanity and propriety" (*ren yi* 仁義).

[11] Yi Sŭng-ryul, "View of Loyal Ministers," pp. 70–71, or "Kakuten Sokan 'Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi' no chūshinkan ni tsuite," pp. 355–56.

[12] For instances in the "Fei gong, zhong" 非攻中 and "Jie zang, xia" 節葬下 (there as "不忠臣") chapters, see (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, pp. 133, 178. And while the compound *zhongchen* itself may not appear in earlier texts, *zhong* may also be found as the proper attribute of *chen* in both the *Zuo zhuan* and *Lunyu*. It is probably no coincidence that the Japanese version of Yi's article appears side-by-side with Ikeda Tomohisa's article on "Qiongda yi shi," which, cogently argued as it may otherwise be, similarly attempts to use tenuous intellectual-historical evidence to argue for a dating of the Guodian manuscripts later than that of the consensus view.

[13] See (Qing) Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegu*, p. 93 and (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 1316; for these and related references, see also Liang Tao, *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 435–37. On the nature of the "Biao ji" and its relationship to the Guodian corpus, see the subsection "Affiliations with intellectual lineages" in section E of the general introduction. For other early Confucian examples of such ideals, see also Xi Panlin, who in addition to examples from such later texts as the "Bao fu" 保傅 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*, cites such instances as the *Mengzi*'s claim that "only the great man can reform his lord's faults" 惟大人爲能格君之非; see his "Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi," pp. 205–8. Yuasa Kunihiro, on the other hand, sees "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi" as reflective of a new development in Confucian thought more clearly linking the notions of remonstrance and ministerial loyalty, seeing it as a text that, in effect, offers a counter to Mohist criticisms of traditional Confucian conceptions of loyalty while, simultaneously, serving as a critique to the more

seems more reasonable to conclude only that both “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” and, perhaps somewhat later, the *Mengzi* were written at a time when this new concept of ministerial integrity and loyalty defined directly in terms of outspoken and uncompromising criticism was only just beginning to make its way to the forefront of philosophical discourse.

“Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” shares all the same textual dimensions as “Qiongda yi shi” and, as Li Xueqin suggests, may have been bound together with it.[14] “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” ends with a text-end horizontal band followed by blank space on the remainder of its final strip; additionally, a few short horizontal strokes are found inconsistently at the end of certain textual segments, along with an occasional repetition marker. The ordering of the strips does not appear to be in doubt. An alternative translation of this brief text may be found on pp. 56–57 of the English version of Yi Sŭng-ryul’s article.

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uncompromising notions of incentive-based loyalty put forth by the early “Legalists” and “Militarists.” While certain passages of the *Mozi* sharply ridicule the type of obsequious loyalty that simply seconds the ruler’s whims and, in at least one case, ascribe such a form of loyalty to the Confucians, “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” adopts a take on loyalty as frank criticism in the service of “propriety” that is more closely in line with the Mohists’ own conception, placing it, however, in the mouth of Zisi. See his “Chūshin no shisō: Kakuten Sokan ‘Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi’ ni tsuite,” pp. 50–52 and 55–57. Satō Masayuki, for his part, sees “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” as largely representative of an early notion of loyalty primarily concerned with the interests of the state and its people, though he otherwise shares with Yuasa the understanding that the text points, much like the *Mozi* (and *Mengzi*, for that matter), to the same broader notion of a standard of “propriety” that may go well beyond the interests of any particular state. See his “Guojia sheji cunwang zhi daode: Chunqiu, Zhanguo zaoqi ‘zhong’ he ‘zhong xin’ gainian zhi yiyi,” esp. pp. 21–25.

[14] Li Xueqin, “Tian ren zhi fen,” p. 239. Li suggests that “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” most likely followed “Qiongda yi shi” on the scroll. For further details, see the textual notes to “Qiongda yi shi.”

"Lord Mu of Lu Asked Zisi"
魯穆公問子思[1]
Text and Translation

魯穆公[2]昏（問）於子思曰：「可（何）女（如）而可胃（謂）忠臣？」子思曰：「恆[3]再（稱）（1）其君之亞（惡）者，可胃（謂）忠臣矣。」公不敓（悅），咠（揖）而退之[4]。成孫弋[5]見，（2）公曰：「向（嚮）[6]者虗（吾）昏（問）忠臣於子思，子思曰：『亙（恆）再（稱）其君之亞（惡）者可胃（謂）忠（3）臣矣。』㝵（寡）人惑安（焉），而未之得也。」成孫弋曰：「悎（嘻）[7]，善才（哉），言㡯（乎）！（4）夫為其君之古（故）殺其身者，嘗又（有）之矣。亙（恆）再（稱）其君之亞（惡）者（5）未之又（有）

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[1] Alternative titles include simply "Lu Mu Gong" 魯穆公 (ZLW 99.1b).

[2] 魯穆公: Lord Lu of Mu (also written 繆) reigned 407–377 BC. Zisi is recorded in the historical record as living 483–402 BC.

[3] 恆: CW 98.4 would render the 亙 element of this graph as the closely similar 亟, taking it in the sense of either "sharply" or "repeatedly"; note that, if taken in the latter sense, it would amount to nearly the same meaning as 恆. HRE 99.1 follows CW, understanding the term in the sense of "outspokenly."

[4] 揖而退之: As the hand-clasped bow (揖) is a gesture of humility and respect, it may suggest that Lord Mu indeed treated Zisi as a teacher and not an ordinary minister. XPL 00.7 (pp. 183–84) suggests that he was in fact a kind of "teacher-guest," i.e., one who was not under the salaried employment of the ruler—though this is problematic given the concluding lines of the text on "holding rank and salary at a distance." HRE 99.1 instead suggests that there is an implicit shift here, so that Zisi is in fact the subject of this phrase.

[5] 成孫弋: This figure is otherwise unknown; LL (99.8 and 02.3) wonders if he might be the Xuan Zixu 縣子瑣 seen conversing with Lord Mu in the *Li Ji*, and if that figure might, in turn, somehow be related to Confucius's disciples Xuan Cheng 縣成 and/or Xuan Dan 縣亶.

[6] 向: GDCMZJ directly renders 向 and reads 嚮. HRE 99.1 suspects this graph may be an abbreviation of 享, read 鄉 (向/嚮). YSX 00.8 (p. 27 [75]) interprets it instead as an abbreviation of 襄 and reads 曩, to equivalent effect. TYH/WLB 01.9 affirm the initial rendering of 向.

[7] 悎: GDCMZJ reads 噫. LLX 02.9 reads 嘻.

也。夫為其君[8]之古（故）殺其身者，交（效）[9]彔（祿）雀（爵）者也。亙（恆）（6）【稱其君】[10]之亞（惡）【者，遠】彔（祿）箵（爵）者【也。為仁】[11]義而遠彔（祿）箵（爵），非（7）子思，虐（吾）亞（惡）昏（聞）之矣？[12]」[13]▌（8）

Lord Mu of Lu asked Zisi: "What kind of person may be called a 'loyal minister?'"

Zisi replied: "One who consistently mentions his ruler's flaws may be called a 'loyal minister.'"

Lord Mu was displeased, and dismissed him with a hand-clasped bow. Chengsun Yi was given audience, and Lord Mu said to him: "Just now, I asked Zisi about the [nature of a] 'loyal minister,' and Zisi replied: 'One who consistently mentions his ruler's flaws may be called a "loyal minister."' I am perplexed by this and have failed to understand it."

Chengsun Yi replied: "Ah, how great these words are! For there have been those who have sacrificed[14] themselves for the sake of their ruler, but there has never [before] been one who consistently mentioned his ruler's flaws. Those

[8] 君: note that the strip is broken here and only the uppermost strokes of this graph remain.

[9] 交: QXG 98.5 reads 效; XPL 00.7 takes this in the sense of exerting efforts in recompensation for the salary one is given. HRE 99.1 reads 要, "seek," "strive for"; MPS 02.11 reads either 徼 or 要, in the same sense; YSR 03a similarly reads 徼.

[10] These and other missing graphs are supplied by QXG 98.5 on the basis of context.

[11] GDCMZJ assumes a two-graph lacuna here, and QXG 98.5 would supply 也爲 on this basis. However, the fragment containing "之惡" above is actually placed one graph too low, such that there is at least one (and perhaps two) additional graph(s) to be supplied somewhere else on this strip, and this appears to be the most likely location. I thus tentatively add the graph 仁 after 爲, yielding a term-pair, 仁義, that forms a better parallel to 祿爵; needless to say, other possibilities for these last two graphs remain, such as 能爲, 忠於, etc.

[12] The 惡 here is to be understood as an interrogative. HRE 99.1 reads 非 and 惡 as 微 and 烏, respectively, but the sense remains the same.

[13] LYH 00.5 (p. 399) somehow takes this line to indicate that Chengsun Yi holds a view *opposite* to that of Zisi, but this does not appear possible given the entire context of Chengsun's remarks.

[14] 殺, literally "kill," is probably best understood in the sense of "sacrifice" here; note, however, that 殺 can also have the sense of "diminish," in which case we could possibly understand 殺身 in the sense of the minister taking a back seat to his ruler and thus failing to provide him with the frank counsel he needs—though this would run counter to the more customary usage of this pairing.

who would sacrifice themselves for the sake of their ruler are those who devote themselves [on behalf of] salary and rank, whereas 【those who】 consistently 【mention their ruler's】 flaws 【are】 those who 【distance themselves from】 salary and rank. 【To act for humanity(?) and】 propriety and hold salary and rank at a distance—who but Zisi have I ever heard of [acting thus]?"

| 5 |

"QIONGDA YI SHI"

"Poverty or Success Is a Matter of Timing"

〈窮達以時〉

This short text expresses what appears to be a relatively simple theme: that the question of success or failure in this world ultimately rests upon factors that are beyond our control, but to this the noble man pays no heed, focusing instead on the matters of self-cultivation and moral behavior that *are* under his power. Straightforward as this may appear, however, the implications are complex, as the issue of fatalism and the nature of the division between Heaven and mankind, to which this text speaks, would be some of the more hotly contested ones among Warring States thinkers. While "Qiongda yi shi" is clearly fatalistic about certain aspects of human existence, its overall message is decidedly not a defeatist one, calling above all for a moral consistency that disregards the vicissitudes of timing and opportunity. Nonetheless, the ambivalence that could be read into its stance on fate per se, coupled with the fact that it is a text with close parallels to a number of other early writings grappling with the same issue, makes it one ripe with different possibilities for precise interpretation within the broader context of Warring States intellectual history—some even using the text to argue for a later date of interment for the Guodian manuscripts as a whole.

TIMING, CHANCE ENCOUNTERS, AND MORAL CONSTANCY

The theme is set forth clearly at the outset:

> There is Heaven, and there is mankind, and each has its separate lot (*fen* 分). Once one has examined the division between Heaven and man, one will know how to act. With the right person, but without the right age, even though he be worthy he will be unable to act. If given the right age, however, what difficulties would there be? (strips 1-2)

Heaven (*tian* 天) here is essentially representative of the idea of fate, of all those factors of chance (*yu* 遇, "encounters"), timing (*shi* 時; or *shi* 世, "age," "epoch"), and opportunity that lie beyond our control, all that which we can prepare for but not predict.[1] There is no indication here of Heaven as an anthropomorphic deity that would willfully confer its mandate (*ming* 命) upon its human subjects, and the idea of separate realms for Heaven and man and the utter lack of correlation between virtue and success would indeed seem to necessitate that Heaven be largely conceived of as an impersonal force unconcerned with our existence—it is interesting in this regard that the term *ming* itself, which would come to stand for the idea of "fate" in other works, appears nowhere in this text.[2] Given that Heaven does not directly respond to our good deeds, at least not in any predictable manner, it is up to us to act on our own behalf and ethically secure our resolve for whatever may await us. For while noble character and virtuous conduct may not be the sufficient or even necessary conditions for achieving success in the world, one must still be prepared to take proper advantage of the right opportunity should it happen to come along—if the right person encounters the right age, "what difficulties would there be?" One must never resign to fate, but rather prepare himself for a virtuous life regardless of what Heaven's allotment may allow him to achieve with it.

The text proceeds to illustrate the role of opportunity with a series of briefly stated historical examples of major political figures who each arose to prominence from lowly

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[1] Pang Pu in particular stresses that the notion of *tian* in this text is limited to this aspect, just another name for fate or social forces and circumstances, and basically equivalent to these other terms; see his "Tian ren san shi: Guodian Chujian suojian tian ren guanxi shishuo," pp. 31–32. For one succinct overview of the different senses that *tian* is typically described to have held over time—from moral arbiter, to the source of blind fate, to nature per se—see Liang Tao, "Zhujian 'Qiongda yi shi' yu zaoqi rujia tianrenguan," p. 66, or his *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 449–51. For a somewhat more extensive treatment in English, see Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery*, esp. pp. 23–28 and 138–43; Eno sees the emergence of the view of *tian* as blind or unjust fate as the product of the degeneration of the socio-political order, when the view of *tian* as the mandating "king's god" had largely lost its credibility (pp. 27–28).

[2] The term *ming* does appear, however, together with *shi* 時 in "Tang Yu zhi dao," strips 14-17. Much more could be said about the precise relationships among the terms *tian*, *ming*, *shi*, and *yu* than space will allow here, and "Qiongda yi shi" will surely contribute much to further discourse on these complex terms and the intricate philosophical issues they serve to describe. Note that the term *yu* itself often carries the sense of random fate or unforeseeable circumstances, as exemplified by one of the definitions provided in the "Feng yu" 逢遇 chapter of Wang Chong's 王充 *Lunheng*: "that which arrives without our seeking or takes form without our making is what we call 'chance encounter'" 不求自至，不作自成，是名爲遇; see Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, p. 9. The same chapter also uses both *shi* 世 and *shi* 時 together in much the same sense; on this point, and for a discussion of the salient areas of overlap between "Qiongda" and "Tang Yu zhi dao," see Huang Junliang, "'Qiongda yi shi' yu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' zhong de 'shi' yu 'yu.'"

obscurity only after happening to encounter an enlightened ruler who recognized his worth and promoted him to a position of importance: such as Shun, who plowed fields and molded pottery before encountering Yao and going on to become the Son of Heaven—one of half a dozen examples of rags-to-riches stories in which chance recognition was the pivotal factor. In all these cases, the text concludes, "The choice to be good or bad lay within themselves, and poverty or success was a matter of timing. Their virtue and conduct were uniform throughout, and all considerations of praise or slander were set aside" (strip 14). It is these worthies' constancy of virtue that is stressed, and as their examples show, there is at least always the hope of success should one remain steadfast even in times of ultimate hardship. Success or failure itself, though, remains dependent upon timing and opportunity: "That after beginning submerged in obscurity they would later have their names extolled was not due to any increase in their virtue 非其德加," just as Wu Zixu's 伍子胥 unjust execution after numerous accomplishments was "not due to any decline in his wisdom" 非其智衰 (strips 9-10). Whether or not one encounters an appreciative lord is "a matter of Heaven" 遇不遇，天也, and what was noble about all these exemplars was that their actions were motivated not by the prospect of success or for the sake of fame, but rather, just as the iris or orchid in the secluded forest remains fragrant in the absence of anyone to appreciate its aroma, they remained true to themselves regardless of whether in obscurity or prominence (strips 11-15). Thus the emphasis on the role of fate in this text is entirely for the purpose of demonstrating why it should be ignored: so that we may concentrate on that which is entirely within our own control, the cultivation of noble and worthy human character.

PARALLELS WITH OTHER EARLY TEXTS

The ideas expressed in this text are by no means new ones, and it exhibits a number of close parallels in both wording and exposition with more than a few other texts from the Warring States and early Han periods. As the relationships among these texts are of no small interest to the study of textual formation in early China, and because they also hold potentially important implications for the dating of the Guodian manuscripts themselves, we must devote some space here to exploring the precise nature of these relationships.

As the editors of *Guodian Chumu zhujian* point out, the nearest parallels to "Qiongda yi shi" are to be found in the "You zuo" 宥坐 chapter of the *Xunzi*, the "Zai e" 在厄 chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu*, the seventh chapter (*juan*) of the *Han Shi waizhuan*, and the "Zayan" 雜言

chapter of the *Shuoyuan*—the latter two bearing the closest resemblance.[3] The one main difference between this text and all these other versions is that the latter all place the arguments within the narrative context of Confucius and his disciples being "trapped between Chen and Cai" 困(/厄)於陳蔡之間.[4] The *locus classicus* of this story appears in the "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 chapter of the *Lunyu*, in a short passage that reads thus:

> 在陳絕糧，從者病，莫能興。子路慍見曰：「君子亦有窮乎？」子曰：「君子固窮，小人窮斯濫矣。」[5]
>
> While in Chen, [Confucius's] grain supply was cut off; his followers fell ill, none able to get up. Zilu angrily confronted him, saying: "Must the noble man

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[3] *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, p. 145. For the specific passages in question, see (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 526–27; (Qing) Qi Shaonan, ed., *Kongzi jiayu (Kangxijian Qufu Kongshi keben)*, pp. 38a–39b; (Han) Han Ying (Xu Weiyu, ed. and ann.), *Han Shi waizhuan jishi*, pp. 242–46 (passage 7.6); and (Han) Liu Xiang (Xiang Zonglu, ed. and ann.), *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, pp. 422–24. The four passages are most conveniently set forth together in Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 368–71; see also Wang Zhiping, "Guodian Chujian 'Qiongda yi shi' congkao," pp. 292–96, or Li Rui, *Xinchu jianbo de xueshu tansuo*, pp. 185–90. There are actually two consecutive Chen-Cai entrapment passages in "Zayan"; it is the second of the two that is most closely related to our text, and thus references to the "Zayan" version below should, except where otherwise noted, be understood to refer to this second passage.

[4] Liao Mingchun goes so far as to suggest that the absence of attribution to any speaker in "Qiongda yi shi" might indicate that this essay was authored by Confucius himself, while the other versions may have been records made by different disciples; see his "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," p. 44. Conversely, Li Xueqin argues that such a narrative context *did* indeed come at the beginning of "Qiongda yi shi," but that the strips have since been lost; see his "Tian ren zhi fen," pp. 239–40. Liao's speculation is surely a leap of faith, but there is little solid evidence for Li's conclusion either, given that the Guodian strips as a whole appear to be more or less intact, and that strip 1 of this manuscript as it stands already makes for a perfectly natural beginning to a text (compare, for instance, the opening to the "Dazongshi" 大宗師 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "Those who know what Heaven acts upon, and who know what man acts upon, have reached the ultimate!" 知天之所爲，知人之所爲者，至矣). Asano Yūichi suggests a third alternative, that the author wrote the entire text as if it were, in effect, the words of Confucius, or an extension of the philosophy he might have expressed, and was only later fleshed out into the Chen-Cai narrative; see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no 'ten jin no bun' ni tsuite," pp. 31–32. And Huang Ren'er, believing that the manuscript's relatively short strips suggest a commentarial nature (on the dangers of this assumption, see the second subsection of section B of the general introduction), argues that the text was a local commentary on the *Lunyu* passage used as instructional material by the ostensible tutor to the crown prince; see his "Guodian zhujian 'Qiongda yi shi' kaoshi," pp. 136–45.

[5] (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 161; the lines likely formed the second half of a slightly longer passage, following an account of Confucius's departure from Wei after the Lord of Wei had inquired of him about military matters. Note that the 固 has also been understood in the sense of "certainly [there are times when]"; the interpretation here follows that of (Song) Cheng Yi 程頤.

> also endure poverty?” The master replied: “The noble man is steadfast in poverty, while with the petty person poverty leads to transgressions.”

While “Qiongda yi shi” itself does not employ this narrative, remaining “steadfast in poverty” can certainly be understood as its central message. The four closely parallel versions just mentioned, on the other hand, all take the form of an elaboration of this response of Confucius to Zilu (and in some instances other disciples) within the same basic narrative context, wherein, “trapped between Chen and Cai,” Confucius and his disciples have been suffering from hunger and fatigue for a week. Zilu questions why they should be in such dire straits, given that he has heard how Heaven rewards the worthy and punishes the wicked—do we not deserve a better lot? Confucius then proceeds to dispel his naïve views with essentially the same argument that we are given in “Qiongda yi shi.”[6] All these versions employ this same basic framework, but there are a number of differences worth noting.

The version found in the “You zuo” chapter of the *Xunzi* is the shortest of the bunch, but still contains much of the same wording as our text, such that “whether one encounters or not is a matter of timing” 遇不遇，時也; that the noble man studies “not for success” 非爲通, but is rather “unfazed by poverty” 窮而不困, comparable, again, to the secluded orchid that retains its fragrance even though no one is around to appreciate it; or that even the worthiest

[6] As (Qing) Cui Shu 崔述 observed long ago, these texts contain a couple of obvious anachronisms, given that (according to accounts in both the *Zuo zhuan* and *Shi ji*) Confucius’s entrapment between Chen and Cai occurred in the year Lord Ai 哀公 6 (489 BC), but the accounts of his words spoken there in these texts reference both Wu Zixu’s forced suicide, which did not occur until five years later (484 BC), and the eventual hegemony of Goujian, King of Yue 越王句踐, which did not take place until after his defeat of Wu 吳 in the year Lord Ai 22 (473 BC), six years after Confucius’s death. For details on this and all the dating issues involved, see Wang Zhiping, “Guodian Chujian ‘Qiongda yi shi’ congkao,” pp. 291–99. As Wang notes, the Wu Zixu references occur in the *Han Shi waizhuan*, the “Zayan” (second passage), and the “Zai e” versions of the account, and the Goujian references in the “You zuo,” “Zayan” (first passage), and “Zai e,” not to mention in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Fengsu tongyi* versions (but not in the “Rang wang” version from which they draw; see below for more on these latter texts)—all coming from the mouth of Confucius. A Wu Zixu reference also occurs in “Qiongda yi shi,” but there is no mention at all of Confucius in this text, at least as we have it. Wang, however, still wanting to justify a credible linkage of the text with Confucius (if only in the eyes of whichever later follower may have written it), suggests—partly on the strength of a reference to a related Confucius utterance in the reconstructed Eastern-Han text *Qin cao* 琴操—that the laments given in “Qiongda” were not expressed until Confucius’s return to Lu 魯 in either 484 or 483 BC, and thus that he could plausibly still have been seen to have lamented Wu Zixu’s death; see pp. 297–98 of his article for further details. Wang also notes (pp. 295–96) that the Goujian reference, in conjunction with an *Yi jing* quotation that also occurs in the first of the two “Zayan” passages, also occurs in the Mawangdui text “Mu He” 繆和 as uttered by Confucius, suggesting that that first “Zayan” passage may have derived from a different source altogether from the second.

cannot utilize their talents if they do not encounter the right time, but "if they do encounter the right time, what difficulties would there be" 苟遇其時，何難之有? In contrast to "Qiongda yi shi," though, "You zuo" gives only a few brief examples of worthies whose talents were ignored and, later in the text, of hegemons who arose from difficult circumstances; it gives none of the examples of worthies rising from obscurity by "encountering" certain enlightened rulers that we see in our text. However, the *Han Shi waizhuan* and *Shuoyuan* versions of the story—which otherwise both read like an elaborated version of the "You zuo" passage—do contain these "encounter" examples, all in lines closely parallel to what we find in "Qiongda yi shi," though with an additional example of Yi Yin 伊尹 encountering the Shang founder Tang 湯 included in the mix. In most respects, these two passages are virtually identical and could even be considered two instances of the same version. The *Kongzi jiayu* passage, on the other hand, reads like a different elaboration on the "You zuo" passage, and resembles the latter insofar as it contains all the same lines that overlap with our text but similarly lacks the enumeration of specific encounters. It does, however, include a much more elaborate narrative, giving a detailed account of why the group came to be trapped between Chen and Cai, and having Confucius summon three different disciples to hear their views on the circumstances before finally getting a satisfactory answer from his favorite, Yan Hui 顏回.

All of these texts profess the same fundamental philosophy and can safely be said to generally derive in one way or another from the same basic source or set of sources, but the specific lines of development among them are by no means clear-cut. Worth pondering in this regard are instances of specific wording or lines shared by all the received versions but lacking in "Qiongda yi shi." For example, whereas "Qiongda yi shi" defines "encountering or not" 遇不遇 as a matter of "Heaven" 天也, "You zuo" defines it as a matter of "time" 時也 and includes these other lines not found in "Qiongda yi shi": that, in contrast to timely chance, "worthiness or unworthiness is a matter of innate talent" 賢不肖者，材也, that "acting or not acting is a matter of mankind" 爲不爲者，人也, that "life and death are a matter of fate" 死生者，命也, and that "there is many a noble man of broad learning and profound planning who did not encounter his time" 君子博學深謀，不遇時者多矣. While such ideas may be implicit in "Qiongda yi shi," the lines themselves are not to be found therein, yet they all appear, with some slight variations in wording and order, in the other three versions (with the exception that the lines about "acting or not" and "life and death" are absent in the *Han Shi waizhuan* version). All versions but that of the *Kongzi jiayu* also share an instance of another line not found in "Qiongda yi shi," that the noble man "when troubled, does not slacken his intent, knowing (in advance) the beginnings and ends of good or ill fortune with no delusion in his mind" 憂而意不衰也，（先）知禍福終始而心不惑也.

"Qiongda yi shi" is also unique in being the only version that explicitly contains the wording that "there is a division between Heaven and man" 天人有分—a difference of which we shall have more to say shortly[7]—as well as such signature lines as "The choice to be good or bad lay within themselves, and poverty or success was a matter of timing. Their virtue and conduct were uniform throughout, and [all considerations of] praise or slander were set aside" 善否己也，窮達以時；德行一也，譽毀在旁.[8]

In short, then, there are certain portions of the *Shuoyuan* and *Han Shi waizhuan* versions of the passage that appear in either "Qiongda yi shi" or "You zuo" but not both, suggesting that any model of straight linear development among these various texts is not plausible. We can imagine a number of possible scenarios: 1) that such later versions derived from an amalgamation of two different (though clearly related) ancestral versions, each more or less similar to what we find in "Qiongda yi shi" and "You zuo"; 2) that they derived from a single version ancestral to both, from which the two earlier texts were each selected or abridged; 3) that they stemmed from a version that may have developed from the "Qiongda" version but still predated the "You zuo" version, the latter of which in turn truncated (and perhaps simultaneously elaborated upon) it; and so on. Far from clearing up our understanding of exactly how this core passage developed over time, the discovery of "Qiongda yi shi" has only served to remind us of the true complexity and fluidity inherent in the production and reproduction of texts in early China.

The picture is further complicated by the existence of yet other versions of the "trapped between Chen and Cai" story in the early received literature. Two of these appear in the *Zhuangzi*, a work in which Confucius is often invoked as the mouthpiece for a philosophy

[7] Cf. Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 71–74; and Liu Lexian, "'Qiongda yi shi' yu *Lüshi chunqiu* 'Shen ren,'" p. 89. Ikeda argues, however, that "You zuo" is the closest among these four received texts to "Qiongda yi shi" in terms of preserving this notion (which he sees as deriving from *Xunzi*'s "Tian lun"; see below). In general, though, while he views these received versions as largely consistent with the philosophy of "Qiongda yi shi," he does not see this notion of a *tian-ren* division running through them quite so centrally, viewing their concurrent emphasis on the concepts of "innate talent" 材, the "[right] person" 人, "timing" 時, and "fate" 命 as representative of a kind of diluting or weakening of that notion.

[8] Cf. Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 74–75. Ikeda notes, however, how echoes of some of these lines may be heard in various other received texts, ranging from the *Xunzi*'s "Tian lun," to the *Mozi*'s "Fei ru" 非儒 chapter (though there in a kind of satirical reversal), to, especially, the "Mou cheng" 繆稱, "Qi su" 齊俗, and "Ren jian" 人間 chapters of the *Huainanzi*. For these latter lines, see the notes to strip 14 of the translation below. The "Mou cheng" parallels are especially noteworthy, for more on which see Liu Lexian, "'Qiongda yi shi' yu *Lüshi chunqiu* 'Shen ren,'" pp. 90–91.

not necessarily his own.[9] While this holds generally true in these particular passages as well, the philosophical boundary lines here are especially murky given that the idea of not letting the vicissitudes of external circumstance affect one's attitude lies just as much at the core of Zhuangzian thought as it does of Confucian philosophy. Aside from its somewhat vitriolic portrayal of the disciples' bitterness, the "Rang wang" 讓王 version might just as well have been written by Confucian followers. Like the passage that would make its way into the *Kongzi jiayu*, this version of the story involves several disciples, but this time it is both Zilu and Zigong 子貢 who criticize Confucius, essentially ridiculing him behind his back as shameless for continuing to sing and play music in the face of such mistreatment. When these disciples are called in, however, it is they who are put to shame as Confucius explains for them how "success" and "poverty" relate solely to the Dao, and the truly noble man remains uniformly happy in either extreme. The "Shan mu" 山木 version gives Confucius's philosophical reflections a decidedly more Zhuangzian (/Laoist) spin—even the music he plays is described as having the tones but lacking the tonal structure—as he explains to Yan Hui not only the virtues of accepting "losses from Heaven" 天損 with equanimity, but of being equally ambivalent toward the "gains from man" 人益, with a definite emphasis given to the latter attitude, as he argues that the former is much easier to adopt by comparison. This somewhat subtle inversion of the Confucian argument is coupled also with another even more paradoxical statement, that, in fact, "man and Heaven are one" 人與天一也, plainly obviating the need for human action as one awaits the vicissitudes of fate with a calm neutrality. So while this text also shares with "Qiongda yi shi" the notion of equanimity in the face of blind fortune, it draws from this an entirely different lesson altogether, insofar as it stakes out a position on the Heaven-human dynamic that would appear—as Li Xueqin notes—to be in diametric opposition to that of our text.[10]

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[9] These are found in the "Outer chapter" "Shan mu" and the "Miscellaneous chapter" "Rang wang"; see (Qing) Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, pp. 690–95 and 981–84. "Shan mu" also contains yet another passage in the narrative context of Confucius's entrapment (pp. 679–84), but in that case he is not the philosophical mouthpiece, being himself enlightened instead by a certain Taigong Ren 太公任.

[10] See Li Xueqin, "Tian ren zhi fen," pp. 241–42. If "Shan mu" was indeed framed as a direct response to "Qiongda yi shi" or some other nearly equivalent text then still in existence, this might be the best evidence (aside, perhaps, from its parallels with the "Shen ren" chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, as we will note presently) for Li's speculation that "Qiongda yi shi" is missing strips that placed it, too, in the context of the "Chen-Cai entrapment" narrative. Evidence for any direct ties between these two texts, however, remains weak, as, unlike the other texts, "Shan mu" contains little in the way of parallel phrasing with "Qiongda yi shi." Ikeda also discusses "Shan mu," but emphasizes its general thematic similarities with "Qiongda yi shi" over its otherwise obvious differences, and argues that it likely derived, along with "Shen ren," from a common time and intellectual environment; see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 379–80.

One final version worth noting is the “Shen ren” 慎人 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, which chronologically likely followed after the “You zuo,” “Shan mu,” and “Rang wang” versions but came prior to the *Shuoyuan* and *Han Shi waizhuan* versions in their final forms.[11] As with almost all the chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, “Shen ren” appears to have been consciously integrated from a selection of different sources and, to some extent, adapted from those sources to the author(s)’s purposes. The chapter begins thematically much the same way that “Qiongda yi shi” does, discussing the division between matters of “Heaven” and the “human,” here exemplifying this in the rise of the former kings Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, and Wu 武: their happening upon an enlightened ruler to promote them or despotic ruler ripe for overthrow were matters of heavenly opportunity, but all the human work they did in cultivating themselves, doing good, and accumulating merit was no less necessary to their ascent.[12] The text then gives an account of two particular historical “encounters,” but does so with much greater elaboration than found in the longer lists of other versions, providing more

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[11] As Li Xueqin notes, “You zuo” has long been thought to have been a late–Warring States addition to the writings that would form the *Xunzi*, a sundry chapter likely thrown together by Xun Zi’s disciples, whereas “Shan mu” and “Rang wang” were likely also written towards the end of the Warring States. Li charts out the likely evolution of the close parallels, in order of appearance, as follows: “Qiongda yi shi,” “Rang wang,” “You zuo,” “Shen ren,” *Han Shi waizhuan*, *juan* 7, the “Zayan” chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, the “Qiong tong” 窮通 chapter of the *Fengsu tongyi*, and, finally, the “Zai e” chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu*. See Li Xueqin, “Tianren zhi fen,” pp. 140–41. While we must keep in mind that later texts can always be based closely upon earlier versions of the story, this chronology seems essentially correct, though it is unclear why “Rang wang” would necessarily precede “You zuo”; in any case, though “Rang wang” has long been considered a relatively late text, there are no solid reasons to date it post–Warring States (and fragments of it appear among the early–Western Han bamboo strips of Fuyang 阜陽), and it quite likely constituted a direct source for the *Lüshi chunqiu* version. For the “Shen ren” text, which falls within the “Xiaoxing lan” 孝行覽 section of the work, see Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, pp. 809–11. The *Fengsu tongyi* version of the account, which we have not previously mentioned, most closely parallels the final passage of “Shen ren,” sharing most of the latter’s same minor variations from the “Rang wang” version (see below), though it adds a couple of its own inconsequential alterations to the end of the passage. Li Rui would include a couple of additional passages of relevance into the list of parallel texts, including ones from the “Jing shen” 敬慎 chapter of the *Shuoyuan* and the “Xian jun” 賢君 chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu*, and, after constructing a table of precisely which recurring references occur in which texts, charts out a network of textual interrelationships among the various passages that is somewhat less linear and more complex than that of Li Xueqin; see his *Xinchu jianbo de xueshu tansuo*, pp. 195–200 and 204–6. Li’s scenario provides a plausibly accurate, if rough, picture, though it is also one that assumes a gradual process of accretion and conflation as the norm and all but neglects the possibility that selective abridgment may have occurred in some of the passages in question.

[12] The “Chang gong” 長攻 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, which immediately precedes “Shen ren” in the “Xiaoxing lan,” also expresses themes that are closely similar to these; see Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, pp. 397–98. The “Shou shi” 首時 and “Yu he” 遇合 chapters of that same group also express a closely related philosophical outlook.

extensive narrative detail of the early hardships, recognition and promotion, and post-ascent successes of both Shun and Baili Xi 百里奚.[13] The philosophical reflections that it adds to these stories, however, are worded in a manner closely reminiscent to those of "Qiongda yi shi," such that, for Shun: "When he had it all, it was not that his worthiness had increased; when he had nothing, it was not that his worthiness had suffered—the timing caused it to be thus" 盡有之，賢非加也；盡無之，賢非損也，時使然也.[14] But what is particularly striking about the "Shen ren" version here is the new point of emphasis these stories are given, that it is the onus of the ruler to, in a sense, *create* such opportunities by being on the lookout for worthies: "How do we know that there are presently no Baili Xi's in the world? Thus the ruler who would seek men of talent cannot but put his efforts into broad coverage" 今焉知世之無百里奚哉？故人主之欲求士者，不可不務博也. The recognition of worthies is a common theme in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, and these lines were probably consciously grafted onto a revised source passage that was itself originally concerned with the issue of maintaining self-cultivation regardless of heavenly opportunity.[15] The chapter soon returns, however, to that now-familiar theme in the final passage, where we are finally given the narrative of Confucius's troubles between Chen and Cai—which comes at the beginning in

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[13] It may be noteworthy, however, that in contrast to the *Han Shi waizhuan* and *Shuoyuan* passages, wherein Baili Xi "sells himself" 自賣 for five sheepskins, "Shen ren" parallels "Qiongda yi shi" in having him instead being "sold off" 傳鬻 (/轉賣)—an interpretation also more in line with that of the *Mengzi*; see Liu Lexian, "'Qiongda yi shi' yu *Lüshi chunqiu* 'Shen ren,'" pp. 91–93. Liu concludes, quite reasonably, that "Qiongda yi shi," or a text very close to it, may well have been a direct source for "Shen ren."

[14] See, again, strips 9-10 of "Qiongda yi shi": "非其德加….非其智衰." The *Han Shi waizhuan* and *Shuoyuan* versions of the story also contain roughly similar lines, such as "非知有盛衰" ("It was not that his wisdom had waxed or waned"). Cf. Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 382–83. Somewhat related lines may also be found in the "Qiushui" 秋水 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "That the world had no impoverished people during the times of Yao and Shun was not because of any gains in wisdom, and that it had no successful people during the times of Zhou and Jie was not because of any losses in wisdom—it was just how the times and circumstances happened to be" 當堯、舜而天下無窮人，非知得也；當桀、紂而天下無通人，非知失也：時勢適然; see (Qing) Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, p. 596. The "Qiushui" lines come from a brief passage of roughly the same narrative context as all the other parallels to "Qiongda yi shi" discussed above.

[15] Ikeda likewise admits that there are difficulties in clearly establishing the overall theme of this chapter, though its greatest emphasis would still appear, for him, to reside in the "Heaven-human division." See his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 378–79. The context into which these tales are put likely derives its inspiration from Mohist writings, as a number of the same encounter stories found in all these texts are also to be found in the "Shang xian" 尚賢 chapters of the *Mozi*, there in the similar context of promoting people on the basis of worth rather than that of noble heritage or favoritism; see (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, pp. 47–48, 57–60, and 67–69.

all the other received versions—in an account that would appear to have been lifted more or less straight out of "Rang wang," with only minor modifications.

On the whole, "Shen ren" exemplifies the same common theme that we find running through all versions of the story/argument, that success or poverty is ultimately a matter of "Heaven" (or "timing") and therefore beyond one's control, and that one should thus, regardless of fate, place all of one's efforts in the matters of self-betterment and meritorious action, over which one does have control. Of particular interest, though, is how, in addition to the other shared features noted just above, "Shen ren" is exceptional in sharing with "Qiongda yi shi" such a clear expression of the idea of a "division between Heaven and human."[16] The notion of such a division is of no small importance elsewhere in the early Confucian tradition, and to this point we must now devote some discussion.

RELATION TO XUN ZI'S "TIAN LUN"

The core ideas of "Qiongda yi shi"—that success in the world (whether material or political) is ultimately a matter of "Heaven" or "fate," which lies beyond our control, and that we should concentrate our attentions on the task of self-betterment and the cultivation of core human values regardless of external circumstances—have always been staples of the Confucian tradition. For Confucius, as portrayed in the *Lunyu*, the "floating clouds" 浮雲 of wealth and honor, while not to be rejected if properly attained, are never to be taken as the source of true contentment. One is not to worry that he has no position, but rather whether he possesses the worthiness "by which to establish" such a position (患所以立), and for this reason "the noble man is concerned about the Way, not about destitution" 君子憂道不憂貧,

[16] Ikeda Tomohisa places particular emphasis on this point, for which see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 381–82; Liu Lexian also takes note of it in his "'Qiongda yi shi' yu *Lüshi chunqiu* 'Shen ren,'" p. 90. Ikeda observes that, in both texts, this division is made clearly only in the opening passage and is somewhat less evident or weaker in the passages that follow. In sum, Ikeda concludes that all six texts that we have been discussing thus far (excluding the *Zhuangzi* chapters) are similar in their common outline and intellectual content, and that they are all Confucian texts from roughly the same time period, but he also argues that "Shen ren," bearing (for him) the closest similarities to "Qiongda," could be considered as a kind of bridge between it and the latter four, and that given the two texts' common emphasis on the "Heaven-human division," "Qiongda yi shi" was probably written not too long in time before "Shen ren"; see pp. 384–85. Obviously, Ikeda thus assumes a much different chronology for these texts than does Li Xueqin; we shall have more to say about Ikeda's chronological conclusions shortly.

which is precisely why he is able to remain “steadfast in poverty.”[17] This is also one of the ways in which Confucius’s “know[ing] Heaven’s mandate” 知天命 at age fifty could be understood, with him realizing, in a sense, how his “mission” in life paradoxically involved disregard for “fate,” knowing to concentrate solely on the practice of virtue that lay within his own power.[18] For Meng Zi, too, “fate” or “Heaven”—that which is “done without anyone doing it” 莫之爲而爲者—is the decisive factor in whether we attain to any political success in the world, but regardless of this, one should “seek what is within one’s power” 求在我者, establishing a firm line of division 分定故 between the incipient virtues of one’s nature and the external vicissitudes of fate. One must unwaveringly cultivate the former with the same conviction whether one is to live long or die young 殀壽不貳, or whether enjoying great political success 大行 or dwelling in abject poverty 窮居, so that “in poverty, he loses not his propriety; with success, he loses not his way” 窮不失義，達不離道. And “as for success, that is a matter of Heaven . . . you must simply strive to do good, and nothing less” 若夫成功，則天也……強爲善而已.[19] The core ideas of “Qiongda yi shi” are thus entirely in line with mainstream values of the early Confucian tradition.[20]

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[17] See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, passages 7.15, 4.14, 15.31, and 15.1, pp. 97, 72, 167, and 161.

[18] (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, passage 2.4, pp. 54–55. Partly following Benjamin Schwartz, Liang Tao explains the passage along the lines just described, with the emphasis on knowing how one should respond to Heavenly fate, knowing to concentrate on what is within one’s own power. While noting how other, apparently traditional senses of “Heaven” may be found in the *Lunyu* as well, Liang stresses how here we have in incipient form the same “Heaven-human division” later to be found in “Qiongda yi shi” and elsewhere. See Liang Tao, *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 451–53.

[19] “Wan Zhang, shang” 萬章上 passages 5 and 6, “Jin xin, shang” 盡心上 passages 3, 21, 1, 9, and “Liang Hui Wang, xia” 梁惠王下, passage 14; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 307–9, 350, 354–55, 349, 351, 224. For many of these references, see also Zhang Liwen, “‘Qiongda yi shi’ de shi yu yu,” p. 218; Huang Ren’er, “Guodian zhujian ‘Qiongda yi shi’ kaoshi,” pp. 134–36, and Liang Tao, “Zhujian ‘Qiongda yi shi’ yu zaoqi rujia tianrenguan,” pp. 66–67, 70, or *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 453–56 and 465. In Liang’s estimation, the “divisions” referred to in “Jin xin, shang,” passage 21, can only be understood in the context of the “Heaven-human” division, and thus, for him, Meng Zi, and not Xun Zi, was the first one to clearly express such a division. For Meng Zi, however, the term *tian* is most often understood, as Liang himself notes, more in the sense of the locus of the transcendental moral principles that inform our natures than that of the uncontrollable fate to which we are subject.

[20] Zhang Liwen appears to suggest otherwise, seeing “Qiongda yi shi” as emphasizing the role of external “timing” at the expense of the internal cultivation of virtue stressed in the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*; see his “‘Qiongda yi shi’ de shi yu yu,” pp. 218–19. Such an interpretation, however, focuses solely on the opening lines and largely ignores the text’s own expressed conclusions. For a more balanced discussion of the text in its relation to the longstanding Confucian notion of the “independent standing of propriety and fate” (*yi ming fen li* 義命分立), see Lin Qiping, *Cong gudian dao zhengdian: Zhongguo gudai ruxue yishi zhi xingcheng*, pp. 273–83. With some comparative detours into the philosophy of Kant, Lin discusses how the possibility of a genuine realm of

What is perhaps most striking about the text is that, at its very outset, it expresses these ideas explicitly in the form of a "division" or "separation" (*fen* 分) between the purviews of Heaven and mankind, and states that we must "examine" (*cha* 察) this division in order to know how to act. These notions themselves may not be new, but the explicit wording is something that formerly had not appeared in the record until the writings of *Xunzi*, in the "Tian lun" 天論 chapter of which we find the famous locus classicus for the "Heaven-human division."[21] "Tian lun" opens as follows:

> 天行有常，不為堯存，不為桀亡。應之以治則吉，應之以亂則凶。彊本而節用，則天不能貧……本荒而用侈，則天不能使之富……水旱未至而飢，寒暑未薄而疾，祆怪未至而凶。受時與治世同，而殃禍與治世異，不可以怨天，其道然也。故明於天人之分，則可謂至人矣。[22]
>
> There is constancy in Heaven's movement: it neither persists for the sake of [a sage like] Yao nor perishes for the sake of [a tyrant like] Jie. If you respond to it with order, there will be good fortune, but if you respond to it with disorder, there will be ill fortune. If you strengthen resources and moderate consumption, Heaven cannot make you destitute . . . [whereas] if you neglect resources and consume extravagantly, Heaven cannot make you wealthy . . . You will starve even before floods or droughts arrive, get sick even before frigid or scorching weather presses in, and find ill fortune without the arrival of any anomalous portents. Though you receive the same timing of the seasons (*shi* 時) as an orderly age, your [having of] disasters will differ from it; for this you cannot blame Heaven—that is just the way things work. Thus [only] when you comprehend the division (/separate lots) between Heaven and mankind can you be called a "man of attainment."

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human moral freedom in the face of uncontrollable fate was a common belief of all the major Confucian thinkers from the master himself on down to Xun Zi.

[21] Note that a kind of "Heaven-human division" is also expressed in "Yucong 1," strips 29-30: "Only when you know to what purposes Heaven acts and to what purposes mankind [should] act will you know the Way, and only after you know the Way will you know [your] mandate" 知天所爲，知人所爲，然後知道。知道然後知命.

[22] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 306–8.

The point here is that Heaven’s otherwise-constant course is unpredictable and, above all, not subject to human influence, but how we prepare for this unpredictability is entirely within our power, and once we understand this we will be much better off, so that though we may suffer the hardships of natural disasters, we will be equipped to deal with them and not let the apparent whims of nature bring us to ruin. In terms of having a more socio-economic outlook and constituting a kind of criticism against prevalent views of Heaven as a more mechanistic arbiter of fate and the direct source of moral retribution, Xun Zi’s argument here is certainly much more subtle and involved than that of our text, which is more exclusively concerned with the matter of individual moral constancy. The division between Heaven and mankind in “Tian lun,” moreover, is far from clear-cut, and—as has long been correctly observed—this complex essay speaks as much in terms of man’s fulfillment of and proper utilization of his Heaven-given nature and Heaven’s bounty as it does to any strict separation from the ways of Heaven.[23] There is thus a great deal at work in “Tian lun” that goes well beyond the concerns of our excavated text. Nonetheless, in terms of emphasizing how we should disregard all matters of “Heaven” that are beyond our control and act diligently upon what is entirely within our power—“Respect that which lies within us and not emulate that which lies in

[23] This is all very much evident in any careful reading of the text itself, but because some, such as Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, have cited the essay as representative of a changing view of *tian* from one as sentient deity to one as “nature,” “natural phenomena,” or “natural existence,” others have spilled much ink on reiterating the inherently more complex view of the essay itself. This complexity is perhaps most cogently argued by Robert Eno, who, while accepting that “*tian*-as-nature” is certainly one of the theories embraced by “Tian lun,” also explores ways in which it portrays human social forms as the “consequence of natural laws,” as “meta-natural phenomena,” and how it implies that “the realms of nature and man form a continuum with a teleological direction”; see his *Confucian Creation of Heaven*, esp. pp. 147–54. More recently, Liang Tao, while also not disputing that its *tian* does refer primarily to “nature” and its ways or regulations, likewise correctly stresses how “Tian lun” tends toward the notion of a kind of “unity of Heaven and mankind” 天人合一 insofar as it emphasizes the ways in which humans must utilize nature’s bounty—including our own fallible natures—once given to us; see his *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 457–60. Ikeda Tomohisa, on the other hand, goes to greater lengths to criticize both Feng and Uchiyama Toshihiko 內山俊彥 for viewing Xun Zi’s “Heaven” as “nature,” thinking this an inaccurate descriptor borrowed from the West, whereas what is being criticized in “Tian lun” is only the anthropomorphic conception of a willful Heaven that controls us, and the distinction between “Heaven” and “mankind” for the text lies rather in what man can or cannot, or what he *should* or *should not* do or act upon 爲, not between nature and society per se (and that the *Xunzi*’s “division between human nature and artifice” 性僞之分 should be seen as a subset of this larger distinction); see his “Kakuten Sokan ‘Kyūtatsu i ji’ no kenkyū,” pp. 385–90. See also Edward Machle, who, in *Nature and Heaven in the* Xunzi*: a Study of the* Tian Lun,” pp. 1–14, is, for somewhat different reasons, similarly thoroughgoing in denying that *tian* meant for Xun Zi anything close to what we mean by “nature” in the West, arguing vehemently that translating it thus introduces “serious systematic distortions” to the understanding of Xun Zi’s thought.

Heaven" 敬其在己者而不慕其在天者—"Tian lun" is, in both content and wording, very much in line with "Qiongda yi shi," and it is certainly plausible to suggest that it may have in part taken form under the latter's influence.[24]

The similarities of the two texts, however, have led one scholar—Ikeda Tomohisa—to quite a different conclusion, one which has had him radically counter the more commonly accepted dating of the Guodian manuscripts themselves. Given that Ikeda is a figure of some influence among the scholars of eastern Japan, if not elsewhere, it is worth taking a moment to note his conclusions here. Ikeda, more than most scholars, posits a very close connection between "Qiongda yi shi" and "Tian lun," noting not only how—as just discussed—they both define *tian* and *ren* in terms of those actions that are or are not under the control of man, but also stressing that both are primarily concerned with "morality and the political realm" and similarly emphasize important roles for *both* man and Heaven; he further argues that both texts are strongly influenced by the thought of "Heaven" in the *Zhuangzi*, albeit in the guise of critical reformulation.[25] For such reasons, he believes "Qiongda yi shi" to have been a

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[24] Pang Pu believes that the "Heaven-human division" of "Qiongda yi shi" is "absolutely not the same kind" as the division we see in "Tian lun," primarily because he sees the latter's notion of Heaven as essentially equivalent to "nature" and the former's as one of "fate"; see his "Kong-Meng zhi jian," p. 27. Liang Tao similarly argues that *tian* in "Tian lun" refers primarily (though, as noted above, not exclusively) to "nature" and its often-incomprehensible ways and regularities, whereas in "Qiongda yi shi" it stands as an equivalent to uncontrollable fate, and thus he abruptly dismisses Ikeda's view that the two texts are closely related; see his *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 457–62. Pang's view is something of an oversimplification, and in any event the fact that the *tian* of "Tian lun" is of much broader scope than that of "Qiongda yi shi" should not give us cause to ignore altogether the important similarities between these two texts. Cf. Li Yinghua, who, in "Xun Zi tianrenlun de jige wenti: jianlun Guodian zhujian 'Qiongda yi shi'" p. 17, cites the presence of the "Qiongda yi shi" ideology in the "You zuo" chapter of the *Xunzi* as evidence that it may well have been a source for Xun Zi's *tian-ren* division in "Tian lun" as well; and Asano Yūichi, who, in "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no 'ten jin no bun' ni tsuite," pp. 32–34, while noting the differences in emphasis on the individual versus the collective in "Qiongda yi shi" and "Tian lun," also observes the common stress in these two texts on the lack of divine justice and the call for human effort in the face of that. For the "Tian lun" lines quoted just above, see (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 312.

[25] Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 404–6. Ikeda argues that Xun Zi's main target of criticism in "Tian lun" is Zhuang Zi's excessive emphasis of "Heaven" over "human," while having in fact completely absorbed Zhuang Zi's own notion of a "Heaven/human" division and utilizing the latter's own terminology against him. In Ikeda's view, Zhuang Zi's Heaven-human division was essentially one of "acting to no purpose" (*wuwei* 無爲) versus "acting to a purpose" (*youwei* 有爲), though later followers would eventually widen the scope of what the term *tian* applied to to include a greater place for the "Heavenly" *in* the "human." This latter shift, he suggests, may have been in response to the Xunzian challenge, as "Tian lun" had effectively done the opposite, broadening the scope of "mankind" and narrowing that of "Heaven" so as to reaffirm the role of the former in a positive light against the overemphasis on "Heaven" in the earlier thought of Zhuang Zi himself—all the while continuing to describe "Heaven" itself very much in *wuwei* terms. For details of this

product of Xun Zi's lineage.[26] At the same time, however, he points to an apparent difference in the role of "timing" (*shi* 時), which, in ostensible contrast to "Qiongda yi shi," "Tian lun" expressly de-emphasizes in the lines: "Yu brought about order with it, whereas Jie brought about chaos; order or chaos is not a matter of (seasonal) timing" 禹以治，桀以亂，治亂非時也.[27] Viewing this as a decidedly significant difference between the two texts, and arguing that the take on timing in "Qiongda yi shi" is more clearly in line with that of the versions in such later texts as "You zuo" and the *Han Shi waizhuan* and *Shuoyuan* chapters, Ikeda concludes that "Qiongda yi shi" must have been written somewhat later than "Tian lun."[28] Specifically, he argues that Xun Zi wrote "Tian lun" during his time at the Jixia 稷下 academy in Qi 齊—a time which he would date to 265–255 BC—and "Qiongda yi shi" by Xun Zi's "followers" not too long afterward, sometime still before Xun Zi went to Chu 楚 in 255 BC.[29]

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somewhat involved argument, see pp. 392–404. From this Ikeda somewhat boldly concludes, as we shall see below, that "Tian lun" was written while Xun Zi was in Jixia and under the influence of Zhuangzian thought, whereas "Xing e" 性惡, with its much clearer critique of the latter (as it would seem to negate the role of the "heavenly" in the "human"), was probably written in his late years, well after leaving Jixia.

[26] Wang Zhiping is another scholar who, in spite of the chronological problems for this theory presented by the archaeological evidence, reaches this same general conclusion. After dismissing the highly improbable theory of Confucius as author and seeing no evidence of any accretion in the text, Wang suggests that "Qiongda yi shi" was written by someone in Xun Zi's lineage—this for such suggestive but circumstantial reasons as its philosophical outlook being congruent with Xun Zi's somewhat rocky career, parallels it has with both "Tian lun" and the "Cheng xiang" 成相 chapter of the *Xunzi* (which alludes to similar historical examples and also expresses lament over "not encountering the right time and living in an age of disorder" 不遇時當亂世), and the existence of biographical accounts of Xun Zi that implicitly compare his lot to that of Confucius, whom Wang still sees as at least implicitly implicated in the text of "Qiongda yi shi." See his "Guodian Chujian 'Qiongda yi shi' congkao," pp. 301–4. For further critique of Wang's arguments and conclusions, see also Li Rui, *Xinchu jianbo de xueshu tansuo*, pp. 194–95, 197–98, and 203–4.

[27] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 311. Note, however, that these lines parallel similar lines denying that order or chaos is a matter of "Heaven," and that "Heaven" is here expressly described in the narrow terms of celestial movements and "timing" in the restricted sense of seasonal regularities. For Ikeda's arguments, see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 406–9.

[28] Huang Junliang also makes a point of noting how *shi* 時 rather than *tian* appears as the term of relevance in the "You zuo" chapter of the *Xunzi*, but, in contrast to Ikeda, he ascribes this fact to "Xun Zi's opposition to the ideology of *tianming* 天命"; see his "'Qiongda yi shi' yu 'Tang Yu zhi dao,'" p. 467. Clearly, Huang assumes conformity between the thought of "Tian lun" and "You zuo" in a way that Ikeda does not; in any case, both may be somewhat guilty of over-reading the significance of the particular lines and wording in question.

[29] Ikeda takes issue with Qian Mu's chronology—which would actually place Xun Zi's birth much earlier, around 340 BC—and adopts a primarily *Shi ji*–based chronology more in line with that of Uchiyama Toshihiko, having Xun Zi born in Zhao around 315 BC and dying in Chu sometime after 238 BC. Based partly on his own

The uncertainties of Xun Zi's biographical information and the inherent problems in using such information to pinpoint times of textual composition aside, Ikeda's conclusions are problematic on a number of grounds. For one, the take on "timing" in "Tian lun" is by no means as clear-cut as Ikeda makes it out to be: *shi* in the line just cited refers specifically to seasonal timing and not timing of opportunity, and elsewhere in the essay *jie* 節, in the sense of "rhythmic timing," is used precisely in the sense in which *shi* is used in "Qiongda yi shi."[30] Second, even if "Tian lun" did represent a significant departure from "Qiongda yi shi" in this regard, there is no reason to suppose that this would preclude later texts, even products of Xun Zi's own lineage, from adapting a text like "Qiongda yi shi" to their own purposes; the authors of "You zuo," with its much different emphasis from "Tian lun," could easily have incorporated the bulk of the text—or one like it—without any feelings of manifest contradiction with their master's central tenets. Finally, it would make just as much sense, if not more, to argue that a de-emphasis on the role of timing or chance opportunity represented a later, not earlier, trend in thought—as, for example, we see in the valuing of "circumstances" shaped by human efforts over ones that arise naturally and beyond our control in the "Shi" 勢 chapter of the clearly later *Han Feizi*, a chapter Ikeda himself cites to other purposes.[31]

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previous research, he goes on to argue that Huang-Lao 黃老 thought was newly emerging in the state of Zhao 趙, Xun Zi's birthplace, around the time of Xun Zi's birth, that Xun Zi was no doubt influenced by that thought during his formative years, that Jixia still had a very-much active "Daoist group" when Xun Zi apparently went there in 265 BC, and that, moreover, both the thought and criticisms expressed in the *Xunzi* show thorough familiarity with the thought of such a group. Ikeda then goes on to argue that Xun Zi's thought later moved solidly away from "Daoist" ideas after he went to Chu, as evidenced by the philosophies of the disciples he taught there, such as Han Fei and Li Si 李斯 (as in the former's adoption of Xun Zi's ostensibly late-year degradation of human nature). Thus, Ikeda argues, "Tian lun" and "Qiongda," with their supposedly greater tolerance for such "Daoist" notions as a *wuwei* Heaven, must predate Xun Zi's time in the state of Chu. For the details of these relatively speculative arguments, see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 409–16. Note that for what I render here as "followers," Ikeda actually uses the term "later followers" 後學, which is not ordinarily used to indicate immediate disciples.

[30] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 312. In an endnote, Ikeda himself notes some equivocation on the role of "timing" in "Tian lun" as evidenced by this other passage; see "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," p. 427 n. 71.

[31] Ikeda cites the chapter in the context of arguing that Han Fei's thought is representative of Xun Zi's later, "anti-Daoist" thought, where human artifice is emphasized over "Heavenly" capabilities; see his "Kakuten Sokan 'Kyūtatsu i ji' no kenkyū," pp. 415–16. Yet Ikeda seems to be arguing both ways: first, that an earlier, strict "Heaven-human" division had "softened" over the years (see p. 371), and yet now Han Fei's emphasis on that very sort of division is cited as evidence that it reflects a time period of Xun Zi's thought that must have *postdated* "Qiongda yi shi." Equally problematic is Huang Junliang's claim that the emphasis on "timing" in both "Qiongda yi shi" and "Tang Yu zhi dao" betrays the influence of "Legalist" and "Strategic" thinkers of the

The most troublesome aspect of his conclusions, however, is the fact that they completely disregard the archaeological evidence for the dating of the tomb. At the very end of his mammoth article, Ikeda gives only a single paragraph mentioning the prevailing arguments by Chinese scholars for a roughly 300 BC dating for the tomb’s interment, and then accounts for this with only a short final sentence to the effect that: “However, as I see it, based on the foregoing examination, such views show themselves to be fundamentally suspect.”[32] Attempting no criticism of the evidence itself, he simply discounts it. Ikeda has, to be sure, managed to meticulously construct a largely plausible scenario in the history of thought that might internally seem quite sensible, and such exercises are certainly valuable and even indispensable in the quest for understanding the major contours of intellectual-historical development. At the same time, however, such scenarios are ultimately fraught with speculation, and we must be willing to abandon or at least refine them when strong evidence demonstrates the impossibility of their chronological direction. Instead, having already spent considerable time constructing a dating scheme for the various chapters of the *Xunzi* and relating them to other relevant works in the history of Chinese thought, Ikeda apparently found a place in that scheme in which “Qiongda yi shi” itself could comfortably fit, and was not about to let the archaeological evidence get in his way. Thus he proposes a roughly 260 BC date of composition for a manuscript that was unearthed from a tomb that, based on all available evidence, could not possibly have been interred later than 278 BC.[33]

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late Warring States, who also tended to emphasize the role of *shi* 時. The notions of instituting new laws in accordance with changing times seen in such texts as the *Shang Jun shu* or *Han Feizi*, as well as that of the tactical need to take advantage of well-timed opportunities as described within the *Zhanguo ce*—though they may share some basic presuppositions with “Qiongda yi shi” about the crucial role of timing and circumstance as prerequisites for success—otherwise have little to do with the central concerns of our text (not to mention any sensible reading of “Tang Yu zhi dao”). For Huang’s arguments, see his “‘Qiongda yi shi’ yu ‘Tang Yu zhi dao,’” pp. 468–72.

[32] “Kakuten Sokan ‘Kyūtatsu i ji’ no kenkyū,” p. 417.

[33] I am far from the only one to criticize Ikeda for this position. Asano Yūichi also takes him to task for failing to account for the archaeological evidence, Asano going so far as to assert that with all the various lag times involved from conception to interment, the text itself could not have reasonably been written any later than 320 BC, and probably earlier. See his “Kakuten Sokan ‘Kyūtatsu i ji’ no ‘ten jin no bun’ ni tsuite,” pp. 22–24. The main conclusions of Asano’s essay are that “Qiongda yi shi” was written in response to the then-prevalent doctrine that “the way of Heaven was to reward the good and punish transgressions” 天道賞善而罰淫 (*Guoyu*, “Zhouyu, zhong” 周語中—a notion reflected also in Zilu’s complaint in the “You zuo” narrative), with the aim of offering a philosophical explanation as to why Confucius was never rewarded with political success. Asano sees this as an alternative strategy to one found in both the “Zhong yong” 中庸 and *Mengzi*, toward which he adopts the view that Confucius is portrayed therein as a kind of “uncrowned king” who is ultimately rewarded by Heaven in a way that transcends historical realities; for details, see esp. pp. 27–31. Li Rui has also recently

That undeniable problem aside, it would seem better to understand "Tian lun" as postdating "Qiongda yi shi" anyway. One way of seeing "Tian lun"'s overarching emphasis on human responsibility and, to the extent that it exists, its downplaying of the role of "timing" in human endeavors, is as an answer to the charge of "fatalism" brought against the Confucians by the Mohists—who in turn, with their conception of a willful Heaven, were themselves certainly one of the implicit targets of attack in "Tian lun."[34] The Mohists denounced the belief in fate because, in their view, it caused people to act unrighteously and do whatever they pleased, given that all rewards and punishments would be understood as matters of arbitrary fortune beyond the reach of human action. As the Mohists tended to view all human behavior as determined solely by the motivation of reward or threat of punishment, this denunciation of fatalistic views was a logical consequence of their own thought. In the "Fei ming" 非命 chapters of the *Mozi*, the advocates of such fatalistic positions remain unnamed, but in the later "Fei ru, xia" 非儒下 chapter they are expressly identified as the Confucians (*ru* 儒):

> 有強執有命以說議曰：「壽夭貧富，安危治亂，固有天命，不可損益。窮達賞罰幸否有極，人之知力，不能為焉。」群吏信之，則怠於分職；庶人信之，則怠於從事……而儒者以為道教，是賊天下之人者也。[35]
>
> There are those who forcibly argue while clinging to the notion of fate, claiming: "Long or short life, poverty or wealth, safety or danger, and order or chaos are inherently matters fated by Heaven, not subject to augmentation or diminution. Success or poverty, rewards and punishments, and good and ill fortune are subject to standards that cannot be acted upon through human knowledge or efforts." If the many officials believe this, they will neglect their duties, and if the masses of people believe this, they will neglect their tasks . . .

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offered some objections to Ikeda's conclusions and methodology, for which see his *Xinchu jianbo de xueshu tansuo*, pp. 193–95, 200–2, and 206–7. It is worth reiterating here that while I disagree with some of Ikeda's main conclusions, his work is otherwise tremendously thorough and thought-provoking and remains well worth the attention of students of Warring States intellectual history.

[34] The Mohists were far from the sole target, however, and the philosophical tradition embodied in the Shanghai Museum (v. 5) text "San de" 三德 was very likely another. For details, see my "Shangbo wu 'San de' pian yu zhuzi duidu."

[35] (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, pp. 290–91.

> and yet the Confucians take this as their teaching, thus despoiling the people of the world!

On the face of it, this criticism itself is not all that far off the mark, as, for the Confucians, life-span, wealth, and to a certain extent even the order and disorder of an age were indeed largely the purview of Heaven, and the line stating that "success or poverty . . . cannot be acted upon through human knowledge or efforts" could easily hearken back directly to "Qiongda yi shi." What is disingenuous here is the Mohist refusal to recognize the Confucians' own view of the implications of these facts. For Confucians, we must remain true to ourselves precisely because our own ethical behavior is what lies within our control, and this is also something we can inculcate in others through our examples. The implications the Mohists draw are entirely a result of their own belief that all people are motivated almost exclusively through rewards and punishments. Important here is the fact that "Qiongda yi shi," unlike "Tian lun," reveals no obvious signs of engagement with the Mohist critique of fatalistic views, as its position on the jurisdiction of "Heaven" and the role of human perseverance in the face of unpredictable fortune is essentially no different from what would appear to have been the common Confucian take on the matter all along.

Finally, we should note how the basic philosophy of "Qiongda yi shi" is largely consistent with that of other texts in the Guodian corpus. The text's ultimate conclusion, that "the noble man is earnest about returning to himself" 君子惇於反己, parallels closely the language of "self-seeking" 求之於己 or "self-returning" 反諸己 that we see repeated throughout "Cheng zhi," not to mention in other early Confucian texts.[36] Furthermore, "Tang Yu zhi dao" promote a similar ideal, as exemplified in the conduct of the sage-rulers Yao and Shun, of maintaining constancy in virtue whether in times of obscurity or prosperity, so that once the right opportunity finally comes along, one may always remain prepared to "encounter one's mandate" (*yu ming* 遇命) or "meet up with one's time" (*feng shi* 逢時)

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[36] See the section "Connections with received texts" in the introduction to the "Cheng zhi" translation. Cf. Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," p. 45; Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*," pp. 85–86; and Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," p. 608. These latter two scholars take this as evidence connecting "Qiongda yi shi" closely to the *Zisizi*. Xi Panlin, drawing upon both the "Zhong yong" and *Kongcongzi*, not to mention the notion of Zisi "acting for propriety and holding salary and rank at a distance" seen in the final lines of "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," shows how being "content to follow the Way even in poverty" was also characteristic of the way Zisi was portrayed in a number of early texts; see his "Lun Lu Mu Gong bianfa zhong de Zisi," pp. 218–21.

(strip 14)—though the precise terminology employed (i.e., 命) and the overall emphases of the two texts may differ, this central message lies at the core of both.[37]

TEXTUAL NOTES

“Qiongda yi shi” would appear to share all the same strip dimensions, strip-end shapes, and calligraphy as “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” and, as Li Xueqin suggests, may well have been bound together with it in a single scroll.[38] The two texts are, however, clearly distinct, “Qiongda yi shi” ending with a black-square marker followed by blank space, and “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” with a text-end horizontal band followed by blank space. “Qiongda yi shi” also contains a second black-square marker squeezed in at the very end of strip 7. In addition to these three markers, a number of short horizontal strokes are found inconsistently at the end of certain passages or passage segments in both texts, along with the occasional repetition marker.

As Li Ling notes, the black-square markers would clearly seem to divide the text into two sections, the end of the first coming at the end of strip 7.[39] As Chen Wei points out, however, strip 8 clearly belongs together, in both form and content, with strips 1-7, thus necessitating a re-placement of that strip to somewhere within the first section. As it turns out, the only option is to place it in between strips 6 and 7. While this would thereby place the account of Sunshu Ao’s encounter before that of Baili Xi and thus out of strict chronological order, Chen notes that the two figures were relatively close in time to each other, and that where the two co-occur in various listings within received texts, both orders may be found; passage 15 of the “Gao Zi, xia” 告子下 chapter of the *Mengzi* is one such list wherein Sunshu Ao comes first.[40] It is also clear that strip 14 is out of place in the context of its original arrangement. Along with both Chen Jian and Chen Wei, I instead connect strip 13 directly to 15 (supplying the appropriate characters at the end of 13), and move 14 to the

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[37] See also the opening section of the introduction to “Tang Yu zhi dao.”

[38] Li Xueqin, “Tian ren zhi fen,” p. 239. Li suggests that “Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi” most likely followed “Qiongda yi shi” on the scroll.

[39] Li Ling, “Guodian Chujian jiaoduji,” p. 493.

[40] Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 47–48. For the *Mengzi* passage—another text that suggests interesting parallels with “Qiongda yi shi”—see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 348.

head of the second passage, before 9.[41] This serves to have the second passage begin with a summarizing theme that encapsulates well the main point of the preceding biographical statements, and it also makes good sense out of the final lines of the text. As a result of these moves, we thus have a text that divides into two sections as follows: strips 1-6、8、7, followed by strips 14、9-13、15.

One final problem worth mentioning involves the connection between strips 3 and 4. While the lines of these two strips could certainly fit together to form a sentence, the ending of strip 3 appears to leave off talking about Shun's minister Gao Yao 皋陶, whereas the beginning of strip 4 ends with a narrative that clearly should apply rather to Fu Yue 傅說, minister to Shang King Wu Ding 武丁. Most commentators suggest either that Gao Yao here is simply a mistake, or else read the graphs for Gao Yao in an entirely different manner (see the translation notes for details). Wei Yihui and Zhou Yan suggest, however, that there may well be a strip missing between strips 3 and 4, the first half of which finished the Gao Yao narrative, and the second half of which began the Fu Yue narrative.[42] While I have argued in the general introduction that there is by and large little reason to suspect the existence of missing strips from the Guodian corpus, this particular instance potentially provides the most viable exception to that general claim.[43] Yet closer inspection suggests that the portion of narrative description appearing at the end of strip 3 most likely also belongs to Fu Yue. And even if there is missing text, it is of course also possible that the text as we have it could have resulted from an "eye-skip," the Guodian scribe having inadvertently left out the graphs of a block of text or perhaps even of an entire strip from his source text.[44] In my transcription and translation, therefore, I follow the text here as given and do not posit any missing strip.

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[41] Chen Jian, "Guodian jian 'Qiongda yi shi,' 'Yucong si' de jichu jianxu tiaozheng," pp. 1–4; Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, pp. 48–51. Following these moves, the least certain of the connections is the one from strip 14 to 9, given especially the difficulty in interpreting the last couple phrases of 14. My reading solution there is somewhat different from those of both Chen Jian and Chen Wei; see the translation notes for details.

[42] Wei Yihui and Zhou Yan, "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji," pp. 234–35. For further details, refer again to the translation notes.

[43] See the subsection on "Contents of the texts and the issue of completeness" in section B of the general introduction.

[44] Another good argument against the likelihood of either a missing strip or an eye-skip, however, is the relatively strict parallelism, noted by Dirk Meyer, of this section of text as it currently stands. Meyer observes how the historical examples take on a kind of alternating form, an ABABAB structure in which each B example utilizes the wording, absent in the A examples, of being "freed from" or "casting aside" (*shi* 釋) something—a strict parallelism that "may function to highlight the principle that underlies these stories and myths." See his "Structure as a Means of Persuasion as Seen in the Manuscript 'Qiong da yi shi' from Tomb One, Guodian," pp.

"Qiongda yi shi" has also been translated by Dirk Meyer, who additionally provides a detailed analysis of the text's structure. Meyer divides that structure into six sections: an introduction (theme and development), a parallel-structured list of "legendary materials" to support it, the deduction of a principle from these materials, a "closed argument" from all the preceding, induction from this argument, and, finally, the application of this argument in a directive for the individual.[45] Unfortunately, Meyer does not accept Chen Jian's and Chen Wei's case for connecting strip 13 directly to 15 and instead continues to base his analysis on the edtitors' original order (save for accepting the reversal of strips 7 and 8, which does not affect the larger structure). Retaining this order, however, forces him into a reading that takes the first four graphs of strip 14 as the ending of a sentence from 13, thereby destroying the neat double parallelism of the first sixteen graphs of 14 and yielding, in its place, a more complicated structure with what he terms a "constructed gap," one which "seems irritating" but ostensibly functions to have the reader "silently bridge the gap by adding the missing component."[46] This workaround is necessitated, to my mind, only by the failure to accept the two Chens' much more straightforward solution. Placing 14 at the head of part two yields a structure different from the one Meyer prefers to analyze, but an equally valid structure nonetheless.[47] Thus, while I would largely concur with Meyer's analysis up until the end of part 1 (strip 7), my understanding of the text's structure from that point forward is somewhat different.

187–88. If such strict alternation was indeed intended by the author of the text, as it may well have been, any possible additional line that may have later dropped out of the text would have served only to hinder the parallelism—unless, of course, another "A" example was somehow omitted along with it.

[45] Dirk Meyer, "Structure as a Means of Persuasion," pp. 182–97. Meyer further sees the entire structure as characterized by the "polarity of two contrasting elements," both at the micro and macro levels, which are synthesized only at the conclusions; at the macro level, part one (sections 1-4) focuses on Heaven, part two (sections 5-6) on the gentleman (see esp. p. 196).

[46] See Meyer's analysis of his sixth section in "Structure as a Means of Persuasion," pp. 191–93, and his criticism of the Chens' move in note G on pp. 204–5. Meyer criticizes Chen Jian and Chen Wei for not "see[ing]" how strip 9 connects to 8 because "none of them make an analysis of the structure of the text." First, however, the criticism is not entirely fair, because Chen and Chen certainly had the text's overall structure in mind even if they did not explicitly analyze it in detail, and second, one could just as easily accuse Meyer of failing to "see" the logic of a highly plausible rearrangement in strip order because of his pre-conceived notion of how the structure of the text must be organized.

[47] The fact is, moreover, that in the various parallel versions of this text discussed earlier in this chapter, the many signature lines found in common among them appear in a number of different locations, thus yielding a great variety of different persuasive "structures." This shows how not all early Chinese writers necessarily saw the text, or at least their own versions of it, as being so integrally or inviolably structured as Meyer supposes.

"Poverty or Success Is a Matter of Timing"
窮達以時[1]
Text and Translation

1-6、8、7

又（有）天又（有）人，天人又（有）分。[2]譔（察）[3]天人之分，而智（知）所行矣。[4]又（有）其人，亡其（1）殜（世）[5]，唯（雖）臤（賢）弗行矣。句（苟）又（有）其殜（世），可（何）慬〈僅（難）〉[6]之又（有）才（哉）？

There is [that which is controlled by] Heaven, and there is [that which is within the power of] man, and each has its separate lot. Once one has examined the division between Heaven and man, one will know how to act. With the right

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[1] Alternative titles include "Tian ren" 天人 (ZLW 99.1b).

[2] Based on the fact that all the other texts with parallels to "Qiongda yi shi" place their essays within the narrative context of Confucius and his disciples being trapped between Chen and Cai (see the introduction above), LXQ 99.3 suggests that this is not the actual beginning of the text and that there are missing strips that came before this; I do not find the evidence sufficient to warrant such a conclusion.

[3] 譔: QXG 98.5 interprets this as 察; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 would render equivalently as 詧, an alternate form of 察. CW 98.4 and DLC 00.7 both see it as a form of 辯(辨), "discern." LXF 99.10 interprets it as 督. HXQ 01.9 and LL 02.3 (pp. 55–57) both see the phonetic of this graph as instead most closely related to 帶 (cf. ZFW 99.10, pp. 48-49, and QXG 07.11, pp. 67–68, who affirms ZFW's interpretation); but whereas LL still reads 察, HXQ reads 諦, also understood in the sense of "investigate" or "examine." ZG 04.5 (p. 46), on the other hand, sees the graph as a variant form of 識, "recognize." For more on this and related graphs, see the subsection on "The Chu Script" in section C of the general introduction.

[4] Compare strips 29-30 of "Yucong 1": "知天所爲，知人所爲，然後知道。知道然後知命."

[5] 殜: LXF 00.1 would instead render as 殜, read as 傑, a "one-in-ten-thousand" individual even rarer than an ordinary "worthy" (賢). The graph, however, consistently reads 世 throughout the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts; see BYL 08.1, p. 208. LMC 03.6b would render the upper right element as 止 rather than 世, but still read the graph as a whole here as 世.

[6] 慬: HRE 99.10 would read this directly as 難 rather than consider it a graphic error for 僅, as GDCMZJ has it. LZ 03.12 sees 慬 as the original form of 戁, here read 難.

person, but without the right age, even though he be worthy he will be unable to act. If given the right age, however, what difficulties would there be?

舜[7]�（耕）[8]於鬲（歷）山，匋（陶）笞（拍）[9]（2）於河匿（浦）[10]，立而為天子，堣（遇）堯（堯）也。[11]叴（皋）繇（陶）[12]衣胎（枲）蓋（褐）[13]，冒（帽）

[7] 舜: for an analysis of this graph, see JXS 01.12, or, for a somewhat different analysis, WYH 04.4 (pp. 159–60).

[8] 畊: GDCMZJ leaves unrendered; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 renders 畊. QXG 98.5, HDK/XZG 98.12, ZFW 99.1, and LL 99.8 all interpret the graph as 耕. CWW 00.8 renders 男, read 農.

[9] 笞: LL 99.8 instead renders 笪, read as 埏 (clay mold). LR 03.11 reads 旊, a kind of implement for molding tiles.

[10] 匿: LJH 99.1, ZGY(/YGH) 99.1, and YGH 98.12 all read 浦; LL 99.8 and JXS 01.12 read 滸. Both mean "river bank." Passages in parallel texts give this location as 河濱, which, according to HRE 99.10, specifically referred in early texts to the area between the He 河 (Yellow) and Ji 濟 rivers in modern-day Shandong province, where Mt. Li was also located.

[11] This line might well be read in conjunction with Yao's promotion of Shun as given in "Tang Yu zhi dao," a text that also generally emphasizes the importance of maintaining integrity in the face of chance fate. Yao, of course, was one of the legendary Five Sovereigns 五帝 of ancient China and the first and oldest sovereign of China to appear in the *Shang shu*. Historical legend has it that he eventually abdicated the throne to Shun—by some accounts the last of the Five Sovereigns—after appointing him as chief minister and having him rule in his stead for a period of time.

[12] 叴繇: GDCMZJ renders the first graph as 卲. HDK/XZG 98.12 (and XZG 99.3) interpret this graph instead as 叴, read, following LJH, as 咎, thus reading 咎繇 as Shun's appointed minister of justice Gao Yao 皋陶; assuming that strip 3 follows directly, they admit this makes no sense historically and suggest it is a mistake for Fu Yue 傅說, minister of Shang King Wu Ding 武丁 and a figure whose "earth-ramming" narrative is also known from other texts. YSX 03.12 (p. 648) concurs, but suggests that rather than being a mistake, it may just represent a different transmission of the tale. LL 99.8 surmises that 卲, if not in error, might stand as an alternate name for Fu Yue, and he reads 繇 as an adjective, perhaps 鷂, describing a nominal 衣 (in the same sense as 鶉衣), thus reading 鷂衣枲蓋 as "[wore] tattered clothes and hempen covering." WYH/ZY 00.7 suggest that there may be a missing strip between 3 and 4, so that whereas the beginning of 4 refers to Fu Yue, the end of 3 refers to Gao Yao. Yet there is no mention of Gao Yao in any of the parallel texts (though he sometimes precedes Fu Yue in different sorts of accounts), whereas the descriptions of wearing coarse mourning apparel (also the garb of convicts) that follow him directly on strip 3 are similar to ones used to describe Fu Yue's lot as a convict in other texts; the "Shang xian, xia" 尚賢下 chapter of the *Mozi*, for instance, has him "wearing coarse fabric and belted in rope" (衣褐帶索). This all suggests that strips 3 and 4 belong directly together as part of a single account, and one normally attributed to Fu Yue. Note, moreover, that there is otherwise little evidence to suggest that there are strips missing from the Guodian corpus; on this point, see the subsection on "Contents of the texts and the issue of completeness" in section B of the general introduction. Yet another argument against the possibility of a missing strip here is that an additional line would wreck the neat ABABAB parallelism of these various historical examples, noted by MD 07, wherein each B example speaks of a "casting aside" 釋. And even if we were to assume that lines are missing, it is also possible that this could have resulted from some sort of copyist's eye-skip, such that the Guodian manuscript of the text, while missing lines from its source text, itself remains intact. All in all, that Gao Yao is simply a careless error for Fu

絰（經）[14]冡（冢〔蒙〕）慬（巾）[15]，（3）斁（釋）[16]板筥（築）而差（佐）天子，墨（遇）武丁也。郘（呂）宔（望）[17]為牂（藏）[18]來（=棘）澭（津）[19]，戰（戰〔守〕）[20]監門（4）來（=棘）[21]陀（地）[22]，行年七十而賭（屠）牛

Yue here appears to be the most likely explanation.

[13] 胎蓋: ZFW 99.1 and WZP 00.8 both read this as 枲褐, "coarse hempen clothing." As ZFW explains, the hempen clothing and coarse headgear were mourning apparel, but also used as clothing for convicts. LL 99.8 reads 枲蓋, "hempen covering."

[14] 絰: GDCMZJ and others read 絰, a coarse hempen sash (worn at either the head or waist) donned during mourning; WZP 00.8 instead reads 紩, "sewn," "hemmed"; LR 03.6 reads 衤+致 or 衤+黹, understood in a similar sense.

[15] 慬: GDCMZJ reads 巾; LL 99.8 instead suspects it should read 糹+堇, which he takes here as some sort of woven piece of headgear similar to 絰.

[16] 斁: IT 01.11 reads this here, and in all subsequent appearances, as 擇, in the sense of "he took [the earth-ramming boards, etc.] in his hands [and engaged in hard labor]," with the contrast in fate not coming till after the 而. In this particular instance, the *Shuoyuan* reading of 傅說負壤土、釋板築而立佐天子 (see also *Han Shi waizhuan*) could potentially be seen as supporting his reading.

[17] 郘宔(呂望): also referred to in early texts as Tai Gong Wang 太公望, Lü Shang 呂尚, etc., Lü Wang served as mentor and political adviser to the founding Zhou Kings Wen and Wu 武, and eventually assisted the latter in his overthrow of the Shang dynastic house. On the possible natures of his different names, see LXF 03.11.

[18] 牂: QXG 98.5 reads 臧, in the sense of "menial servant." LXF 03.11 concurs, but believes this refers to his taking a servant wife and marrying into a servant family. YSX 99.3 instead reads 藏, taking 爲藏 in the sense of 守藏, "guard over the storehouse"; I follow him here. Both storekeeper and gatekeeper (see below) were considered menial tasks.

[19] 來澭: as QXG 98.5 points out, 來澭 would appear to be the counterpart of 棘津 in the parallel texts; 廌 (read 薦) and 津 are nearly identical in sound, and 來 and 棘 are also very close. LXF 03.11 reads 萊津, which he suspects refers to the ford at the namesake river in the region of the Eastern Lai 東萊 in the Shandong Peninsula; he believes 棘 resulted from the corruption of 來 to 朿. YSX 99.3 reads 來 as a verb and 澭(濿) in the sense of "flood," paralleling his reading of 阤 as "collapse" or "landslide" below, thus: "when serving as storekeeper, he encountered a flood; when serving as gatekeeper, he encountered a collapse [of the wall]."

[20] 戰: YSX 99.3 and HRE 99.10 would instead render 戰, read as 守 (cf. XZG 01.9); I follow this here. On the basis of the 戰 reading, WZP 00.8 reads 闡, "to open"; TZL/LZX 01.2 read 戰 in sense of 顫, "shiver"; Li Bujia 李步嘉 (quoted in LXF 03.11) gives a similar reading of 戰 itself as "fearful," and LXF reads 癉, "wearied," "toiled"; MD 07 reads it in the sense of "trembling." 監門 refers to a menial official who watches over the gate; cf. HRE 99.10. LXF 03.11 notes the similar description of Lü Wang in the "Zun xian" 尊賢 chapter of the *Shuoyuan* as a "迎客之舍人" ("attendant who receives the guests"). LXF believes later versions of Lü Wang's story were changed in part to make it appear less "inelegant." IT 01.11 reads 戰 at face value ("to battle") and 監門 as a place name.

[21] WZP 00.8 reads the 來 of this line as the phonetically close 汲 that some early annotations give as the home place of Lü Wang; others read this, too, as 棘. As above, YSX 99.3 reads 來 here, as a verb. LR 03.11 suspects it might read 力, 力地 meaning "to work the land."

於朝訶（歌），譽（興）[23]而為天子帀（師）[24]，墨（遇）周文也。（5）莞（管）[25]寺（夷）虐（吾）屶（拘）繇（囚）[26]朿[27]縛，斁（釋）杙（械）榛（柙）[28]，而為者（諸）侯相，墨（遇）齊逗（桓）也。（6）孫雪（叔）[29]三躲

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[22] 陞: YSX 99.3 reads 阤, "landslide" or "collapse" (see above).

[23] 譽: GDCMZJ reads 舉; QXG 98.5 would interpret the graph instead as 罨, read 遷. HRE 99.10 argues for the reading of 舉, noting that the graph 罨(遷) of "Wu xing" strip 32 is written somewhat differently. LL 99.8 accepts QXG's interpretation, but reads 罨 as 尊; LL 02.3 instead takes the graph as an erroneous form of 舉, though he notes that it graphically most resembles 興 and remarks elsewhere (pp. 57–58) how the forms of 與, 罨, and 興 are all easily mixed up in the Chu script. On the basis of a similar graph, read 興, in the Shanghai Museum (v. 1) "Kong Zi shilun" 孔子詩論 text, HLY 02.3 (p. 256), WYH 02.3 (pp. 391–92), and CJ 02.6 (pp. 5–6) all suggest the graph here is indeed 興 as well; LXF 03.11 (n. 10) notes another such graph in the (v. 2) "Rongcheng shi" 容成氏 manuscript, also rendered 興 there by LL. Cf. the equivalent graph in strip 16 of "Yucong 4," where we also read 興. LR 03.6 further supports the reading of 興 with textual examples; for other examples of this graph read 興 in the Shanghai Museum manuscripts, see also CJ 12.1c. ZFW 02.3 (p. 164) reads the graph here as 聘, "appointed," "invited to serve."

[24] IT 01.11 understands 師 as "military commander" rather than as "mentor."

[25] 莞: GDCMZJ renders 完; QXG 98.5 interprets the graph as a variant of 莞. Guan Yiwu, a.k.a. Guan Zhong 管仲 (d. 645 BC), was the famous Chunqiu-period minister of Qi who assisted Lord Huan (d. 643 BC) in his rise to the position of hegemonic overlord of all the Chinese world. According to the *Zuo zhuan*, in the year Zhuang 莊 9 (685 BC), Guan Zhong accepted imprisonment after the defeat of Lord Huan's rival to the throne, whom Guan Zhong had been serving, but he was shortly thereafter promoted to the position of chief minister to Lord Huan at the recommendation of Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙, Guan Zhong's longtime admirer.

[26] 繇: QXG 98.5 suspects this should read 囚, "imprison."

[27] 朿: GDCMZJ transcribes this as 弃, but QXG 98.5 suspects the graph should be rendered as a variant form of 朿; cf. HRE 99.10. CWW 02.7 would instead interpret the graph as 告 over 廾, the ancient form of 誥, here read 梏 in the sense of "to shackle."

[28] 杙榛: GDCMZJ reads 桎梏, "shackles." The reading of 械柙 follows LJH 99.1 and, for the latter graph, also BYL 99.6, both noting how 柙 was a kind of caged cart used to pen both ferocious animals and criminals, a term which corresponds to the 檻車 found in some of the received parallels.

[29] Following CW 02.12, I place strip 8 between strips 6 and 7. The corresponding figure in the received texts here is Sunshu Ao 孫叔敖, minister to Lord Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 613–591 BC) and a figure who first appears in the year Xuan 宣 12 (597 BC) of the *Zuo zhuan*. In the "Tian Zifang" 田子方 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, the "Dao ying" 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi*, and other sources, the story is given of his thrice acceptance of and thrice dismissal from the position of *lingyin* 令尹, but in other early sources such as the "Gongye Chang" 公冶長 chapter of the *Lunyu*, the figure in question is instead (Dou) Ziwen (鬭)子文. According to Yan Ruoju 閻若璩 and other Qing scholars, the attribution to Sunshu Ao is a later, erroneous conflation—and the somewhat different account found here would appear to corroborate that; for more details, see YSX 00.1 or QXG 02.12.

（捨）[30]郚（期）思[31]少司馬，出而為命（令）尹，堣（遇）楚臧（莊）也。

（8）白（百）里[32]逭（轉）逪（遵〔鬻〕）[33]五羊，為敀（伯）[34]斁（牧）[35]牛，

斁（釋）板（鞭）柽（箠）[36]而為暠（朝）[37]卿，堣（遇）秦穆。■[38]（7）

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[30] 躯: QXG 98.5 suggests reading 斥, “reprimand,” “dismiss”; YSX 00.1 reads 謝 or 釋, in the sense of “resign” or “relieve from” office; BYL 00.6 reads 謝; HRE 99.10 reads 黜, also “dismiss.” QXG 02.12 reads 舍 (捨), in the sense of “be dismissed from,” based in part on a line from the “Chuyu, xia” 楚語下 section of the *Guoyu*—there pertaining to the figure of Dou Ziwen—that reads “三舍令尹.”

[31] 郚思: CW 98.4 and LL 99.8 both read 郚 as the graphically similar 郪, seeing 郪思 as equivalent to the 期思 that is given as Sunshu Ao’s native place in various early texts, though LLX (cited in LL) suggests that 恆思 might in fact be the more original name of the location. LJH (as cited in HRE 99.10) notes that 郚/恆 could also plausibly be read directly as 期; BYL 00.6 would also read 郚 directly as 期.

[32] The figure also appears in the received texts as Baili Xi 百里傒(/奚), minister to Lord Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 659–621 BC), and who first appears in the year Xi 僖 13 (647 BC) of the *Zuo zhuan*. GDCMZJ reads the following 逭 as part of his name, but QXG 98.5 interprets otherwise (see next note). As LLX 00.8 (p. 92) notes, his name can be found given as just 百里 in a number of other early texts (cf. HRE 99.10), and a couple of other figures in this text, such as 孫叔〔敖〕, are also referred to by two-character names.

[33] 逭逪: For 逭, QXG 98.5 suggests reading 轉 (see also “Zun deyi” strips 37-38). For 逪, GDCMZJ reads 饋; QXG 98.5 would instead interpret the graph as 辵 plus a 睿 phonetic, i.e., 遵, read 賣 and seen as interchangeable with 鬻 (also written 儥), citing the “Xiu wu” 脩務 chapter of the *Huainanzi* for support: “百里奚轉鬻.” This reading is also supported by LLX 00.8 (p. 91), and further analysis of this graph is provided by ZPA 01.10 and LZ 02.12 (pp. 127–30); see also HRE 99.10 and YSX 99.12 (pp. 205-7). Other versions of the story, including those in *Han Shi waizhuan*, *juan* 7 and the “Zayan” 雜言 chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, have Baili Xi “selling himself” 自賣, whereas 轉賣(/鬻) seems to suggest rather that he was transferred in sale from a previous owner (the “Shen ren” 慎人 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* reads 傳鬻); for more on this point, see LLX 00.8 (pp. 91–93) (cf. HRE 99.10). LR 03.11 suggests that the Guodian version of the story may simply refer instead to Baili Xi “peddling wares on foot.”

[34] The “clan” in the translation is supplied on the basis of the “Zayan” chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, which has 伯氏; in the *Han Shi waizhuan* version, Baili Xi is given to herd oxen for the Earl 伯 of Qin. MD 07 instead reads 爲伯牧羊 as “and became the elder of oxherds.”

[35] 斁(牧): LL 99.8 tentatively follows this reading, but notes that the left component of the graph is unusually written and suspects it might be a corruption of 堙.

[36] 板柽: WZP 00.8 reads this as 鞭枚, and BYL 01.9 as 鞭箠, both in the sense of “horse whip”; cf. LZ 03.12. HLY 99.12 suspects 柽 should read 校, taken in the sense of “neck shackle.”

[37] 暠: GDCMZJ reads this as 朝. FSJ 07.4 (pp. 184–86) suggests the phonetic here may be representing 龜 instead and reads the graph as 軍, thus seeing Baili Xi as a “military minister.”

[38] There is a black-square marker at this point, which would appear to be a kind of passage or section marker. LSQ (quoted in YSX 03.12, p. 631), however, suggests that it is an editorial mark indicating omission of the character 也 (see also ZFW 00.5, p. 56).

Shun plowed in the fields of Mt. Li and molded pottery on the banks of the Yellow River, and yet he [eventually] took the throne as Son of Heaven—this is because he encountered [the Sovereign] Yao. Gao Yao[39] wore [the] coarse hempen clothing and headgear [of a convict], [yet eventually] cast aside his labors of earth-ramming to assist the Son of Heaven—this is because he encountered [Shang King] Wu Ding. Lü Wang worked as storekeeper at Ji Ford, served as gatekeeper in the Ji region, and, at the age of seventy, slaughtered oxen at Zhaoge, and yet he [eventually] rose to become mentor to the Son of Heaven—this is because he encountered [King] Wen of Zhou. Guan Yiwu (Guan Zhong) was detained in prison and bound in ropes, and yet he [eventually] cast aside the fetters and jail-cart to become the prime minister of a feudal [over]lord—this is because he encountered [Lord] Huan of Qi. Sunshu [Ao] [was] thrice dismissed [from] the position of lesser war minister of Jisi, and yet he [eventually] came forth to serve as chancellor [of Chu]—this is because he encountered [Lord] Zhuang of Chu. Baili [Xi] was sold off for five sheep[skins] and herded sheep for the Bo [clan], yet he [eventually] threw aside his whip to serve as high minister at court—this is because he encountered [Lord] Mu of Qin.

14[40]

善伓（否）[41]㠯（己）也，窮（窮）達[42]以旹（時）；悳（德）行弌（一）[43]也，譽（譽）皇（毀）才（在）仿（旁）[44]。[45]聖[46]之，弋〈弌（一）〉[47]；母（侮）[48]之，白（百）[49]。（14）

[39] As noted above, the account that follows is consistently attributed elsewhere to Fu Yue 傅說, not Gao Yao, whose discovery by Wu Ding would not make any historical sense. Gao Yao here would appear to be the result of some careless mistake by either the copyist of this manuscript (or a source manuscript) or perhaps the author of this particular version of the text.

[40] As do CJ 02.6 and CW 02.12, I place this strip here out of its original order, and connect 13 directly to 15 (see below).

[41] 伓: YSX 00.1 reads 伓 as 否, as the "Mou cheng" 繆稱 chapter of the *Huainanzi* has it (see below); CJ 02.6 instead reads 鄙, "base," which accords with a related line in the "Ren jian" 人間 chapter of the same work: 善鄙不同，誹譽在俗. LL 99.8, connecting this up to strip 13 as he interprets it, reads 負; in similar fashion, MD 07 reads 伓己 as "neglect itself" (see below for further details on both). LZ 03.12 reads 倍, but in the sense of 反, and reads 善倍己 together as "good at returning to his self," along the lines of the final line of the text. WZP 00.8, also connecting to 13, reads 善伓 as 擅負. LR 11.7 follows CJ in reading 善鄙, but would also still have this connect to the end of strip 13.

[42] 達: for more on the form of this graph, see HLY 02.9.

[43] 弌: GDCMZJ renders 弌; ZGY/YGH 99.1 more accurately render 弌. On 弌 as a variant form of 弌, cf.

WXC 02.7 (p. 366).

[44] IT 01.11 understands this line in the sense of praise or slander being a matter controlled by "others." HRE 99.10 suspects 仿 should read 徬. In a much different sense, MD 07 reads the entire sentence conditionally as "[Even if] the conduct according to charisma (*de*) is unified, fame and slander stand by its side."

[45] As both IT 01.11 (p. 375) and CW 02.12 note, these lines may be compared with those from the "Qi su" 齊俗 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: "趨舍同，誹譽在俗；意行鈞，窮達在時" ("Though one's choice of when to advance or decline be the same [as others], slander or fame lies in the prevailing mores; though one's intentions and actions may be uniform, poverty or success is a matter of timing"); cf. the "Wei ming" 微明 chapter of the *Wenzi*. IT also notes relevant lines from the "Ren jian" 人間 and "Mou cheng" 繆稱 chapters of the *Huainanzi*, such as the latter's "善否，我也；禍福，非我也。故君子順其在己者而已矣" ("The choice to excel or not is up to me, but the good or ill fortune I receive is not. Thus the noble man simply accords with what lies within himself"). Note that my parsing of the lines here differs from that of GDCMZJ, which sentence-punctuates after 善伓己也, and then reads: 窮達以時，德行一也。譽毀在旁，聖(聽?)之弋母之白; LL 99.8 follows, but also punctuates with a period after 母. On the basis of the parallel lines in "Qi su" and "Wei ming," CW 02.12 affirms this parsing (with LL's modification), seeing the two halves of each line here as simply a rough reversal of those found in the former texts, and taking 之白 as the subject of what follows in strip 9 (as he orders the text); BYL 06.11 and LTH 10.10 follow the same parsing (BYL also suggests that the 意行 of "Qi su" may be an error for 德行). My parsing of the first four phrases accords with that adopted by CJ 02.6. Either parsing works logically, depending on how one reads the last six graphs, but the striking double-parallelism of the first four phrases as parsed here (with 也 ending phrases one and three) seems to dictate the preferability of this arrangement.

[46] 聖: GDCMZJ tentatively reads this as 聽, and this reading is followed by most interpreters. I instead read 聖 putatively in the sense of "consider as sage"; cf. QXG's reading in the note below.

[47] 弋: I tentatively see this as an erroneous abbreviation of 弌, i.e., 一. YSX 00.1 reads 忯, in the sense of "apprehensive," taking the two lines together in the sense of: "if you listen to/believe [praise or] slander, you will be apprehensive; if not, you will be calm" (see his readings for 母 and 白 below). CW 02.12 suggests that the graph should be rendered 干, read as 安 or 晏, and that the following 母 should read 如, giving this together as 聽之安 (/晏) 如, "takes it [all] in with equanimity." QXG (cited in CJ 02.6) reads 賊, reading 聖之賊之 together in the sense of "[some] treat one like a sage, [others] treat one like a crook" (for this possible inversion of 之, see the next note); CJ follows this reading. BYL 06.11 provides a variety of phonological evidence to support reading 弋 as 任, and thus reads the phrase (also assuming CJ's 之 inversion) as 聽之任之, roughly "let it go where it may"; see also the related readings of LR 03.11 (who reads 弋 as 忒), LZ 03.12 (who reads 慝), and LTH 10.10 (who reads 戴) in the next note. As I do, MD 07 (p. 208, n. L) also reads 弋 as 一 (while, however, simultaneously suggesting that the graph is somehow actually 戈), but suggests this on the basis of unstated phonetic grounds and in a much different interpretive context (see the note on 白 below).

[48] 母: I tentatively read 侮, "degrade." LR 03.11 also reads 侮, but for him yielding 聽之忒侮, "let others slander as they will"; LTH 10.10 reads 聽之戴侮, "let others extol or degrade as they will"; LZ 03.12 reads 聽之慝，毋之白, in the sense of "allow them their slander and do not try to understand it." CJ 02.6 notes the presence of a light mark next to the following 之 and suspects that 母之 here is a mistaken inversion of 之母 (the mark serving to indicate the mistake); he thus, with QXG, reads the 之 together with the previous line (see the note just above) and reads the following 母白 together as Mei Bo 梅伯, a feudal lord during the evil Shang King Zhou's 紂 reign who met with an unhappy ending (see the note on "沈酭" below). BYL 06.11 also follows CJ's reading at this point.

[49] 白: I tentatively read 百. YSX 00.1 reads 怕 or 泊, in the sense of "calm." LL 99.8 reads 之白 together as 緇

The choice to excel or not lay within themselves, and poverty or success was a matter of timing. Their virtue and conduct were uniform throughout, and [all considerations of] praise or slander were set aside. For each one(?) that treated them as sages there were a hundred(?) that degraded(?) them.[50]

9-13、15

初湝（沉）酭（晦）[51]，後名昜（揚），非其悳（德）加[52]。子疋（胥）前多祉（功），後翏（戮）死，非其智（9）懷（衰）也。[53]驥（驥）馰（軛）[54]張[55]

白, "black and white [are not distinguished]," connecting this directly to the 不理 of strip 15; MD 07 follows, but reads the entire sentence conditionally as "[However, if] acuity reaches its 'one mother' (一母), black and white need not be distinguished." CW 02.12 believes 之白 should refer to a name, the ostensible subject of the following strip (i.e., strip 9) and in strict parallelism with the line about Zixu below, and suspects it may refer to Xiaobai 小白 (小 perhaps miswritten as 之), i.e., the given name of Lord Huan of Qi. This figure, however, has already been mentioned as Guan Yiwu's appreciator in strip 6 above. As mentioned in the previous note, CJ 02.6 reads 母白 together as the figure Mei Bo 梅伯. LTH 10.10 offers yet the further possibility of seeing 之白 as an error for 先白 and reading this as 西伯, the pre-dynastic title of Zhou King Wen 周文王, who was imprisoned for a time at Youli 羑里.

[50] The reading of this line is particularly tentative; for alternate readings and parsings, refer to the preceding notes.

[51] 湝酭: GDCMZJ tentatively renders 滔酭, which ZFW 99.1 reads as 顑頷, "emaciated." LL 99.8 suspects the two graphs should read 韜晦 or 澹晦; JGH 99.1a (p. 85) also reads韜晦. HDK/XZG 98.12 render the first graph as 沈, citing a line from the *Wu-Yue chunqiu* in support: "皇天祐助，前沉後揚" ("May August Heaven assist us, so that our former setbacks lead to later prominence"); ZPA 02.3b seconds this, but would have it more strictly rendered as 湝. Along these lines, LZ 00.5 reads the pair as 沉鬱, equivalent to 沉滯, "stuck," "mired." I read 沉晦 or 沉抑, as in the "Zhou he" 宙合 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "賢人之處亂世也，知道之不可行，則沉抑以辟罰，靜默以侔免" ("When men of worth live in a chaotic age, aware that proper ways cannot be implemented, they submerge themselves in obscurity so as to avoid punishment, and keep quiet so as to stay out of trouble"); YZS 09.12 (p. 103) also opts for a reading of 沉晦. ZJW 99.8a (p. 273) sees the first graph as an abbreviation of the 濫 seen in strip 22 of "Laozi A" (where he would read 濫) and reads 滔囿, in the sense of "sunken and confined." IT 01.11 (p. 418 n. 4), assuming the original order of strips 8-9, suspects this line originally had a specific referent that somehow became lost, that referent being—on the basis of ostensible similarities to lines from the *Han Shi waizhuan* and *Shuoyuan* versions—a certain Yuqiu 虞丘 (a.k.a. Shenyin 沈尹), who was said to have declined the position of *lingyin* 令尹 to Sunshu Ao (see strip 8) after encountering King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王. These similarities, however, are limited to the mere fact that they refer to his having gained "a reputation throughout the world" 名聞於天下. ZPA 02.3b reads the two graphs as 醢醢, "minced meat"—taking this to refer to what was done to Bi Gan 比干 by Shang King Zhou after having his heart cut out—based in part on a line from the "Jiu zhang" 九章 of the *Chuci*; that Bi Gan is not even mentioned in the text as we have it is something ZPA sees as most likely the result of a missing strip. CJ 02.6 accepts ZPA's reading but not its referent, taking it to refer instead to the late-Shang feudal lord Mei Bo 梅伯 (his reading for 母〈之〉白 above), who is specifically known to have suffered that fate at the hands of King Zhou. This would indeed yield a neat parallelism with the line about Wu Zixu below, but it is difficult to see

山，騹[56]空（塞）[57]於叴埊（萊）[58]，非亡體（體）壯（狀）[59]也。穿（窮）四海（海），至[60]千（10）里，堣（遇）告（造）古（父）[61]也。堣（遇）不堣

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how Mei Bo would possibly be cited as an exemplar of a happy ending marked by resounding fame—in the end, he really was famous for nothing other than being made into meat sauce. CW's 02.12 reading of Lord Huan (Xiaobai) 小白 works better, but remains problematic for the reason mentioned in the previous note. LTH's 10.10 reading of 西伯 necessitates even more steps to arrive at, as does her reading of 酭 as 羑, in turn an abbreviation of 羑里. For these reasons, I remain inclined to read the statement as an inclusive summary for all the figures mentioned in strips 1-8, who all gained fame as a result of their positive encounters.

[52] There is a short, horizontal marker at this point; LSQ (quoted in YSX 03.12) suggests it is an editorial mark indicating the accidental omission of the character 也.

[53] Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BC) was a native son of Chu whose family had fled the state for political reasons and who later came to serve King Helü of Wu 吳王闔閭 (r. 514–496 BC) with distinction, assisting him to win major military victories over both Chu and Yue 越. He eventually fell out of favor with Helü's successor Fuchai 夫差 (r. 495–473 BC), who forced him to commit suicide after disagreement over policy toward Yue.

[54] 馰: LL 99.8 suspects this to be equivalent to 約, read as 厄; XZG 01.9 and BYL 01.9 also read 約, in the sense of "constrained" or "tied down." ZFW 99.1 reads 駑, another famous horse often paired with Ji. WZP 00.8 reads 驇, "hobbled." I follow IT 01.11 in reading 軛, "yoke." Cf. the "Zayan" chapter of the *Shuoyuan*: "驥厄罷鹽車" ("Ji was toiled in hardship pulling salt carts").

[55] 張山: LL 99.8 takes this as a place name. YSX 00.8 glosses 張 as 大, reading 張山 in the sense of "as big as mountains." XZG 01.9 reads 長, also glossed as 大, but taking the phrase to mean "in a big mountain," specifically the Taihang 太行 Mountains referred to in other sources; BYL 01.9 reads 腸山, also referring to the Taihang; WZP 00.8 reads 常山 (i.e., Mt. Heng 恆山). LR 03.11 takes 張 in the sense of [fine horses] being "spread throughout" the mountains.

[56] 騹: this is taken here as the name of a famous horse; cf. the "Xing e" 性惡 chapter of the *Xunzi*: "驊騮、騹驥、纖離、綠耳，此皆古之良馬也." It may perhaps be equivalent to the famous horse Qi 騏, as TZL/LZX 01.2, XZG 01.9, BYL 01.9, and LL 02.3 all have it (LL 99.8 reads 駿, "fine horse"). YSX 00.8 reads 廑, equivalent to 僅, "merely."

[57] 空: LL 99.8 reads this as 穴, taken in the sense of "trapped." XZG 01.9 and BYL 01.9 both read the graph as 塞, "confined"; LR 03.11 also reads 塞, but in the sense of "filling up." YSX 00.8 reads it as a loan for 閱, but understood in the sense of "allow" or "accommodate."

[58] 叴埊: GDCMZJ renders 卲埊. LL 99.8 takes this as a place name. WZP 00.8 reads 皋涅, "mud of the marshes." YSX 00.8 renders the first graph instead as 叴, read as 皁, "pen" or "stable," and reads 埊 as 萊, in the sense of "pasture." TZL/LZX 01.2 and others read 埊 as 棘, on the basis of the parallels in strips 4-5. XZG 01.9, also rendering the first graph as 叴, reads this as 鳩 and reads the pair as 鳩棘, in the sense of "thicket"; BYL 01.9 similarly reads 枳棘. LR 03.11 reads 叴 as 驛 and takes 棘 in the sense of 列, thus reading the pair as "the ranks of postal horses."

[59] 壯: LL 99.8 and others read 狀, on the basis of the *Shuoyuan* and *Han Shi waizhuan* parallels. 壯, "robust," could also be read as is.

[60] 至: QXG 98.5 suggests this should read 致.

[61] 古: QXG 98.5 reads 故 and suspects that the graph 父 was accidentally omitted after 告(造). LJH 99.1 and

（遇），天也。童（動）[62]非為達也，古（故）穿（窮）而不（11）【困[63]；學非】為名也，古（故）莫之智（知）而不叜（吝）[64]。【芑（芷）蘭生於深林】[65]，（12）【非以無人】嘍（嗅）[66]而不芳。無（璑）[67]茖（璐）堇（瑾）[68]愈（瑜）[69]坿（寶〔葆〕）[70]山石，不為【無人見而】[71]（13）不瑿（理）[72]。穿

LL 99.8 both instead read 古 itself as 父.

[62] 童(動): HRE 99.10 instead reads 重.

[63] 困 and the following 學 are supplied on the basis of similar lines in the *Xunzi* and *Shuoyuan* passages (see LMC 99.1, p. 44). YSX 00.1 instead supplies 憂, "apprehensive," for the first graph. LL 99.8 supplies 怨, "bitter," for this graph and 隱, "reclusion," for the second. The 非 may be assumed on the basis of parallel context.

[64] 叜: LL 99.8 reads 吝; LZ 03.12 takes this in the sense of "have regrets." HRE 99.10 instead reads 閔, "troubled," "disconcerted"; CJ 03.11 supports this, taking note of its relation to the various graphs 憫, 惛, and 悶.

[65] There is room for six or seven characters following the binding mark (after 叜) of this broken strip, and for three or four characters at the beginning of strip 12. Following QXG 98.5, I supply the text on the basis of the parallel lines in the *Xunzi*, *Han Shi waizhuan*, and *Shuoyuan* passages (specifically the former). The uppermost 艹 element in the first of these graphs is still visible on the strip, but the remnant of another upper stroke is inconsistent with the graph 芝; I here follow CJ 02.6 in rendering 芑, read as either 芝 or 茝.

[66] 嘍: QXG 98.5 reads 嗅. Following an early interpretation of the right-hand component as equivalent to 畀, LR 03.6 instead reads 蔽, supplying "非以眾草" before it to read "[it does not fail to be fragrant] just because it is concealed by common plants."

[67] 無: with LLX 00.7, I read this here as 璑, which the *Shuowen* glosses as 三采玉, "tri-colored jade"; as LLX notes, it is sometimes considered a kind of second-rate jade, but here appears to be simply listed as one of a number of precious jades; cf. LR 03.6, who notes that it is also sometimes written with such graphs as 瑦, 碔, and 玟.

[68] 茖堇: LL 99.8 takes these as magic herbal intermediaries for extracting precious stones from mountains. IT 01.11 reads 堇 as 根 and takes 無茖 together as a kind of herb, which "takes root amidst" the mountain stones. BYL 01.9 interprets 茖 as 葰, a kind of ginger. YSX 00.1 and LLX 00.7 read 璐瑾, both varieties of fine jade; LZ 00.5 also reads 堇 as 瑾. LR 03.6, arguing that 茖 should refer to a second-rate gem (as its ostensible pair 璑 usually does), would instead read it as 珞/硌, understanding it to refer to a kind of jade-like stone.

[69] 愈: YSX 00.1, LZ 00.5, and LLX 00.7 all read 瑜; 瑾瑜 is an attested compound which the *Shuowen* glosses together as "美玉," "fine jades." LL 99.8 reads 逾, "pass through." IT 01.11 reads 於.

[70] 坿: LL 99.8, HRE 99.10, YSX 00.1, and LZ 00.5 all read 寶. LLX 00.7 reads it verbally as 韜, "sheathed"; QXG (cited in ZFH 00.10) suggests 包, "enclosed," may be a more straightforward reading. WZP 00.8 reads 宲, in a similar sense of "hidden away"; with CW 02.12, I read this as equivalent to its common loan 葆, "concealed" or "preserved." LZ 03.12 suspects the graph should read 抱, "hold." CWW 02.7 reads 覆, "covered up," "concealed."

[71] With space for likely four graphs, I attempt to supply the text here on the basis of what would make sense in

（窮）達以旹（時），學（幽）明不再[73]。古（故）君子惇（惇）[74]於仮（反）[75]
己（己）。■（15）

That after beginning submerged in obscurity they would later have their names extolled was not due to any increase in their virtues. That [Wu] Zixu, after many earlier accomplishments, would end up getting executed was not due to any decline in his wisdom. That [the famous stallion] Ji bore the yoke at Mt. Zhang and [the worthy steed] Jin was confined within the wilds of Qiu was not because they were lacking in physical attributes; that they would [eventually] exhaust the [reaches of] the four seas and run a thousand *li* [a day] was because they encountered [the charioteer] Zao Fu.

Whether or not [all the aforementioned men] encountered [an appreciative lord] was [a matter controlled by] Heaven. Their actions were not motivated by the prospect of success, and thus while impoverished they were not 【distressed(?)】;【their learning(?) was not】 for the sake of fame, and thus

context parallel to the previous line. WZP 00.8 would supply 無人識而; LR 03.6 follows, but would add 掩光, "conceal their luster," afterward, assuming this as part of a missing strip (for his reconstruction of which see LR 10.4, p. 195). CJ 02.6 would supply "無人□而," and CW 02.12 supplies "人不見而," both connecting this to the 不耋(理) of strip 15. LL 99.8 instead suggests 開非以其 for these missing graphs and connects this directly with strip 14, reading: 無茖董，逾寶山，石不爲〔開，非以其〕善負己也; along the same lines, MD 07 supplies "無人知其" for the missing graphs, and translates the whole sentence, up through the first four graphs 善伓己也 of strip 14, as "The forgotten beautiful gem of value in a mountain of stones does not, because {no one knows} what is good {about it}, neglect itself." LR 11.7 would also connect to strip 14, supplying "無人識而" for the missing graphs and reading the first four of 14 as 善鄙改也, in the sense of "do not change [their] quality, good or bad."

[72] 耋: GDCMZJ supplies 釐 for the reading of this graph; HRE 99.10 and LZ 00.5 both suggest 埋, "bury." CJ 02.6 and CW 02.12 both read 理, connecting 不耋 directly up to strip 13 instead of 14.

[73] 再: I take this here in the sense of acting "twice," i.e., in two different manners. Compare the "Jin xin, shang" 盡心上 chapter of the *Mengzi*: "殀壽不貳，修身以俟之，所以立命也" ("To act no differently whether one is to live long or die young, awaiting [one's fate] by cultivating one's self—it is this by which one establishes his mandate"). It is also possible to understand 幽明不再 as "night and day do not repeat themselves," i.e., "time waits for no one" (see TZL/LZX 01.2); LR 03.11 similarly understands this in the sense that "opportune times will not come again." LZ 03.12 reads it in the sense of "neither impoverishment nor success will last long." MD 07 reads "[yet] dark and bright do not alternate." IT 01.11 reads 再 as 裁.

[74] 惇: GDCMZJ renders 憞. ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 renders 惇 and reads 惇, "earnest"; HRE 99.10 also reads 惇; LL 99.8 reads 敦, its rough equivalent.

[75] 仮: PP 00.5b argues that the heart radical here signifies the mental or emotional aspect of this "returning" to one's self; SE 06 (pp. 26–27) seconds this.

while no one appreciated them they held no grudges. 【Irises and orchids grow in secluded forests】; they do not fail to be fragrant 【just because there is no one there】 to smell them. Colorful gems and precious jades are concealed within mountain stones; they do not 【fail to】 hold patterns just because 【no one sees them】. Poverty or success is a matter of timing, and whether in obscurity or prominence, one [should] not [act] twice (i.e., differently). Thus the noble man is earnest about returning to himself.

| 6 |

"WU XING"

"The Five Conducts"

〈五行〉

Although the association of a doctrine of *wu xing* 五行, or five forms of moral conduct (as we now understand it), with the so-called "Si-Meng" 思孟 lineage of Confucian thought has long been known to us through statements in the work of *Xunzi*, the content of that doctrine remained a mystery until 1973.[1] That is when an ancient text speaking directly to five modes of virtuous conduct and referring to them by the term *wu xing* was discovered, along with an appended commentary, on a Han dynasty silk manuscript from Mawangdui 馬王堆, toward the end of the same scroll that contained its *Laozi A* text.[2] Observing a number of close parallels with the *Mengzi* in both the main text and its commentary, Pang Pu and others soon made the identification of this text with the lost "wu xing" doctrine of the Si-Meng lineage, attributing its writing, however, to the latter-day followers of Meng Zi. Twenty years later, the text was discovered again—this time minus any commentary—in the form of a bamboo

[1] For the text of the relevant passage from the "Fei shi'er zi" 非十二子 chapter of the *Xunzi* and a preliminary discussion of the possible connections between the "Wu xing" text and the "Si-Meng lineage," see part A of the subsection "Affiliations with intellectual lineages" in section E of the general introduction.

[2] *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu (yi)*, pp. 17–27. Given that annalistic wooden slips found within the tomb itself date its interment to the twelfth year of Han Emperor Wen 漢文帝, or 168 BC, we are certain that the manuscript was copied no later than that year; moreover, the general lack of taboo avoidance of the character for first Han Emperor Liu Bang's 劉邦 given name suggests that the manuscript was likely copied during his reign (202–195 BC), if not earlier (for an apparent exception to this lack of avoidance in the "Wu xing" portion of the scroll, however, see the notes to strip 29 of the Guodian "Wu xing" text below). The "Wu xing" is the first of four texts that follow the text of the Mawangdui *Laozi A* on the same scroll, occupying lines 170-351 (including the commentary); the title does not appear as such on the scroll itself, but was given on the basis of Pang Pu's identification (see his "Boshu Wuxingpian jiaozhu"). Note that Wei Qipeng, in his pre-Guodian publications on the text, has referred to it instead under the title of "De xing" 德行. The Mawangdui commentary, it should be added, does not include any explanation of the first five passages of the "Wu xing"; Pang Pu, in "Zhu bo 'Wuxing' pian bijiao" p. 223, suggests that this portion of the commentary was inadvertently left out by the copyist.

manuscript at Guodian, with the two characters *wu xing* given prominently at the head of the first strip, almost as if serving as its title.[3] The discovery of the Guodian "Wu xing," aside from attesting to the text's importance in early China, has also caused scholars to rethink the temporal framework for its composition, most now dating it to the period between the times of Zisi 子思 (483–402 BC) and Meng Zi 孟子 (ca. 385–305 BC). The fact that it is the only other manuscript in the Guodian corpus of the exact same dimensions as "Ziyi"—the text otherwise most closely associated with Zisi—has given us additional circumstantial evidence from which to ponder the connection with this ostensible Si-Meng lineage.[4]

PHILOSOPHY OF THE "WU XING" AND ITS PLACE IN THE EARLY CONFUCIAN TRADITION

At the heart of the "Wu xing" is the elaboration of five distinct moral "conducts"—those of humanity (*ren* 仁), propriety (*yi* 義), ritual (*li* 禮), knowledge (*zhi* 智), and sagacity (*sheng* 聖)—and a discourse on their harmonious interaction.[5] The conducts are said to be "conducts of virtue" (*de zhi xing* 德之行) only when they "take shape from within" and are not merely external practices devoid of genuine motivation. While the five conducts are to some degree

[3] Ikeda Tomohisa discusses this issue at some length, noting that while the head of a manuscript is not the usual place to find a title in early philosophical texts, there may be some precedent in the headings or subtitles found in certain chapters of the *Xunzi*; such title placement also occurs in a number of archaeologically excavated technical treatises. As Ikeda notes, the Mawangdui "Wu xing," though marred by lacunae at its beginning, does not appear to have had space for these two "title" characters. See his "Kakuten sokan 'Gogyō' no kenkyū," pp. 211–12. Zhang Liwen is among others who treat these graphs as the title; see his "*Guodian Chumu zhujian* de pianti," p. 332.

[4] For details on all this, see the subsection on "Affiliations with intellectual lineages" in section E of the general introduction.

[5] Scholarly consensus has largely discounted any direct connections between the "wu xing" as five forms of moral conduct in this text with the "wu xing" as the five phases associated with the elements of metal 金, wood 木, water 水, fire 火, and soil 土, a system of correspondences that began to develop by no later than the earliest years of the Warring States. There is certainly no connection made between the two systems anywhere in the text itself, though there are some obvious similarities in general conception, especially the notion of the need for five disparate and sometimes conflicting virtues or material forces to operate in a timely and harmonious balance with one another; moral conducts similar to those enumerated in this text, moreover, would eventually work their way into the system of five-phase correspondences. Wang Bo, for one, would also point to the notion of the mutual generation (*sheng* 生) of certain conducts as exemplified in such passages as 19-20 of our text as a further example of shared conception with five-phases theory, and he would go so far as to suggest that the "Wu xing" text directly laid the foundation for the philosophy of Zou Yan 鄒衍 in the later Warring States; see his "Zisi wuxing shuo yu chuantong wuxing shuo de guanxi."

equal partners in virtue, "sagacity" nonetheless holds a privileged place: for when the first four act "in concert" (*he* 和) we attain "goodness" (*shan* 善), but only when all five operate in harmony can we attain to true virtue, or, as I translate it, the realm of "virtuosity" (*de* 德). This highest state is equivalent to the "Way of Heaven" (*tiandao* 天道) and also marked by the attained state of true "happiness" or "musical contentment" (*le* 樂), a term that expresses the notion of complete moral embodiment and the feelings of autonomous satisfaction that accompany it.[6]

The path to such virtuosity and happiness begins, paradoxically, with innermost feelings of apprehension (*you* 憂), which progress, through a series of stages, to their ultimate state only for he who maintains a purposive intent marked by certain qualities of active contemplation (*si* 思). The text takes great care to delineate the various sequences of stages involved in the true attainment of the different conducts—particularly for the conducts of *ren*, *zhi*, and *sheng*—each stage serving as a prerequisite to the next. The final outcome of these sequences is the attainment of the qualities of the "luster of jade" (*yuse* 玉色, for *ren* and *zhi*) and "timbre of jade" (*yuyin* 玉音, for *sheng*), signaling how inner sincerity of purpose ultimately leads to the external radiance of virtue and its consequent influence upon society at large.

The "Wu xing" draws on a number of *Shi* 詩 odes to drive home the need for the noble man to be "cautious over [his] solitude" (*shen du*) 慎獨, a signal term seen in a number of early Confucian texts, here having the sense of maintaining a singular sincerity of purpose, wherein there is no disparity between what one is inclined to do while alone and what one actually does in the presence of others.[7] By being steadfastly cautious over his solitude and

[6] Note that, as some have suggested, the notions of both *tiandao* 天道 and *de* 德 may serve to connect "Wu xing," terminologically at least, with the *Laozi* (/"Laozi") texts with which it both shared a scroll in Mawangdui and shared a tomb at Guodian. Mark Csikszentmihalyi, on the other hand, suggests that the authors employed the notion of *tiandao* in response to the Zhuangzian challenge to "bring the human Way in line with the natural Way," to show that natural patterns "existed outside of time" and that the sages who embodied the Way "were always timely because of their access to those atemporal natural patterns"; see his *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*, pp. 164–65. Of course, if Csikszentmihalyi is suggesting here that "Wu xing" was influenced by the thought of Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (ca. 365–285 BC) himself rather than simply a trend of thought culminating in his philosophy, this would only be possible if "Wu xing" was conceived and written very near the time of the Guodian tomb's interment.

[7] Jeffrey Riegel has examined these poems extensively in his pioneering study of *Shi* citation in the Mawangdui "Wuxing"; see his "Eros and *Shijing* Commentary," pp. 159–63. For an in-depth analysis of textual variants in *Shi* quotations between the Guodian and Mawangdui "Wu xing" and the Mao *Shi*, see Martin Kern, "The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," pp. 169–74. As Dirk Meyer observes, there is also a sense in which not only does the "Wu xing" explicate the Odes, but "Odes in turn also explicate the philosophical position of the 'Wu xing' proper"; see his "Writing Meaning: Strategies of Meaning-Construction in Early Chinese Philosophical Discourse," p. 77.

apprehensive within over any failure to act properly, the noble man is so intent on conducting himself according to the dictates of virtue that he eventually achieves a state where his drive toward goodness becomes part of his very nature. This is the state of "virtuosity," which is described as something to be carried out "without end" (*wu yu zhong* 無與終) and illustrated by the enigmatic metaphor of (as I read it) "[possessing] the tones of bronze [bells], and [instilling] them [with] the resonance of jade [chimestones]." True "virtuosity" is everlasting because it is fully embodied from within and thus possesses great internal power, and because it ultimately lives on through its functional extension into the social and political worlds—possessing, as it were, both the resounding tonal qualities of a bronze bell and the resonant endurance and internally sustaining power of a jade chimestone, which holds its tone without decay from beginning to end.[8] Such qualities are also jade-like in both luster and resonance insofar as they cannot fail to captivate any who would observe their radiance or hear the melodious voice of virtue embodied. Above all, the truly virtuous individual is one who "assembles the great symphony" (*ji dacheng* 集大成)—another musical metaphor descriptive of one in whom all five conducts are "practiced in a timely manner" (*xing zhi er shi* 行之而時). Each of the five conducts has its own scope of application, and knowing, when conflicts of principle arise between them, which is to be applied in each situation is an art of virtuous living that can only be attained after a long process of cautious internalization. The sage, ultimately, is one in whom all five conducts, fully manifested from within, operate together in concert, in seamless and harmonious interaction.

The philosophy of the "Wu xing" thus finds close resonance with some of the more well-known and influential texts of the early Confucian tradition. If the records of the *Lunyu* are accurate, Confucius taught that the virtue of humanity (*ren*) was one to be achieved only through a long and arduous process of self-cultivation, that "The humane begin with difficulties and only afterward reap the rewards" 仁者先難而後獲 (6.20).[9] The student of the proper way must incessantly worry about remaining on the right course, but when he finally finds himself to be no longer deficient, all anxiety and apprehension dissolve: "If one examines himself within and [finds himself to be] without flaw, then over what might he be apprehensive or fearful?" 內省不疚，夫何憂何懼 (12.4).[10] The process of self-cultivation

[8] For a somewhat different but, in general terms, largely compatible interpretation, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, pp. 178–92; see also the notes to passage 11 of the translation below.

[9] From the "Yong ye" 雍也 chapter. See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 89–90; (Qing) Liu Baonan, *Lunyu zhengyi*, pp. 140–41. Note that all the chapter-passage numberings given here conform to those of the former work; where those given in Liu's work differ, I give these in brackets.

[10] From "Yan Yuan" 顏淵. See *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 133–34; *Lunyu zhengyi*, pp. 487–88.

"finds completion in music/happiness" 成於樂 (8.8): just as we find in the "Wu xing," a lifetime of self-examination ultimately leads us to a state of security, happiness, and enduring permanence in virtue, much like Confucius at age seventy, who could "follow what [his] heart desired without transgressing the proper standards" 從心所欲，不踰矩 (2.4). Such is the height of humanity; but sagacity, for the *Lunyu* as well as the "Wu xing," is defined at an even higher level, as the ability to "broadly benefit the people and give sustenance to the masses" 博施於民而能濟眾 (6.28 [6.30]).[11]

The affinities of the "Wu xing" with the *Mengzi* are more striking. We noted in the section on school affiliation in the general introduction how scholars initially tended to view the Mawangdui text and commentary as a single entity and concluded that the "Wu xing" was likely the product of later-day followers of Meng Zi, whereas the absence of the commentary in Guodian and the earlier dating of this tomb has caused consensus to shift toward the view that the main "Wu xing" text was in fact pre-Mencian and thus that the direction of influence ran the other way.[12] In either case, affinities with the *Mengzi* are unmistakable, as many of these still pertain to the "Wu xing" text proper. These include, most evidently, the shared imagery of "tones of bronze" and "resonance of jade" and of "assembling the great symphony," all of which are found in *Mengzi* 10.1 (5B.1), wherein Meng Zi describes Confucius, in contrast to prior sages each notable for their adherence to a particular virtue, as "the timely one among sages" 聖之時者 who can be said to have "assembled the great symphony" 集大成:

> 孔子之謂集大成。集大成也者，金聲而玉振之也。金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也。始條理者，智之事也；終條理者，聖之事也。智，譬則巧也；聖，譬則力也。由射於百步之外也，其至，爾力也；其中，非爾力也。[13]

[11] From "Tai Bo" 泰伯, "Wei zheng" 爲政, and "Li ren" 里仁, respectively. See *Lunyu jizhu*, pp. 104–5, 45–55, and 91–92; *Lunyu zhengyi*, pp. 298–99, 43–46, and 248–50.

[12] See, for example, Xing Wen, who, in "*Mengzi* 'Wan Zhang' yu Chujian 'Wu xing,'" pp. 240–41, argues that the relevant passages in the *Mengzi* should be seen as an attempt to concretize concepts expressed more abstractly in the "Wu xing."

[13] From "Wan Zhang, xia" 萬章下 (10.1 [5B.1]). See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 315–16; (Qing) Jiao Xun, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 672–75. Dirk Meyer has recently argued that because the two texts offer varying explanations of the same bronze bell/jade stone metaphor, it must have "originated from yet another source"; see his "Writing Meaning," pp. 80–83, or "Texts, Textual Communities, and Meaning: the *Genius Loci* of the Warring States Chǔ Tomb Guōdiàn One," pp. 848–50. Yet the metaphor would have to be explained, it seems, regardless of who first came up with it, and I see no reason to wholly preclude the possibility that it may have been established, and then elaborated upon, by the author of "Wu xing" himself—though it may indeed be the

> "Assembling the great symphony" means to "[possess] the tones of bronze and [instill] them [with] the resonance of jade." The "tones of bronze" means being orderly in the beginning; "[instilling] them [with] the resonance of jade" means being orderly to the end. Being orderly in the beginning is the business of knowledge; being orderly to the end is the business of sagacity. Knowledge may be compared to skill; sagacity may be compared to strength—as when shooting an arrow from a distance of a hundred paces: its getting there is a matter of your strength; its hitting the mark is not a matter of your strength.

The passage is further interesting because it associates the notions of "beginning" and "never ending" with, respectively, knowledge and sagacity—the two virtues most closely representing mere goodness, which in the "Wu xing" essay both "begins" and "ends," and virtuosity, which never "ends."[14] Insofar as it is fully embodied from within through a

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case that it ultimately derived from elsewhere, such as a now-lost ode (note that Meyer also suggests that the recurring terms *yuse* 玉色 and *yuyin* 玉音 were also taken from other sources). And while Meyer sees the interpretations of the "Wu xing" and *Mengzi* as in opposition or at least conflicting in some fundamental way, I tend to view them in complementary terms, as my analysis here suggests.

[14] One of the oddities of "Wu xing" is that certain pairs or trios of conducts are, seemingly, unsystematically grouped together in places in isolation from the other conducts. In particular, *zhi* and *sheng* appear as a pair in several places; Xing Wen believes, with some justification, that the entire text, as it stands in the Guodian version, revolves around an emphasis upon these dual conducts—this especially clear in its first "half," i.e., strips 1-20—and their parallel virtues of *shan* ("goodness") and (*de*) "virtuosity." See his "*Mengzi* 'Wan Zhang' yu Chujian 'Wuxing,'" pp. 229–32. Mark Csikszentmihalyi goes further, speculating that the "Wu xing" as we have it may be an "expansion of an older text that simply treated the relationship between wisdom and sagacity," thereby accounting for two of the text's "major structural elements": the "binary pairing" of "goodness" and "sagehood" and the "more complex distinctions between the four human virtues and the fifth perfect virtue of sagacity"; see his *Material Virtue*, p. 65. *Sheng* and *zhi* are also consistently distinguished in the text by the respective abilities of aural (*cong* 聰) versus visual (*ming* 明) perceptivity, the capacity to directly "hear the way of the gentlemen" 聞君子道 as opposed to the somewhat less rarified ability to "see the worthy" 見賢人. Note that the pairing of *sheng* and *zhi*—not to mention that of *ren* and *yi*, which we also find later in this text—occurs also in strip 1 of "Liu de." Regarding the text's inconsistency in its various definitions of virtues and dispositions and its use of "interlocking chains" of terms more generally, Michael Puett has recently argued that this was by a kind of conscious design, so as to highlight how each term "is relevant only insofar as it is modulated by and harmonized with each of the others"; see his "Theodicies of Discontinuity: Domesticating Energies and Dispositions in Early China," pp. 55–57. Dirk Meyer also reaches a rather similar conclusion, noting how the cross-referential structures of the text serve to formally expound the text's notion of the "paradox of self-cultivation," wherein "to realise any of the five virtues in turn depends on the accomplished cultivation of the other virtues," the way out of the paradox lying in "human awareness (*zhi* 知) of the innate faculty to bear the five virtues within." Meyer, though, sees something more of a system in the madness of the text, suggesting that the five conducts are in fact arranged in a relatively clear hierarchy, with *sheng* and *zhi* as the primary virtues, which are then followed by *yi* and *ren* (in that order), and finally *li*. See his "Writing Meaning," pp. 71–73.

lifetime of singular intent and incessant cultivation, virtuosity is that everlasting source of internal power that sees the "arrows" of conduct through to their intended marks.[15] And in the "Wu xing," too, "virtuosity" is by definition to "practice" the way of the noble man "in a timely manner" 行之而時 (strip 27), a notion of timing and harmonious balance that is no doubt inherent in the musical metaphor of the "great symphony."[16]

Commonalities between the two texts, however, run much deeper than the shared use of specific phrases. As I have discussed at greater length elsewhere, these larger affinities include at least three aspects: the arduousness of the self-cultivation process and the role of "apprehension" in the development of one's basic internal goodness; the nature of the relationships among the "five conducts" of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi*, and *sheng*; and the connection between sagacity and music in the ultimate stage of self-cultivation and the external expression of virtue in the realm of governance.[17] Regarding the first of these, Meng Zi states that "the noble man has the apprehension of an entire lifetime, but not the worry of a single morning" 君子有終身之憂，無一朝之患也, referring to the idea that the noble man does not fret (*huan* 患) about such things as where his next meal might come from or how he might seduce the girl down the street, but is rather continually apprehensive (*you* 憂) lest he begin to worry about such things and thereby fail to act in accordance with the dignity of human worthiness and the propriety of social decorum: "If it is not [in accordance with] humanity, he does not act upon it; if it is not [in accordance with] ritual, he does not practice it" 非仁無爲也，非禮無行也 (8.28 [4B.28]).[18] This lifetime of constant apprehension and painstaking self-reflection ultimately produces great rewards: "As a rule, a person must commit mistakes before he can change, be oppressed in his heart and thwarted in his

[15] Kenneth Holloway's recent book interprets this *Mengzi* passage quite differently, taking the "orderly to the end" 終條理也 to mean that there *is* an end to the cultivation of "sageness," and thus finds this to be a major point of departure between the two texts; see his *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*, pp. 72–74. Regardless of how one understands this adverbial usage of *zhong* 終, however, the *Mengzi*'s inheritance of the passage is undeniable. Holloway also stresses the absence of the term *xing* 性 in the "Wu xing" as further grounds for philosophically disassociating the two texts. I think this all runs the risk of confusing the chronological development: that notions and terms absent from the earlier of two possibly related texts would, over the course of philosophical development, eventually be brought into the later should hardly be surprising, and it is certainly no grounds for concluding that the author(s) of the later text could not have seen himself, even if only loosely, as the inheritor of a prior intellectual tradition.

[16] It is worth noting how a similar notion of the timely balance (*shi chu* 時出) of virtues is expressed in section 31 of the "Zhong yong" 中庸. See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 38.

[17] See my "Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: the 'Wu xing 五行' Essay and Its Aesthetic Implications," pp. 135–45.

[18] "Li Lou, xia" 離婁下; *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 298–99, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 595–97.

considerations before he is roused to action, and manifest [these experiences] in his appearance and express them in his tone of voice before he can make others understand him” 人恆過，然後能改；困於心，衡於慮，而後作；徵於色，發於聲，而後喻. Only then can one learn how “by living in apprehension and worry may one die in security and happiness” 生於憂患而死於安樂 (12.15 [6B.15]).[19] Just as in the “Wu xing” text, the final outcome of the series of setbacks, overcomings, and self-improvement that the noble man or would-be ruler experiences is the instruction of others through the external influence of their embodiment in his visual appearance and tone of voice—the noble man’s “luster” and “timbre” of “jade,” as it were.

In the *Mengzi*, moreover, the four virtues latent in the “four fonts” of the heart-and-mind are precisely the first four of the “five conducts”: “The heart/mind of commiseration is the font of humanity (*ren*); the heart/mind of shame is the font of propriety (*yi*); the heart/mind of yielding is the font of ritual (*li*); and the heart/mind of judgment is the font of knowledge (*zhi*)” 惻隱之心，仁之端也；羞惡之心，義之端也；辭讓之心，禮之端也；是非之心，智之端也 (3.6 [2A.6]).[20] Or again, with an emphasis on the same need to “contemplate” (*si* 思) that we see in the “Wu xing”: “Humanity, propriety, ritual, and knowledge are not fused upon us from the outside; we have them to begin with, but simply fail to contemplate them” 非由外鑠我也，我固有之也，弗思耳矣 11.6 (6A.6).[21] As in the “Wu xing,” the cultivation of these virtues or conducts is not “fused upon us” but rather stems from within, a basic impulse that must be “extended” (*tui* 推, *kuo* 擴), “fulfilled” (*chong* 充), or, in the language of “Wu xing,” “advanced” (*jin* 進):

> The noble man assembles the great symphony. Being able to advance [his conducts] is what defines a noble man. If one is unable to advance them, each will remain in its domain. (26; strip 42)

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[19] “Gao Zi, xia” 告子下. See *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 348; *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 865–73. I read this final line somewhat differently than is traditional, where it is otherwise understood in the sense that one “lives (i.e., survives) through apprehension and worry but dies through [a false sense of] security and happiness”; see (Song) Zhu Xi’s note in *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 348.

[20] “Gongsun Chou, shang” 公孫丑上; *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 237–38, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 232–36.

[21] “Gao Zi, shang 上”; *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 328–29, *Mengzi zhengyi*, p. 757. A similar delineation of these four virtues is seen in the “Sangfu sizhi” 喪服四制 chapter of the *Li ji*: “In mourning [practices], there are four forms of regulation, changing in accordance with what is appropriate, following the model of the four seasons . . . Goodwill is [a matter of] humanity, order is [a matter of] propriety, rhythms are [a matter of] ritual, and weighing is [a matter of] knowledge. [With] humanity, propriety, ritual, and knowledge, the way of mankind is complete” 喪有四制，變而從宜，取之四時也……恩者仁也，理者義也，節者禮也，權者知也。仁義禮知，人道具矣. (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1468–69.

The *Mengzi* passage mentioned most frequently in connection with "Wu xing" is no doubt the following one, which highlights not only the first four "conducts," but also points directly to the fifth, "sagacity," and its connection with the "Way of Heaven":

> 仁之於父子也，義之於君臣也，禮之於賓主也，智之於賢者也，聖人之於天道也，命也。有性焉，君子不謂命也。[22]
>
> The relationship of humanity to father and son, propriety to ruler and minister, ritual to guest and host, knowledge to the worthy, and the sage toward the way of Heaven is one of ordainment (/mandate); [but] human nature is involved therein, and [thus] the noble man does not refer to these as "ordained." (14.24 [7B.24])

The noble man, in other words, while choosing not to view our basic drives toward food and sex as wholly inevitable, recognizes, conversely, that ethical conduct is not simply a matter of externally determined moral duty or "ordinance," but rather the target of a set of undeveloped instinctual drives that lay at the heart of human nature and must be advanced and nurtured before one can acquire the intuitive and "Heavenly" moral sense that marks the sage. In the *Mengzi*, this notion of "sagacity," while not always named as such, is often described in terms similar to those of the "Wu xing":

> 君子所性，仁義禮智根於心。其生色也，睟然見於面，盎於背，施於四體，四體不言而喻。[23]
>
> What the noble man takes as his nature is the rooting of humanity, propriety, ritual, and knowledge in his mind/heart. This gives rise to a luster that is resplendent, appearing on the face, flowing over through the back, and stretching on into the four limbs, which, without speaking, are illustrative nonetheless. (13.21 [7A.21])

[22] "Jin xin, xia" 盡心下; *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 369–70, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 990–94. Pang Pu, the first to make note of the "Wu xing"'s connection with this passage, reads the *shengren* here as simply *sheng*, "sagacity"; in this he follows both (Song) Zhu Xi and (Qing) Yu Yue 俞樾. See his "Boshu 'Wuxing' pian pingshu," in *Zhubo 'Wu xing' pian jiaozhu ji yanjiu*, p. 157, and "Boshu 'Wuxing' pian yu Si-Meng wuxing shuo," p. 18.

[23] "Jin xin, shang 上"; *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 354–55, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 905–10.

This "luster" is none other than the "luster of jade" that appears at the end of the process of "contemplative" self-cultivation in the "Wu xing."

Most interesting is the fact that elsewhere Meng Zi describes such a state of "virtuosic" moral perfection as "musical":

> 仁之實，事親是也；義之實，從兄是也。智之實，知斯二者弗去是也；禮之實，節文斯二者是也；樂之實，樂斯二者，樂則生矣。生則惡可已也；惡可已，則不知足之蹈之、手之舞之。[24]
>
> The stuff of humanity lies in serving one's parents. The stuff of propriety lies in following one's elder brother. The stuff of knowledge lies in being aware of these two things and never straying from them. The stuff of ritual lies in bringing regularity and pattern to these two things. The stuff of music (*yue*) lies in finding happiness (*le*) in these two things, whereupon music arises. Once it arises, how can it be stopped? Unstoppable, before one realizes it he starts stomping and dancing it out with hands and feet. (7.27 [4A.27])

Once again, the four conducts of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are enumerated, and musical embodiment, or the attained effortlessness that marks the perfection of moral "virtuosity," represents the highest stage of cultivation. This is the state that the "Wu xing" describes as the realm of the "sagacious," of he who is "discerning of ear" (*cong* 聰), "effortless" (*qing* 輕) in contemplation, and who equally possesses both the resounding "tone of bronze" and lasting "resonance of jade"—the "assembler of the great symphony" who has fully developed all conducts within himself and radiates his exemplary virtuosity for the illustrative benefit of all.

The affinities with the *Mengzi* become even more striking if we include the Mawangdui commentary, especially with its emphasis on the role of *qi* 氣, "fluid energy," that is entirely absent from the "Wu xing" text proper.[25] The commentary may well postdate the Meng Zi, but the new consensus view that the "Wu xing" itself probably took shape between the times of Zisi and Meng Zi is to my mind undoubtedly the correct one. To be sure, there are those who would still emphasize certain parallels in the text with the thought of none other than

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[24] "Li Lou, shang 上"; *Mengzi jizhu*, p. 268, *Mengzi zhengyi*, pp. 532–34.

[25] For more on this point, see my "Consummate Artistry," pp. 144–45. For a comprehensive treatment of the notion of *qi* in the Mawangdui "Wu xing" commentary and its relationship both to the *Mengzi* and to Confucian thought more generally, see Yang Rubin, "De zhi xing yu de zhi qi," esp. pp. 279–86.

Xun Zi 荀子 and hold on to the view that the "Wu xing" postdated even that thinker;[26] Ikeda Tomohisa, for instance, speculates that the "wu xing" text or doctrine that Xun Zi criticized was merely an incomplete forerunner to the more mature work that we find at both Guodian and Mawangdui, this latter work showing unmistakable traces of his influence.[27] A more likely explanation is that it was Xun Zi who borrowed such notions from the doctrine that he was criticizing (a common ploy of his), an act that would attest only to the text's lasting influence on Warring States thought. While Ikeda stresses how the "Wu xing" is a mature and complex text, it is certainly nowhere near as lucid and well reasoned as the *Mengzi*, let alone the *Xunzi*.[28] With his consistent and unmistakable emphasis on the inherent goodness of human nature and the need to actively expand it so as to overcome all corrupting influences, Meng Zi would appear to greatly clarify a notion that is at best only incipient and vaguely expressed in the "Wu xing."

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[26] Shimamori Tetsuo 島森哲男 is often cited as the first to emphasize the text's affinities with the *Xunzi*. For more on parallels between "Wu xing" (including commentary) and the *Xunzi*, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Fivefold Virtue: Reformulating Mencian Moral Psychology in Han Dynasty China," pp. 82–84, and Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros and *Shijing* Commentary," pp. 165–67. Note that many of the parallels—such as the notions of "caution over solitude" (*shen du*), "sincerity" (*cheng*), "Heavenly virtue" (*tiande*), and the transformative influence achieved through external manifestation (*xing* 形) of inwardly developed virtue, etc.—all occur within the *Xunzi*'s "Bu gou" 不苟 chapter.

[27] Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten sokan 'Gogyō' no kenkyū," pp. 213–14, 224–26. Ikeda does concur that the text's connection with the *Mengzi* may be strongest, but believes that it is in fact the "Wu xing" that elaborates upon the *Mengzi*, not the other way around, citing the same "tones of bronze/resonance of jade" passages discussed above; see pp. 222–24 of his article (for a similar view, see also Luo Chi, "Guodian Chumu zhujian de yuan ru tezheng ji duandai wenti," p. 653). On the other hand, Ikeda sees the text's emphasis on "action," "contemplation," etc., as somehow more Xunzian in influence, and so too the type of master-servant relationship depicted between the heart-mind and bodily organs in passage 28 (in my numbering). He ultimately views the "Wu xing" text, as we have it, as a kind of compromise between a Mengzian emphasis on "nature" and a Xunzian one on "nurture," rather than, as I would see it, a text written before that sort of debate ever fully developed. Ikeda also characterizes "Wu xing" as a kind of eclectic Ruist text, with a so-called "Daoist"-influenced interpretation of *shen du* 慎獨, a "Legalist" notion of *jian* 柬 (簡), and even borrowings from the Mohist logic texts; for details, see pp. 226–28 of his article.

[28] Liang Tao draws a similar conclusion, but he also goes much further in emphasizing how the "Wu xing" may have formed a bridge between the thought of Confucius and the somewhat bifurcated philosophies of Meng Zi and Xun Zi. In Liang's view, the text places equal emphasis on both "virtue" and "goodness," on conducts that take shape internally and those that derive from the learning of external norms, and views the two as essentially equivalent to the internal/external distinction attributed to the relationship between "humanity" and "propriety" as seen in some of the other Guodian texts. Basically, Liang sees Meng Zi as inheriting the internalist side of the equation and Xun Zi the externalist one, whereas in "Wu xing" itself the two are at once interconnected and unified and yet distinguished in a way that has yet to be fully articulated. For details, see his "Jianbo 'Wu xing' xintan: jianlun 'Wu xing' zai sixiangshi zhong de diwei," esp. pp. 40 and 47–51, or his *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 222–31.

In light of all these connections, Xun Zi's attribution of the *wu xing* doctrine to a "Si-Meng" lineage would appear to have some basis in fact, as Meng Zi clearly seems to have inherited many of the central philosophical notions expressed in "Wu xing" (even if the *Mengzi* never employs the term *wu xing* itself), and the further transmission of the text in the form of commentarial elaboration would, in turn, seem to have been enriched by Meng Zi's own influence. As for the connections that the doctrine may have with Zisi, there is probably no good reason to doubt Xun Zi's authority on that matter either, but owing to the paucity of any surviving texts attributed to Zisi and the questionable nature of any such attribution itself, there is at the same time little evidence to substantially corroborate that part of Xun Zi's accusation. While the "Wu xing" also bears close affinities to certain parts of the "Zhong yong," for instance, that tells us relatively little about whether the doctrine of *wu xing* may have indeed originated with Zisi or at what point in the transmission of Zisi's teachings the text of "Wu xing" may have been written, especially given that the "Zhong yong" is itself a comparatively mature text which, even assuming that its connection with Zisi's thought is genuine, was most likely authored well after the time of Zisi himself.[29] As discussed in the general introduction, however, the circumstantial evidence presented by the Guodian corpus—wherein "Wu xing" is found together with such texts as "Ziyi" and "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi"—is certainly tantalizing, and the close connections that "Wu xing" bears with other texts in the corpus give scholars additional fodder upon which to continue to speculate just what the thought of Zisi and his lineage may have—possibly—been like.[30]

There is of course much more to the "Wu xing" than what it might share in common with the more well-known received texts, and we must take care not to overlook its unique features. Above all, these include its detailed enumeration of the various emotional and cognitive stages one goes through on one's path of cultivation for each conduct.[31] Liu Xinfang would go so far as to view the text as a kind of "complete epistemological theory," and the five conducts as five different types of cognitive abilities or five different

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[29] For examples of lines and terms from the "Zhong yong" that bear close resemblance to those from "Wu xing"—use of the term *shen du* again most obvious among them—see the notes to passages 8, 9, 20, and 22 in the translation below.

[30] For more on all this, refer to part A ("The 'School of Zisi and Meng Zi'") of the subsection "Affiliations with intellectual lineages" in section E of the general introduction.

[31] It is in part just this sort of detail that, however vague, causes Ikeda to view the text as an elaboration upon the *Mengzi*—in this case an elaboration upon the process involved in Meng Zi's notion of the "fulfillment" of one's natural moral tendencies. See his, "Kakuten sokan 'Gogyō' no kenkyū," pp. 223–24 and 229. It is equally possible, however, that Meng Zi simply abandoned a line of reasoning that never really went anywhere, choosing to concentrate instead on clarifying issues more directly at the heart of the matter.

perspectives on apprehending the external world.[32] Mark Csikszentmihalyi refers to the text’s systematization of virtuous dispositions as a kind of “descriptive psychology” of cultivation, which, along with its clear delineation of “authentic” versus “inauthentic” moral actions, he sees as driven by the Ru’s (Confucians’) need to justify their true practice as spontaneously authentic and thereby counter rivals’ charges of moral hypocrisy by “locating the origins of moral action in the mind.”[33] Whatever the motivation, the detailed enumeration of affective stages on the path to authentic virtue is certainly one of the more unique and unprecedented aspects of this text.[34] On the other hand, the concern with authenticity itself and the organic relationship between inner cultivation and outward expression is one found at the forefront of many texts in the early Confucian tradition. The “Biao ji” 表記, for example—another text traditionally associated with Zisi—puts the matter this way:

[32] Liu notes especially passage 28, on the role of the heart-mind as lord of the servant sense organs, and passage 29, on the various forms of analogical inference, as constituting a first-of-its-kind discussion of the relationship between sense perception and higher forms of reasoning in ancient China. Beyond all the obvious *Mengzi* parallels, Liu sees the author of the “Dazongshi” 大宗師 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* as the true appreciator of the “Wu xing” doctrine, and he also credits Xun Zi with appreciation of the work in spite of his criticisms, attributing his lord-servant model of the heart-organs directly to the text’s influence, an influence also reflected in the “Bai xin” 白心 chapter of the *Guanzi*. On the question of authorship, Liu reads the *Xunzi* “Fei shi’er zi” passage to imply that the ideas in the text were formulated well before Zisi, probably by Confucius himself, along with his immediate disciple Ziyou 子游, before being fashioned into an essay in the early Warring States. He suggests that Zisi probably had a hand in crafting some of the explanatory passages found within the main text itself, with the commentarial text written even later, but still no later than the time of Meng Zi. For details of these rather speculative arguments, see his “‘Wu xing’ shulüe” 《五行》述略, in Liu Xinfang, *Jianbo Wuxing jiegu*, pp. 174–86.

[33] Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, chapter two, esp. pp. 82–86. Csikszentmihalyi precedes this examination with an analysis of the major criticisms that were made against the Ru, in response to which the “Wu xing” may have in part derived. He later goes on, in chapter three, to explore the moral psychology and human physiology of the *Mengzi*, which he likewise sees as closely resembling the “Wu xing” both in terms of the “general shared concern” of the two texts with internally derived moral motivation and in their “shared use of specific phrases and of a taxonomy of the virtues” (p. 107). Csikszentmihalyi’s work is particularly rich in its investigation of the relevant excavated materials that exhibit the kinds of technical discourse on which the *Mengzi*—and, of course, the “Wu xing” commentary—may have drawn. For a more detailed summary of his book, see also my review of it in *Early China* 30, pp. 189–203.

[34] In a more recent study, Chung-ying Cheng argues that the authors’ main concern was to produce the specific criteria for the internal formation of virtues to help better account for the text’s distinction between such internally-derived virtues and those merely “good” actions that are formed externally; see his “On Internal Onto-genesis of Virtuous Actions in the *Wu Xing Pian*.”

> 是故君子恥服其服而無其容，恥有其容而無其辭，恥有其辭而無其德，恥有其德而無其行。[35]
>
> Thus the noble man is ashamed to wear the clothing without the [requisite] demeanor, or to have the demeanor without the [proper] utterance, or to have the utterance without the virtue, or to have the virtue yet fail to implement it.

Similar statements can be found in a wide array of early Confucian texts, and judging from both the recent excavations of the "Wu xing" and the comparison of that text's content with that of such received texts, the "Wu xing" undoubtedly played a central role in the propagation of these ideas, having an influence that would be felt at least well into the early Han.[36]

RELATION TO THE MAWANGDUI "WU XING"

On the whole, the Guodian "Wu xing" is in a more complete state of preservation than the Mawangdui manuscript, and in most cases lacunae in either of the texts can be filled in on the basis of the other. From the standpoint of the Guodian manuscript, moreover, perhaps the greatest advantage of having the Mawangdui version at our disposal is that we can be reasonably certain of the correct order of the strips, as the guesswork necessary to piece together many of the other Guodian texts that lack counterparts, received or otherwise, can be here dispensed with. We are able to do this because the two versions are, generally speaking, remarkably similar, save for a couple of the more significant departures we shall now discuss.

1. Absence of the Commentarial Text in Guodian

The fact that the Guodian version of the text is limited to the "canonical" (*jing* 經) portion only tends to validate the natural assumption that the two portions of the Mawangdui text represented two temporally distinct layers, as it would appear likely that the creation of the "commentarial" (*shuo* 說) portion postdated the Guodian interment altogether. We cannot,

[35] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji zhengyi*, p. 1306.

[36] This is particularly so in the case of writings attributed to Jia Yi 賈誼, who expands the "five conducts" into "six manners" (*liu shu* 六術) by taking the notion of music/happiness (*le/yue* 樂) already implicit in the harmonious interaction of the five conducts and turning it into a sixth item. For more on the work of Jia Yi in relation to the "Wu xing," see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Fivefold Virtue," and *Material Virtue*, pp. 216–32; for more on the influence of the "Wu xing" in the Han more generally, see his *Material Virtue*, chapter five.

however, assume this as fact on the basis of absence alone, and some would argue to the contrary. Ikeda, for one, believes that the commentary must have already been in existence—but simply not included in the Guodian corpus—by the argument that the text was itself too cryptic to be understood in its absence.[37] But that is a matter open to debate, and Pang Pu in fact makes the opposite case: that the "Wuxing" proper stands alone as a complete text, and not an enigmatic one standing in need of a commentarial section just to make it intelligible.[38] The truth probably lies somewhere in between, and in any event both these scholars all but ignore the role of oral instruction, from which any later, written commentaries may have derived. Pang is, however, no doubt correct in comparing the Mawangdui *shuo* to such commentaries as the "Jie Lao" 解老 and "Yu Lao" 喻老 chapters of the *Han Feizi* or the various "jie" 解 chapters of the *Guanzi*, all commentaries of separate authorship written to elucidate a chronologically earlier text, in contrast to the *shuo* commentaries to the *Mozi*'s *jing* 經 chapters or the *jing/shuo* divisions in the "Nei/wai chushuo" 內、外儲說 chapters of the *Han Feizi*, where the commentarial format is a conscious rhetorical device employed by one and the same author.[39] In any case, the growth of written commentaries is something we see only toward the end of the Warring States, and in the absence of its inclusion in any earlier manuscript, there is no compelling reason to assume that the written "Wu xing" commentary was in existence by the time of the Guodian interment.[40] Given the high probability of chronological separation for the Mawangdui commentary, not to mention its incomplete state and all the difficulties involved in its interpretation, while we should

[37] Ikeda Tomohisa, "Kakuten sokan 'Gogyō' no kenkyū," pp. 214–16.

[38] Pang Pu, "Zhu bo 'Wuxing' pian bijiao," pp. 223–25, 227; or "Boshu 'Wuxing' pian yu Si-Meng wuxing shuo," pp. 20–21. Pang even suggests that Meng Zi's followers may have written the commentary solely for the purpose of staving off some of the criticisms that Xun Zi had leveled against their lineage.

[39] Pang Pu, "Zhu bo 'Wuxing' pian bijiao," p. 224; or "Boshu 'Wuxing' pian yu Si-Meng wuxing shuo," pp. 19–20. Ikeda, interestingly, cites the same examples of the latter, "shared authorship" type as evidence for the possibility he espouses, but for some reason also includes the *Guanzi* commentaries as examples of that type; see his "Kakuten sokan 'Gogyō' no kenkyū," p. 216. Li Xueqin had previously compared the "Wu xing" text/commentary situation to that of both the aforementioned *Mozi* and *Guanzi* chapters, but has since come to view it as most closely resembling that of the "Da xue" 大學 chapter of the *Li ji*, following (Song) Zhu Xi's analysis of the structure of that text as consisting of a core text authored by Zeng Zi 曾子 (on the basis of Confucius's teachings) followed by sections of commentary authored by his disciples; see Li Xueqin, "Cong jianbo yiji 'Wu xing' tandao 'Da xue.'"

[40] Li Xueqin, however, has gone as far as to speculate that the second-generation disciple of Confucius, Shi Shuo 世碩, or perhaps Shi Shuo's disciples, may have authored the commentary. See Li Xueqin, "Xian-Qin rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian," pp. 15–16, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian zhong de *Zisizi*," p. 78, or "Cong jianbo yiji 'Wu xing' tandao 'Da xue,'" pp. 50–51; and Xing Wen, "Chujian 'Wu xing' shilun," p. 60, or "*Mengzi* 'Wan Zhang' yu Chujian 'Wuxing,'" p. 239.

certainly treat that commentary as an important source for better understanding the Guodian “Wu xing,” we must not view it necessarily as the final word on the text.

2. Differences in the Order of Passages

As for “Wu xing” text proper, the Guodian and Mawangdui manuscripts are largely identical, save for some variations in order among the middle passages, the somewhat fuller citation of *Shi jing* odes in the Mawangdui text, and a few minor graphical discrepancies and variations in wording. Specific instances of these latter differences will be pointed out in the notes to the translation. Here, let us first discuss the issue of passage order.

There are two major instances of variation in the order of passages. Scholars have tended to agree, rightly, that these discrepancies were the result of willful alteration rather than of miscopying or of misplaced strips in some earlier source copy,[41] but differ as to which of the manuscripts might represent the “original” order. The pertinent questions are similar to those we posed for “Ziyi”: Which of the orderings makes the best logical sense? And, is the more logical ordering more likely to represent the original version, or the altered one?

Specifically, in the Mawangdui version, the equivalent of Guodian passage 13 (in my numbering) follows, rather than precedes, the equivalent of Guodian passages 14-16. On the face of it, this ordering would appear to make better logical sense, reflecting the same order of conducts leading up to “virtuosity”—*ren*, *yi*, *li*, and then *de*—that we are given later in the final passage of the text. Xing Wen, for one, suggests that the Mawangdui version of the text was altered to effect this conformity.[42] The other discrepancy is that, in Mawangdui, the equivalent of Guodian passages 17-20 follows passages 21-23 rather than preceding them. Again, Xing Wen suggests that this was the result of a willful alteration, based on the fact that passages 21-23 discuss *ren*, *yi*, and *li* again, in that order, but that in thus effecting this more or less direct connection between 14-16 (plus 13) and 21-23, the originally close textual proximity between 22 and 24-25—which all discuss the parallel qualities of *jian* 柬 (簡) and

[41] See Pang Pu, “Zhu bo ‘Wuxing’ pian bijiao,” p. 223; Xing Wen, “Chujian ‘Wu xing’ shilun,” p. 58, or “*Mengzi* ‘Wan Zhang’ yu Chujian ‘Wuxing,’” p. 234; and Ding Sixin, *Guodian Chumu zhujian sixiang yanjiu*, p. 127.

[42] Ikeda makes a similar argument; see his “Kakuten sokan ‘Gogyō’ no kenkyū,” pp. 219–20. Guo Yi, on the basis of his (to my mind untenable) claim that the whole text is based on an order of *sheng*, *zhi*, *ren*, *yi*, and *li*, similarly suggests that the order of passages in the Mawangdui version here was altered, under the influence of the *Mengzi*, to effect an order in which *ren* and *yi* were more primary—to his mind, though, resulting in an inherently less logical sequence; see his “‘Wu xing’ kaolüe” in his *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, pp. 461–63.

ni 匿—was simultaneously disrupted.[43] Of course, we could always make the opposite chronological argument, of an originally coherent order (reflected faithfully in the later Mawangdui transmission) that was for various reasons altered to produce the ostensibly less logical Guodian sequence, and Pang Pu does precisely that.[44] And logical coherence is also in the eye of the beholder: Liao Mingchun, for one, believes that it is in fact the Guodian version that exhibits greater logic, arguing, for instance, that passage 13 follows thematically from 12 and that there is no rationale behind the Mawangdui connection of 23 to 17.[45] In the absence of further evidence, such observations concerning the reordering of passages will necessarily remain subjective, informed as they are by assumptions regarding both the role of thematic grouping and the chronological implications presented by disparities in logical consistency. To get a fuller picture of just what all this involves, these arguments should be

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[43] Xing Wen, "Chujian 'Wu xing' shilun," pp. 57–59, or "*Mengzi* 'Wan Zhang' yu Chujian 'Wuxing,'" pp. 233–36; see also the summary of his remarks in "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *The Guodian* Laozi, pp. 173–74. Li Cunshan supports Xing's arguments and further suggests that the Mawangdui reordering reflects the later influence of Meng Zi's epistemological framework, in which the heart-mind occupies a more central position and humanity and propriety are proffered as the cardinal virtues; see his "Cong jianben 'Wu xing' dao boshu 'Wu xing,'" esp. pp. 244–46. In a similar vein, Guo Yi also argues for willful alteration in the Mawangdui text here, once again arguing for the superior logic of the Guodian order; see his "'Wu xing' kaolüe," *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, pp. 461–62.

[44] Pang Pu, "Zhu bo 'Wuxing' pian bijiao," p. 223. Specifically, Pang believes that the Guodian version's author altered the location of passage 13 (in my own Guodian numbering) so as to place the more important virtues of knowledge and sagacity at the beginning of the sequence, thus clumsily relocating to its beginning what was originally the concluding, summarizing lines of the sequence. As touched on just above, Xing Wen also makes a similar, yet opposite argument: that in its various reorderings, the Mawangdui version unwittingly obscures the original thought of the text by disrupting its central emphasis on the sagacity/knowledge pair of virtues; see his "Chujian 'Wu xing' shilun," pp. 59–60, or "*Mengzi* 'Wan Zhang' yu Chujian 'Wuxing,'" pp. 238–39. Liang Tao, who supports Pang's position, counters Xing's claims largely on the basis of his own different understanding of the text's larger structure, wherein the first half emphasizes more the notion of internal moral development, and the latter half is ostensibly devoted to the learning of external norms; partly on this basis, Liang argues that passages 22 and 24-25, despite their terminological similarities, in fact clearly belong to different strata. See Liang Tao, "Jianbo 'Wu xing' 'jingwen' bijiao," pp. 166–68, or his *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, pp. 212–14. Ding Sixin, on the other hand, concurs with the core of Xing's observations here, but also speculates on reasons why the "sagacity/knowledge" pairing may, in part, have been deemphasized on purpose; see his *Guodian Chumu zhujian sixiang yanjiu*, pp. 129–30 (cf. Li Cunshan's article cited in the previous note). Elsewhere, Pang raises objections similar to those regarding 13-16 to the Guodian location of passages 19-20, for which see his "Zhu bo 'Wuxing' pian bijiao," pp. 222–23. Liang Tao also supports Pang's argument here, for which see his "Jianbo 'Wu xing' 'jingwen' bijiao," pp. 165–66, or *Guodian zhujian yu Si-Meng xuepai*, p. 212; for a counterargument, see Guo Yi, "'Wu xing' kaolüe," *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, p. 462.

[45] Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 45–46. See also Guo Yi's arguments as referenced in the preceding three notes.

read in tandem with similar debates on the temporal relationship between the sources represented by the Guodian/Shanghai-Museum “Ziyi” and the received version of that text.[46]

Aside from this issue of passage order, there are what might appear to be various forms of elaboration in certain lines of the Mawangdui text, though none to the extent that we see in the received version of “Ziyi” versus its Guodian counterpart. The most significant of these involve the quotation of and comments upon *Shi* odes in passages 9-10 (equivalent to Guodian strips 16-17), which, as some scholars suggest, appear to be conscious additions to the Mawangdui text.[47]

TEXTUAL NOTES

The passage numbers I assign to the text and translation follow, with a couple of exceptions, those of the passage markers found in the Guodian bamboo strips themselves, as reproduced in the *Guodian Chumu zhujian* transcription—that is, for convenience I assume that the editors were correct in their decisions of which of the markers had been intended as merely sentence markers, as it is clear that the scribes were often inconsistent in their use of black squares, some of which appear after passages, and some after every sentence within certain passages. I thus treat passage 1 as a single entity, even though there is a black square after each of the five statements pertaining to the various conducts; we should not rule out, of course, that the scribes may have intentionally designed to set each of these apart as a separate “passage” of sorts, and I reproduce the original marks themselves faithfully in the Chinese-character transcription given here. The two exceptions are as follows. First, I supply missing passage markers at the end of passages 4 and 10, where there are lacunae. Second, I separate passages 12 and 13, despite the absence of any marker at the end of 12, as context

[46] See the introduction to the “Ziyi” translation for details.

[47] See Xing Wen, “Chujian ‘Wu xing’ shilun,” p. 59, or “*Mengzi* ‘Wan Zhang’ yu Chujian ‘Wuxing,’” p. 236, and Ikeda Tomohisa, “Kakuten sokan ‘Gogyō’ no kenkyū,” pp. 216–18; cf. Liao Mingchun, “Guodian Chujian yin *Shi* lun *Shi* kao,” pp. 173, 175–76. A similar expansion also occurs in passage 4, and *Shi* quotations in the Mawangdui version of passages 4, 19, 25, and 29 are all preceded by the words “Shi yue” 詩曰, whereas those of Guodian are not. Ikeda (pp. 218–19) further argues that the additional passages/lines found in the Mawangdui text at the end of passages 2 and 30 were likewise conscious additions to that text, though it is certainly possible that these were simply inadvertent omissions in the Guodian manuscript. In contrast to most other scholars, Guo Yi suggests without substantiation that the Guodian *Shi* citations represent abbreviations from the original form of their citation in the text; see his “‘Wu xing’ kaolüe,” *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang*, p. 459. For a succinct yet thorough account of all the various instances of elaboration in the Mawangdui text, see Xu Shaohua, “Chujian yu boshu ‘Wu xing’ pian ruogan wenti tanxi,” esp. pp. 2–3.

clearly separates them, and in consideration of the fact that they are not even placed together in the Mawangdui order; I also, for contextual reasons, separate 26 and 27 as distinct passages. Note that my numbering thus differs from all previous numbering schemes that were based on the Mawangdui text, of which Ikeda's (divided into twenty-six sections, with each *shuo* section having the same number as its corresponding *jing* section) has come to be taken as something of a standard by some.[48]

In my notes to the translation, "missing" should be understood to refer to textual lacunae due to a physically missing piece of silk (for the Mawangdui text), and not to scribal omission, whereas terms such as "lacking," "omitted," or "not present" should be taken to refer to scribal omission (accidental or otherwise). Note that my convention in these notes is usually to first list the equivalent Mawangdui graph, but any renderings or readings mentioned subsequently refer, unless otherwise noted, to the Guodian graph, not to the Mawangdui form.

The translation here evolved from my initial translation of roughly the first ten passages, found in Cook, "Consummate Artistry." Translations of certain passages had also previously been rendered into English in both Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros and *Shijing* Commentary," and Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Fivefold Virtue." Csikszentmihalyi has since produced a full, annotated translation of both the Guodian and Mawangdui "Wu xing" *and* the latter's commentary, which appear as appendices two and three of his monumental work, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*. Readers are well advised to consult Csikszentmihalyi's excellent translation alongside my own, though most of the more significant points of disparity between the two will be noted below; readers might also turn to Csikszentmihalyi's work for his interpretation of the Mawangdui commentary, which is not translated here and only partially discussed in the notes. A somewhat more sparsely annotated translation of the main text may also be found in Kenneth Holloway's "'The Five Aspects of Conduct,'" or, more recently, in his *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*, in individual chapters of which he attempts a close analysis of certain passages from the text. Most recently, Dirk Meyer has also written extensively on "Wu xing," offering much in the way of a formal analysis of the text, which readers would also do well to consult.[49]

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[48] As Ikeda himself states, these sectional divisions are largely based on the earlier studies of Pang Pu: "Boshu *Wuxingpian* jiaozhu" and *Boshu Wuxingpian yanjiu*; see Ikeda Tomohisa, "'Baōtai Kanbo shutsudo Rōshi kōhon kango koissho Gogyō hen' yakuchū (ichi)," p. 158. Note that the passage divisions in both *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* and *Guodian Chumu zhujian* themselves are unnumbered.

[49] See Dirk Meyer, "Writing Meaning," pp. 66–87. As I discussed in the notes to section D of the general introduction (see the subsection entitled "A note on modes of textual transmission"), Meyer sees the "Wu xing"

as a prime example of an "argument-based" text, one in which "building blocks . . . generate a web of cross-referential links," integrating them into a "system of thought" and presenting a "homogenised picture of universally valid concepts" (p. 68). Though I would dispute somewhat Meyer's claim that such a text could stand on its own outside the interpretive context provided by its "textual community"—Meyer never even discusses the Mawangdui commentarial text in his articles—his observations on the systematizing structures of the text and their derivation from the emergence of written discourse are very much on the mark. As to why "Wu xing," as what he terms an "argument-based" text, does not display the kind of narrative logic we see in texts like the *Xunzi*, Meyer suggests, interestingly, that this was a conscious decision on the part of the author(s), attempting to mirror in compositional form the philosophical theories espoused in the text, such that different "meaningful units" communicate with each other "through subtle cross-references," formally reinforcing "the idea that the elements of self-cultivation must be in constant interplay with one another" (pp. 87–89).

“The Five Conducts”
五行
Text and Translation

1　五行[1]：𢗓（仁）[2]型（/形）[3]於內胃（謂）之悳（德）之行，不型（/形）於內胃（謂）之行。[4]■義[5]型（/形）於內胃（謂）之悳（德）之（1）行，不型（/

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[1] 五行: The opening portion of the MWD manuscript text is filled with lacunae, but space suggests that it lacked these two opening characters, which here appear to be the topic for what follows, though some, such as ZLW 99.1b and IT 00.5, regard them as a title. PP 00.6 reads 行 as *héng* (except in those instances where it is merely a “good” 行 and not a “virtuous” one) and further suggests that *wu heng* eventually turned into *wu chang* 五常 (“five constancies”) in the Han (by which time the virtue of *xin* 信, “trust,” replaced “sagacity” 聖) due to homonym avoidance of Emperor Wen’s 文帝 given name, Heng 恆. It is unclear whether PP is suggesting that 行 is in fact a loan for 恆, in which case we would have “five constancies” rather than “five conducts.”

[2] 𢗓: MWD has the standard form of 仁 throughout. WQP 00.7, LXF 00.12, and others suggest that 𢗓 is in fact the “ancient script” form of 仁 given in the *Shuowen*, there mistakenly written as 忎.

[3] 型: MWD gives 刑; both the MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ editors read 形 (here and throughout). ZFW 03.11, along with LXF 00.12, suggests reading 型, “to mould,” to exert a normative influence. The translation of “take shape” would seem capable of encompassing both the senses of 形 and 型. 形, of course, normally connotes external expression, so it would be necessary to understand 於 in the sense of “from” rather than simply “at” or “in” (cf. HJJ 90.6 and CS 00). See also the “Jun chen, xia” 君臣下 chapter of the *Guanzi*: “When a vigilant mind takes shape within, one’s demeanor and bearing move without” 戒心形於內，則容貌動於外矣; the “Mou cheng” 繆稱 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: “Loyalty and trust take shape within, and resonant movements respond without” 忠信形於內，感動應於外; and the “Yao lüe” 要略 chapter of the *Huainanzi*: “For virtue to take shape within is the great foundation of orderly rule” 德形於內，治之大本.

[4] On the relation between internal *de* 德 and external *xing* 行 as given in other early texts, see WQP 00.7. Most often quoted in this regard are lines describing the duties of the “Shi shi” 師氏 in the “Di guan” 地官 section of the *Zhou li*, which include teaching the “three virtues” 三德 and “three forms of conduct” 三行 to the “sons of state” 國子; cf. LT 02.5 (pp. 40–41). IT 99.11b would characterize the distinction here as “naturally inborn” versus “man-made” forms of conduct, and LXF 00.12 as “self-conscious” versus “unconscious” practices. I see it instead as a distinction between forms of conduct that are authentically cultivated as true virtues versus those that are merely carried out in practice. As YRB 00.5 (p. 621) points out, the idea that the virtues “take shape” within does not necessarily imply that they derive directly from human nature itself; they could equally be learned via education but subjectively embodied. GY 01.2, by contrast, takes derivation from one’s nature versus the learning of norms to be the main point of distinction. BJ 05 (pp. 117 and 168), following Roger Ames, renders 德之行 as “*formation* of character,” suggesting there may be a pun at work here between 行 and

形）於內胃（謂）之行。■豊（禮）[6]型（/形）於內胃（謂）之悳（德）之行，不型（/形）於內胃（謂）之（2）【行。■智型（/形）】[7]於內胃（謂）之悳（德）之行，不型（/形）於內胃（謂）之行。■聖型（/形）於內胃（謂）之悳（德）（3）之行，不型（/形）於內胃（謂）之｛悳（德）之｝[8]行。■

The Five Conducts:

If humanity takes shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a "conduct."

If propriety takes shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a "conduct."

If ritual takes shape from within, we call it a "conduct of virtue"; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it 【a "conduct."

形 (note, however, that the two, while somewhat close in sound, in fact belonged to different rhyme groups).

[5] 義: MWD, according to its transcription as given in MWDHMBS, introduces the five conducts in a different order, placing 知, "knowledge," second: i.e., 仁知義禮聖. Lacunae in the MWD text make its precise order somewhat uncertain, but it is at least clear that 禮 comes just before 聖. As PP 00.6 notes, the MWD text is more consistent with a number of later Warring-States texts that enumerate sets of virtues beginning with 仁知義, whereas the Guodian text is more consistent with the *Mengzi*, as in the "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 enumeration of the "four fonts" 四端 and their associated virtues as 仁義禮智. As LCS 00.5 suggests, however, the GDCJ order would appear to better reflect the overall logic of the text itself. GY 01.2 believes that neither manuscript reflects the original ordering, claiming that the conducts are normally presented in the order of 聖智仁義禮 where they appear later in the text (not in fact true if we are talking about the actual order of exposition), and suggests that the opening passage was altered by the GDCJ scribe under the influence of the relevant *Mengzi* passages. Note, however, that if 聖 had not come last here, then the contrast between "five conducts" and "four conducts" in the next passage would be difficult to account for. CCY 10 (p. 146), on the other hand, asserts that the pairing of *ren* and *zhi* is somehow a "more primary polarity" than that of *ren* and *yi*. For further speculations on possible reasons behind the ordering disparity, see also DSX 00.10, pp. 130–31.

[6] 豊: MWD writes 禮, here and throughout.

[7] These graphs are supplied on the basis of context. Throughout, MWD gives 知 where GDCJ writes 智.

[8] 悳(德)之: while there is a lacuna in the MWD text here, spacing strongly suggests that these two characters were not present in MWD at this point; given the parallel context, moreover, the two graphs would appear to be an interpolation in GDCJ, notwithstanding the somewhat higher status of sagacity 聖 at certain points in the text. PP 00.6, LXF 00.12, GY 01.2, and WB 01.5c, however, all suggest that they belong here, in the sense that sagacity must remain a "virtuous" conduct regardless of whether or not one can realize it, or, alternatively, even if it is somehow garnered externally through education; IT 99.11b argues for a similar possibility. WQP 00.7, along with GDCMZJ, favors the view that the two graphs here are in error; LT 02.5 (p. 42) also argues that they do not belong here, but were likely added by the Guodian scribe because of a perceived need to differentiate sagacity even at this point in the text. Given the absence of any qualifying adverb like 亦, reading the phrase as is here would indeed appear to be highly forced, and I thus treat the two graphs as erroneous.

If knowledge takes shape】 from within, we call it a “conduct of virtue”; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a “conduct.”

If sagacity takes shape from within, we call it a “conduct of virtue”; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a “conduct ~~of virtue~~.”

2 悳（德）之行五，[9]和胃（謂）之悳（德），四行[10]和胃（謂）之善。善，人（4）道[11]也。[12]悳（德），天道也。[13]君子亡[14]宙（中）[15]心之慐（憂）[16]則亡宙（中）心之智，亡宙（中）心之智[17]則亡宙（中）心（5）【之悅】[18]，亡宙

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[9] There is much discussion about how to best parse the first eight graphs here. MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ both punctuate after 五, whereas IT 99.11b parses after 和, and LL 99.8 favors leaving the entire phrase unpunctuated.

[10] 四行 would appear to refer to 仁, 義, 禮, and 智, given that 聖, in some respects, stands at a higher level in this text; in other instances, however, 聖 seems roughly parallel with the other conducts, particularly 智. On CsM’s (04) speculations on the reasons for this, see the introduction to this text above.

[11] 道: as RML 03.3 (p. 7) notes, the phonetic of this and the next 道 might more accurately be rendered 頁.

[12] As PP 00.6 notes, the “Sangfu sizhi” 喪服四制 chapter of the *Li ji* also refers to the same four conducts/virtues in terms of the “way of mankind”: “In mourning [practices], there are four forms of regulation . . . Goodwill is [a matter of] humanity, order is [a matter of] propriety, rhythms are [a matter of] ritual, and weighing is [a matter of] knowledge. [With] humanity, propriety, ritual, and knowledge, the way of mankind is complete” 喪有四制……恩者仁也，理者義也，節者禮也，權者知也。仁義禮知，人道具矣.

[13] WQP 91 notes a relevant passage from the “Li qi” 禮器 chapter of the *Li ji*: “The way of Heaven is the ultimate teaching; the sage is the ultimate in virtue” 天道至教，聖人至德. MWD has a passage marker after 天道也.

[14] 亡: MWD gives 毋 here, but 无 in the subsequent instances.

[15] 宙: MWD gives 中, here and below.

[16] 慐(憂): for more on this notion of “apprehension” or “concern” in this and related texts, see the introduction to this text above.

[17] These five graphs are indicated in the manuscript by the presence of repetition markers below the last five graphs of the previous phrase; the same applies to the pre-則 portions of the next three phrases. This manner of indicating the repetition of phrase-portions is used again at other points in the manuscript where such sorites occur, but in order to avoid clutter in the transcription and following the practice of GDCMZJ, I simply spell out the text as the repetition markers would imply and do not otherwise note the marks except in cases of ambiguity.

[18] Except where otherwise noted, all missing graphs are supplied by comparison with MWD. In MWD, though, 悅 is written 說 (here and throughout); the original graph here was likely just 兌 (same applies below). CW 04.7, however, would read the MWD 說 “as is,” in the sense of “explanation,” “elucidation.”

（中）心【之悅則不】安[19]，不安則不藥（樂）[20]，不藥（樂）則亡悳（德）[21]。[22]■

The conducts of virtue number five, and all five in concert (/harmony) we refer to as "virtuosity";[23] four conducts in concert (/harmony) we refer to as "goodness."[24] Goodness is the Way of mankind; virtuosity is the Way of Heaven.

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[19] 安: LXF 00.12 takes this as more or less equivalent to 定, "settled."

[20] 藥: MWD writes 樂, here and throughout. WQP 00.7 would here read 樂 as *yue*, "music(al)," rather than *le*, "happy." Given the affective state described here, the latter seems more appropriate as a translation, though I would not wish to draw a clear distinction between the two senses/readings of what is essentially the same word.

[21] See the similar chain in strips 8-9 below, as well as the related lines "不和不安，不安不樂" in "Zun deyi" strip 27. Given the recurrence of this chain in "Wu xing," MD 08 (p.77) assumes that it may reflect a quotation from some commonly known contemporaneous source. Note that a comparable chain appears also in lines found repeated in both the "Ji yi" 祭義 and *Yue ji* 樂記 chapters of the *Li ji*: "易直子諒之心生則樂，樂則安，安則久，久則天，天則神" ("When a mind of steady directness and affectionate compassion arises, one achieves happiness; with happiness comes security; with security, longevity; with longevity, the heavenly; and with the heavenly, the spirit-like").

[22] At this point, MWD repeats exactly the same sequence of forty-two characters from 君子 to the end, but this time substitutes 中心之聖 for 中心之知—an implicit pairing of knowledge and sagacity seen elsewhere in the text. The Guodian text lacks this repetition—as XW 98.10 (p. 59), PP 00.6, WQP 00.7, and LCS 00.5 all suggest, it may well have dropped out inadvertently, though this remains uncertain; IT 00.5 (pp. 218–19) believes it was consciously added to MWD in order to achieve uniformity with other parts of the text. PP 03.11 revises his earlier conclusions, arguing that everywhere else in the text where *zhi* and *sheng* are paired there is also some difference in their attributes; since the descriptions for the two in MWD here are exactly the same, the repeated lines for sagacity are no doubt erroneous, and it is only *zhi* that makes sense as the bridge necessary to lead "apprehension" to "gratification." He argues, though, that this particular *zhi* is distinct from "knowledge" as one of the five virtuous conducts, but is here rather an epistemological term more or less equivalent to the *si* 思 ("contemplation") of the next five passages, a kind of "knowledge-seeking" aimed toward resolving the sources of apprehension; GY 01.2 already draws a largely similar distinction and reaches much the same conclusion. In line with the MWD pairing here, though, note also the interesting line from the Mawangdui text "De sheng" 德聖: "Knowing the way of mankind is called 'knowledge'; knowing the way of Heaven is called 'sagacity'" 知人道曰智；知天道曰聖. CW 04.7 offers the further possibility that the additional passage in question was the length of precisely one strip (some 27 graphs after accounting for repetition marks), and that the beginning of strip 6 actually represents the end of that passage, the rest of which, along with the end of the preceding passage, has now gone missing due to a lost strip in between strips 5 and 6 of the manuscript as we now have it. This appears possible, but assumes a good deal of coincidence to have the text of strips 5 and 6 happen line up as precisely as it still does; a copyist's omission remains the more likely explanation.

[23] With the translation of "virtuosity," I attempt to capture all the nuances of "virtue," "self-attainment," and "power" that the term *de* 德 appears to connote in this text; for its adjectival form, I retain "virtuous."

[24] Playing off 善 in its related sense of "to excel [at]," HK 09 translates this as "being adept [at virtue]." The

If the noble man has no inner-heart apprehension, he will have no inner-heart knowledge; lacking inner-heart knowledge, he will have no inner-heart 【gratification】; lacking inner-heart 【gratification, he will not be】 secure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); and unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity.[25]

3 五行皆型（/形）于內而[26]時行（6）之，胃（謂）之君【子】[27]。士又（有）[28]志於君子道胃（謂）之時（志）士[29]。善弗為亡近[30]，悳（德）[31]弗（7）之[32]不成，智弗思不得。[33]思不[34]清[35]不譔（察）[36]，思不倀（長）[37]〔不得，思不輕〕[38]

translation of "excellence" might also work to better capture the potential multivalence of the term, but it runs the risk of suggesting that 善 might actually be the higher of the two states, which it is clearly not. "Goodness" should be understood in the sense of a state of consistent conformity with proper behavioral norms without necessarily having fully embodied that state as part of one's own moral being.

[25] As noted above, MWD has an additional, parallel passage on sagacity at this point: "If the noble man has no inner-heart apprehension, he will have no inner-heart sagacity; lacking inner-heart sagacity, he will have no inner-heart gratification; lacking inner-heart gratification, he will not be secure; insecure, he will not be happy; and unhappy, he will be without virtuosity."

[26] 于內而: MWD inserts 闕(厥) before 內 and lacks the 而.

[27] This graph is missing between the two portions of this broken strip.

[28] 又: MWD writes 有, here and throughout.

[29] 時士: MWD gives 之士 (之 actually via a repetition marker from the previous 之); both MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ read 志士. The term 志士 appears in the "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 chapter of the *Lunyu* (15.8): "The Master said: 'The gentleman of intent, the humane person, will not seek to live at the expense of harming humanity, but may sacrifice himself in order to achieve humanity'" 子曰：「志士仁人，無求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁」. LXF 00.12 instead reads 時士, in the sense of "fine gentleman." MWD has a passage marker after 士.

[30] 近: CW 02.12 (or 03.11) reads 忻, but in the sense of "unfold," "open up."

[31] 悳(德): MWD gives 得, which MWDHMBS reads 德.

[32] 之: MWD also has 之, but both MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ read it as 志. If we read 志 here, we must understand it as a transitive verb; WQP 00.7 takes it in the sense of "contemplate deeply in the mind." With LXF 00.12, I read as is; note that both 之, "to go to," and 志 are related through the sense of intentionality.

[33] As with the 智 of the previous passage, both GY 01.2 and PP 03.11 see 智 here not as equivalent to 智 as one of the five conducts, but rather as an epistemological knowledge-seeking that connects Heaven's way with the human way, closely related to the 思 ("contemplation") that follows it. They both see this 思, in turn, as a forerunner to the use of the term in the *Mengzi*, as in the lines "思則得之，不思則不得" ("If you contemplate it, you will obtain it; if not, you will not") from the "Gao Zi, shang" 告子上 chapter (11.15 [6A.15]).

[34] MWD accidentally omits this 不.

不型（形）[39]，不型（形）不安，不安不藥（樂），不藥（樂）（8）亡悳（德）。■

One from within whom all five conducts take shape, and who in a timely manner puts them into practice ("conducts them"), we call a "noble man." A

[35] 清 (here and throughout): MWD has 晴, which MWDHMBS reads 精. LL 99.8, IT 99.11b, and PP 00.6 also read 清 as 精 (see PP for references of possible relevance), whereas GY 01.2 assumes that 晴/精 represents a misreading of 清. Note, however, that these may all to some degree be cognate, referring to what is "pure," "refined," or "essential" in different entities. LXF 00.12 takes 清 in the sense of "clear" analysis; LMC 04.2b further supports this reading. SP 02.11 also argues for the reading of 清, citing the following lines from the "Jie bi" chapter of the *Xunzi* for support: "仁者之思也恭，聖者之思也樂。此治心之道也。凡觀物有疑，中心不定，則外物不清。吾慮不清，未可定然否也" ("The contemplation of the humane is humble; the contemplation of the sagely is happy—such is the way of ordering the mind. Whenever there is doubt in [my] observation of things and [my] inner mind is unsettled, external things will not be clear. If my considerations are unclear, I will be unable to determine what is correct and what is not"). CsM 04, reading 精, translates as "cut to the essence," in the sense of "the ability to distill or refine one's concerns" as "the basis for evaluation or action." I suspect that 清, given its close association with 仁 here, may speak more to the notion of "authenticity."

[36] 譔 (here and in strip 13 below): MWD has 察; QXG 98.5 suggests that this graph too should read 察. ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 would render 詧, a variant form of 察. CW 98.4 interprets the graph as 辯, as does DLC 00.7. LXF 99.10 and 00.12 (esp. pp. 393–94) would render 譁 and read 督; XXR 01.7 (pp. 41–45) would render 諜 and read 察. LZ 02.12 (pp. 125–27), also reading 察, sees the phonetic as deriving from 辛. HXQ 01.9 and LL 02.3 (pp. 55–57) both see the phonetic instead as most closely related to 帶 (cf. ZFW 99.10, pp. 48–49, and QXG 07.11, pp. 67–68, who affirms ZFW's interpretation); but whereas LL still reads 察, HXQ reads 諦, also in the sense of "investigate" or "examine." ZG 04.5 (p. 46), on the other hand, sees the graph as a variant form of 識, "recognize." For more on this and related graphs, see the subsection on "The Chu Script" in section C of the general introduction.

[37] 倀: MWD has 長, here and throughout. CsM 04 translates this as "circumspection," or "consideration of the long-term consequences of one's actions"; MD 08 translates it as "grow."

[38] The portion in brackets is added on the basis of MWD; see the following note.

[39] The five GDCJ characters 思不倀(長)不型(形) represent a telescoped version of two lines found in MWD, 思不長不得，思不輕不刑(形); this would appear to be accidental, and I supply the missing portion in brackets. MWDHMBS suspects 輕 should read 徑, which IT 03 and CsM 04 still follow; CsM translates this as "directness": a "directness of thought" that is "independent of outside influence." For 輕 (written 翌 in GDCJ below), however, note the "Bu gou" 不苟 chapter of the *Xunzi* (cited also in PP 00.6): "If one controls and attains it, it will be effortless; effortless, he will act with solitude; acting with solitude without cessation, he will reach his goals" 操而得之則輕，輕則獨行，獨行而不舍，則濟矣. MWDS carries the line "輕者尙矣"; some take this 尙 as a direct gloss on 輕, in the sense of either "lofty" (GY 01.2) or "extolled" (SKT 01.9), but it may simply be stating that effortlessness is the "ultimate" or "highest" form of contemplation. LMC 04.2b, however, reads 翌/輕 as 經, in the sense of "constant," and sees the MWDS 尙 in turn as standing for 常. CW 04.7 reads 輕, but takes it in the sense of "quick and decisive."

gentleman whose mind is intent upon the Way of the noble man we call a "gentleman of intent."

Without action, goodness will not be approached; without intention, virtuosity will not be achieved; without contemplation, knowledge will not be attained.

Contemplation, if not essential (/pure), will not be thorough.[40]
Contemplation, if not extensive, 〔will not be attained.
Contemplation, if not effortless〕, will not take form. If it does not take form, [one] will not be secure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); and unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity.

4 不悬（仁），思不能清。不智，思不能倀（長）。不悬（仁）不智[41]，未見君子，悳（憂）[42]心（9）不能惙惙[43]；既見君子，心不[44]能兑（悅）。[45]「亦既

[40] Note that IT 89 would take *shan* and *de* to be the implied objects in this and the next two lines: i.e., "If contemplation is not refined (*jing*), *goodness and virtue* cannot be understood (*cha*)," etc. GY 01.2, on the other hand, takes "humanity," "knowledge," and "sagacity" together as implicit objects for all three lines.

[41] 不悬(仁)不智: PP 00.6 takes this phrase (and the similar construction in strip 11) as a conditional unto itself: "if one is not humane, he will not be knowing." WQP 00.7 understands likewise, but also takes both in turn as a conditional to what follows. GY 01.2 also states at one point (p. 162) that 不智 arises here from 不仁, as does 不聖 below, and emphasizes that the virtue of 仁 plays a central, pivotal role among the five conducts. My reading of the phrase here parallels that of GDCMZJ, though I would certainly not discount the notion that "humanity" plays something of a pivotal role throughout this text. Note also that the reverse construction, 不智不悬(仁), appears in passage 13 (strip 21) below—that case most likely *is* to be read as a conditional unto itself.

[42] 悳: MWD has 憂.

[43] 不能惙惙: WQP 00.7, seeing an apprehensive heart described by an "inability" to throb as a contradiction in terms, reads 不能 instead as 不耐, seeing 惙惙 as descriptive of this state of "unbearable apprehension" (same applies to the similar phrase in strip 12).

[44] 不: IT 99.11b and 00.5 (pp. 220–22) notes that this graph is written unlike any of the other 不 in the text and sees it instead as a corruption of 必, "will necessarily"; MWD, having a lacuna at that point, does not help resolve the matter. IT also suspects that the 不 of the previous phrase is also a mistake for 必, a scribal error perpetuated again in MWD. The graphic anomaly is indeed noteworthy, and while IT's theory is possible, the graph does still roughly resemble forms of 不 found in "Yucong" 1 and 2, and 不, to my mind, makes better sense here as a reading than 必. LXF 00.12 suggests, moreover, that the calligraphy of strip 10 and of the three graphs on the fragment at the top of strip 11 appears different from that of the rest of the text; CW et al. 09.9 suggest that this may have resulted from a damaged strip that was later rewritten by another scribe. Note especially the highly stylized 子 that appears two graphs prior to this 不. FSJ 06.10 suggests that this particular form of 不 has characteristics of the Qi 齊 script; he also singles out the 心 near the end of this strip as having

見走（止）[46]，亦既訽（覯）[47]走（止），我心則（10）【兌（悅）】」，此之胃（謂）【也。[48]■[49]

If not humane, one's contemplation cannot be essential; if not knowing, one's contemplation cannot be extensive. If neither humane nor knowing, then, having yet to see the noble man, one's apprehensive heart will be unable to throb, and once having seen him, one's heart will be unable to find gratification. "Once I have seen [him], once I have encountered [him], 【gratified】 is my heart!"—this is what it refers to.

5 不】悬（仁）[50]，思不能清。不聖，思不能翌（輕）[51]。不悬（仁）不聖，（11）未見君子，惪（憂）心不能怭（忡）怭（忡）[52]；既見君子，心不能降。■

Qi characteristics, but that case is not nearly as clear. FSJ also suggests (p. 51) that the portions of the manuscript in question here may have been written by a second scribe who copied more directly from the original, non-Chu manuscript than did the first scribe.

[45] MWD precedes the following quotation with 詩曰 and also includes the preceding two lines of the ode, thus beginning the quote with: "未見君子，憂心惙惙……" MWD also has a passage marker after 說(悅). The quotation is from the ode "Cao chong" 草蟲 of the "Guo feng" 國風 section of the *Shi jing*. The ode is said to describe a maiden's thoughts on her way to be married off; it also contains the phrases, alluded to in the next passage, "憂心忡忡" and "我心則降." A similar line occurs in the ode "Chu ju" 出車 of the "Xiao ya" 小雅 section.

[46] 走 (here and below): MWD has 之; GDCMZJ also reads 之. *Mao Shi* has 止, which functions as a metric particle; LXF 00.12 reads 止 here as well.

[47] 訽: MWD has 鈎 (read 覯).

[48] As WQP 00.7 notes, the same *Shi* lines are quoted to similar effect in the "Jun dao" 君道 chapter of the *Shuoyuan*.

[49] Though strip 11 is broken at both the top and in the upper middle, placement of the fragments in context yields space for at least three graphs in between 胃 and 悬, though the context itself demands only two. Given this, it seems likely that a passage marker occurred at this point, and, with GY 01.2, I supply one on this basis. MWD is marred by lacunae here. For a formal analysis of this passage read in conjunction with the next one—the *Shi* quote bifurcating two otherwise parallel passages—see MD 08, pp. 73–76.

[50] LXF 00.12 suggests that the repetition of "humanity" at the heads of the sequences for both "knowledge" (passage 4) and "sagacity" (passage 5) is indicative of its central standing in this text. CsM 04 (p. 65), as noted in the introduction to this chapter, suggests instead that the text here likely resulted from an "expansion of an older text that simply treated the relationship between wisdom and sagacity." YRB 00.5 (p. 621) suggests that the lack of any description of "contemplation" for the conducts of "propriety" and "ritual" suggests that for the author, in contrast to Meng Zi later on, these two conducts were seen as external and not as primarily deriving

If 【not】 humane, one's contemplation cannot be essential; if not sagacious, one's contemplation cannot be effortless. If neither humane nor sagacious, then, having yet to see the noble man, one's apprehensive heart will be unable to pound, and once having seen him, one's heart will be unable to calm down.

6 悬（仁）之思也清，清（12）則諓（察）[53]，諓（察）則安，安則悤（溫）[54]，悤（溫）則兌（悅）[55]，兌（悅）則禀（戚），禀（戚）則新（親）[56]，新（親）則炁（愛）[57]，炁（愛）則玉色[58]，玉色則型（形），型（形）則悬（仁）[59]。■（13）

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from one's original endowment; GLH 03.11 makes the same point.

[51] 翌: MWD has 輕, here and throughout. See the note following "[思不輕]不型(形)" in strip 8 above.

[52] See the note on 不能惙惙 in the previous strip.

[53] 諓: see the note to this graph in strip 8 above.

[54] 悤(溫): MWD has a corrupt graph that MWDHMBS renders 溫, "warm"; the MWDS to the passage seen in strip 32 below also suggests 溫. GDCMZJ renders the graph here as 悃 (though the 心 is in fact underneath) and reads 溫; ZGY/YGH 99.1 see the graph as equivalent to 恩. LXF 00.12, however, sees the phonetic element as an abbreviation of 昷, the forerunner of 溫, and not as 因. LZ 03.12 also sees the phonetic as an early form of 昷, which he renders 囪, and thus takes the graph 悤 as equivalent to 慍, here read 溫. As WQP 00.7 notes, 恩 and 溫 are more or less homophonous. CW 02.12 would render 忄+函, with the sense of "inclusive," or perhaps as a phonetic loan for 溫.

[55] MWD is missing the equivalent of at least seven, but more likely as many as ten, characters at this point (counting repetition marks as characters); the corresponding portion of the Guodian text is the equivalent of ten characters. For more on 悅 and some of the other terms encountered in this passage, see the definitions provided in passage 21 below.

[56] 禀(戚) and 新(親): on how the text itself would define these terms, see strips 32-33 in passage 21 below. For 禀, MWD has 戚, here and throughout; cf. the note to this graph in strip 1 of "Liu de." For 新, MWD has 親, here and throughout; the borrowing of 新 for 親 is common in the Guodian texts.

[57] 炁(愛): MWD has 【不】憂 instead of 愛 (the missing 不 supplied by inference).

[58] 玉色: MWD mistakenly writes 王色, here and throughout its *jing* section (though XSH 00.11 [p. 2] suggests that this, along with 王言 for 玉音 below, is due to graphic interchangeability rather than an error per se). The term *yuse* appears in the "Yu zao" 玉藻 chapter of the *Li ji*: "山立，時行，盛氣顛實揚休，玉色" ("standing firm and mountain-like, and well timed in movement, his abundant *qi* fully permeating and manifesting its beauty, [he has] the luster of jade"). The "Pin yi" 聘義 chapter of the *Li ji* has a similar passage, wherein Confucius relates the virtues of the noble man to jade ("夫昔者君子比德於玉焉......"). The term *yuse* refers here to visual bearing, to the radiant exterior of the noble man that follows as a matter of course upon the in-depth practice of a certain sort of inner cultivation. See also the *Shang shu dazhuan* and the *Han Shi waizhuan*, chapter 1, which both read: "在內者皆玉色，在外者皆金聲" ("All within has [/have] the luster of jade; all

Humanity's contemplation is essential (/pure): essential, it will be thorough; thorough, [one] will be secure; secure, he will be kind (/warm); kind, he will be gratifying; gratifying, he will be affectionate; affectionate, he will be devoted; devoted, he will be loving; loving, he will have the luster of jade; with the luster of jade, he will have [external] form; and with [external] form, he will have humanity.

7　智之思也倀（長），倀（長）則得，得則不亡（忘）[60]，不亡（忘）則明，明則見臤（賢）人[61]，見臤（賢）人則玉色，玉色則型（形），型（形）（14）則智。[62]■

Knowledge's contemplation is extensive: extensive, it will attain; attained, [one] will not forget; not forgetting, he will be perspicacious; perspicacious, he will see the worthy man; seeing the worthy man, he will have the luster of jade; with the luster of jade, he will have [external] form; and with [external] form, he will have knowledge.

8　聖之思也⿱羽巠（輕）[63]，⿱羽巠（輕）則型（/形），型（/形）則不亡（忘）[64]，不亡（忘）則⿰耳兌（聰）[65]，⿰耳兌（聰）則⿱昏耳（聞）[66]君子道，⿱昏耳（聞）君子道則玉音[67]，玉音則型（形），型（形）（15）則聖。[68]■

without has [/have] the tones of bronze").

[59] LXF 00.12 describes this journey from *ren* back to *ren* in the dialectical terms of subjective "humanity" embracing the humanity of others within itself to form a higher type of humanity. The same would pertain to *zhi* and *sheng* below. Cf. LT 02.5, p. 45.

[60] 亡: MWD has 忘. LXF 00.12 reads 盲, "be blind."

[61] 見臤(賢)人: LXF 00.12 and GY 01.2 both understand this in the sense of the ability to recognize talent, whereas I see it more in the sense of the ability to recognize worthiness in both one's self and others; cf. LT 02.5 (p. 43), who holds a similar view.

[62] MWD has a passage marker after 知(智) (like GDCJ), but lacks one after the corresponding 仁 above.

[63] The MWD commentarial section (MWDS) begins its commentary at this point. It describes this "contemplation" as the "contemplation of Heaven" (思天) and "effortless" (輕) as "utmost," "lofty," or "uplifting" (尙). Given that the commentarial section is not in GDCJ and may very well postdate it, not to mention the fact that it is rendered unintelligible by lacunae in many places, I will refrain from quoting it below except where either I depart significantly from it or it yields important insights on what would otherwise remain obscure. WQP 00.7 notes that 輕 is phonetically quite close to 聲(/聖); LXF 00.12 explains 輕 in terms of the

Sagacity’s contemplation is effortless: effortless, it will take form; taking form, [one] will not forget; not forgetting, he will be discerning of ear; discerning of ear, he will hear the way of the noble man; having heard the way of the noble man, he will have the timbre of jade; with the timbre of jade, he will have [external] form; and with [external] form, he will have sagacity.

“lightness” through which “jade tones” can travel across the air to achieve sympathetic resonance.

[64] 亡: MWD has 忘. LXF 00.12 again reads 盲, but here in a sense like 聾, “deaf.”

[65] 聣(聰) (here and throughout): MWD has 悤, which MWDHMBS reads 聰. GDCMZJ renders the graph directly as 聰. HLY 99.12 would render 聣, noting that the phonetic element is actually 凶, not 囪, but that the two interloan.

[66] 昚: MWD has 聞, here and throughout. GDCMZJ notes that the graph here corresponds to the “ancient script” form of 聞; FSJ 06.10 suggests it has characteristics of the Qi 齊 script.

[67] 玉音: MWD mistakenly has the graphically similar 王言, here and throughout its *jing* section. The terms *yuyin* and *yuse* also appear in the *Shang shu dazhuan*: “……諸侯皆莫不磬折玉音金聲玉色.” The “Yu zao” chapter of the *Li ji*, though it has 玉聲 rather than 玉音, may give us some clues as to how to understand the former term: “將適公所，宿齊戒，居外寢，沐浴，史進象笏，書思對命；既服，習容觀玉聲，乃出，揖私朝，煇如也，登車則有光矣” (“When [a minister] is to embark for his lord’s abode, he fasts and abstains overnight, rests in the outer chamber, and washes and bathes himself. His scribe hands him up the ivory tablet, upon which he writes his thoughts and responses to [the lord’s] commands. Once clothed, he practices his observable bearing and his jade sounds, and only then goes forth. As he folds his hands to the [servants of] his own court, he is radiant; but as he ascends the carriage, he has [an even greater] brilliance”). According to Eastern-Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, “jade sounds” refers to the sounds made by the jade pendants (*yupei* 玉佩) worn by ministers, as described later in the “Yu zao” chapter: “古之君子必佩玉，右徵角，左宮羽。......然後玉鏘鳴也。故君子在車，則聞鸞和之聲，行則鳴佩玉，是以非辟之心，無自入也” (“The noble man of old invariably wore pendants of jade: *zhi* (sol) and *jue* (mi) on the right, *gong* (do) and *yu* (la) on the left. . . . [When he performed his various movements according to proper ritual], the jades would ring forth with sonorous sounds. Thus the noble man, while in his carriage, hears the sounds of the *luan* and *he* jingle-bells; and while walking, his pendants of jade ring forth. Because of this, a mind of depravity has no way to enter into him”). The term thus refers to the audible bearing of the noble man, a reflection and reinforcement of his inner virtue—though in the “Wu xing,” it likely refers more prominently to his spoken manner.

[68] MWD also has a passage marker after 聖. WQP 00.7 notes a relevant passage in the Mawangdui text “De sheng” 德聖: “知天道曰聖。聖者，聲也” (“Knowing the way of Heaven is called ‘sagacity.’ ‘Sagacity’ is [a matter of] ‘sounding’ ”). Note that 聖 and 聲 are in fact cognate terms and are represented by the same graph in the Chu script of the Guodian manuscripts. The relationship between 聰明 and 聖智 is also implied in the “Zhong yong” chapter of the *Li ji*: “苟不固聰明聖知達天德者，其孰能知之?” (“Other than those who are inherently discerning and perspicacious, sagacious and knowing and have attained to heavenly virtue, who could know it?”). Cf. WB 01.5c (pp. 53–54), who argues that 聰 is a more “fundamental” attribute than 明, representing a true understanding of Heaven’s way as opposed to mere knowledge of the human way. For a formal analysis of the parallel “Wu xing” passages 6-8, see MD 08, pp. 77–79.

9 「嫢（淑）人[69]君子，其義（儀）翟（一）也[70]」。能為翟（一）[71]，肰（然）句（後）能為君子[72]。訢（慎）[73]其蜀（獨）[74]也。■（16）

[69] The quotation here is from the ode "Shijiu" 鳲鳩 of the "Guo feng" section of the *Shi jing*; MWD begins the quotation two lines earlier in the ode: 「尸(鳲)叴(鳩)在桑，其子七氏(兮)……」 ("The cuckoo is in the mulberry tree, seven are its chicks . . ."). The cuckoo was a bird celebrated for distributing food equally to each one of its chicks, its evening feedings given in reverse order from those of the morning. For 嫢人, *Mao Shi* and MWD read 淑人. A similar use of this ode occurs in the "Fan zhi" 反質 chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, which quotes a "commentary" to the ode stressing the virtues of "singularity" 一 and "sincerity" 誠: "詩云：「尸鳩在桑，其子七兮；淑人君子，其儀一兮。」 傳曰：「尸鳩之所以養七子者，一心也；君子所以理萬物者，一儀也。以一儀理物，天心也；五者不離，合而為一，謂之天心」" (". . . A commentary states: 'It is with a single heart that the cuckoo raises its seven chicks, and it is with a single manner that the noble man orders the myriad things. To order the myriad things with a single manner is the heart-mind of Heaven. When "the five" are not separated but rather united as one, we call this the 'heart-mind of Heaven' . . .'"). For more on this see RJ 97 (pp. 162–63) and my (CS) 00 (p. 125 n. 28). As PP 00.6 and WQP 00.7 (p. 68) both note, the "Wei Mang ci mu" 魏芒慈母 chapter of the *Lienü zhuan* also quotes the ode to similar effect; the same "Shijiu" lines are also cited in the "Quan xue" 勸學 chapter of the *Xunzi*. WQP notes a further line of possible relevance cited in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 as coming from the *Zisizi*: "百心不可得一人，一心可得百人" ("A hundred minds cannot gain the allegiance of a single person, but a singular mind can gain the allegiance of a hundred"); a closely similar line also appears within the *Lienü zhuan* quote. CsM 04 takes 淑人 and 君子 to refer to two separate types: the "polite man" subordinate and "Gentleman" ruler, with the "unification" (*yi* 一) being vis-à-vis one another.

[70] 其義翟也: *Mao Shi* reads 其儀一兮; MWD has 其宜一氏. HLY 99.12 notes that 羽, the phonetic in 翟, has essentially the same archaic pronunciation as 壺, which in turn appears as the phonetic in early forms of 壹(一). For a further discussion of 翟 read as 壹/一, see YSX 00.5 (pp. 104–5) and WZP 08.9. LTH 00.5 suggests that the upper phonetic element may actually be 彗, not 羽.

[71] The MWD commentary explains "能為一" as "making many out of one" 以多為一, or making the five conducts "into one"—an idea expressed in strip 4 above as the five conducts working "in concert" (*he* 和); cf. IT 00.5, pp. 214–15. As PP 00.6 and WQP 00.7 note, the MWD "De sheng" text (line 451) expresses a similar idea: "五行刑(形)，德心起；和謂之德，其要胃(謂)之一" ("The five conducts take form and the heart-mind of virtue arises; in concert we call them 'virtue,' in their essence we call them 'one'"). See also the *Shuoyuan* quotation cited two notes previous. LH 01.9 would equate this 翟(一) with the 道 mentioned in the "Zhong yong"'s description of 慎獨.

[72] MWD repeats 君子 at the beginning of the next phrase; GDCMZJ suggests that a repetition mark may have inadvertently dropped off here.

[73] 訢: MWD has 慎, here and throughout. This is a variant of the graph 訢, read 慎 throughout the Guodian texts; see the note to it in "Laozi C," strip 12, as well as the note on 誓 in "Laozi A," strip 11. WQP 00.7 reads it here as 順, to "accord with" (see next note); LMC 00.6 reads similarly.

[74] 蜀: MWD has 獨, here and throughout. The term *shen du*, of course, appears prominently in such texts as the *Xunzi* and the "Zhong yong" 中庸, "Da xue" 大學, and "Li qi" 禮器 chapters of the *Li ji*. The "Zhong yong," for example, reads: "道也者，不可須臾離也。可離非道也。是故君子戒慎乎其所不睹，恐懼乎其所不聞。 莫見乎隱，莫顯乎微，故君子慎其獨也" ("The Way is something that cannot be left for an instant; if it could be left, it would not be the Way. Thus the noble man cautiously guards against what he does not see and

"The well-refined noble man, singular is his manner." Only when you can achieve singularity can you be a noble man—[the noble man] is cautious over his solitude.

10 「【瞻望弗及[75]，】深（泣）涕女（如）雨[76]」。能「遲（差）沱（池）其羿（羽）」[77]，肰（然）句（後）能至哀。君子訫（慎）[78]其（17）【獨也■。[79]

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stands in fear of what he does not hear. Nothing is more revealing than the hidden and nothing is more manifest than the nascent; thus the noble man is cautious over his solitude"). The "Da xue" reads "所謂誠其意者，毋自欺也。如惡惡臭，如好好色，此之謂自謙。故君子必慎其獨也。小人閒居爲不善，無所不至，見君子而后厭然，揜其不善而著其善。人之視己，如見其肺肝然，則何益矣？此謂誠於中，形於外。故君子必慎其獨也" ("What is meant by 'making sincere one's intent' is to not cheat yourself, just like detesting odors that are nasty or relishing appearances that are pleasant—this is what is meant by being 'self-content.' Thus the noble man must be cautious over his solitude! There is nothing that the petty man, in his moments of repose away from others, will not stoop to doing. Only when he sees a noble man does he stealthily conceal his badness and manifest his goodness. When others look upon you, it is as if they see right through to your lungs and liver, so to what advantage is it [to attempt to conceal]?! This is called 'being sincere within, and manifesting it externally.' Thus the noble man must be cautious over his solitude!"). The term seems to stress in particular internal sentiments in relation to their external manifestation. This accords well with the "Wu xing" text in general; here, however, emphasis appears to be on the singular integration of the five conducts, thus "solitude" or "singularity" in this sense as well. The MWDS explains 慎其獨 as "舍夫五而慎其心"; WQP 00.7 takes the 舍 here in the sense of "placing" the five conducts rather than "setting [them] aside," and notes that 蜀(獨), commonly glossed as both 一 ("singular") and 大 ("major"), may thus refer here specifically to the heart-mind, which the noble man "accords with" (慎[順]) as the main center of the human body. The MWDS also glosses 獨 as 舍體, or, in one reading, "setting the body aside," which appears to emphasize the idea of virtues arising from the "innermost heart-mind" over mere outward bodily conformance, as well as, perhaps, the notion of extending virtuous conduct beyond the confines of one's own self. GY 01.2 gives a somewhat different reading of 慎獨, taking it along the lines of being cautious over or reverent toward one's "unique appreciation" of the five conducts or the Way.

[75] The top portion of this strip is broken off; the four graphs 瞻望弗及 are supplied on the basis of both the *Mao Shi* and MWD. MWD begins this quotation four lines earlier in the ode: 「【嬰(燕)】嬰(燕)于蜚(飛)，跮(差)池其羽，之子于歸，袁(遠)送于野 . . .」 ("Swallows taking flight, ragged are their feathers; this child going back to her [new/old] home, [I] escort her far into the wilds"); as GDCMZJ notes, the partial repetition of this portion in the lines that follow the quote seems to suggest that the Guodian quote should also contain these lines, or at the very least assumes the reader's (/student's) knowledge of them. The quotation is from the ode "Yan yan" 燕燕 of the "Guo feng" section of the *Shi jing*; there have been many different theories as to just who the maiden being escorted is, for which see LMC 00.6 (pp. 178–79).

[76] 深涕女雨: *Mao Shi* has 泣涕如雨; MWD has 汲沸如雨. GDCMZJ renders the first graph here as 淇; QXG 98.5 sees it instead as a corruption of 深 (which can read 泣, "cry"); LL 99.8 directly gives 泣; LXF 00.12 renders 湒 and reads either 洒, "shed," or perhaps 泣.

[77]遲沱其羿: MWD has 跮池其羽, which in the *Mao Shi* is written 差池其羽; (Han) Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 takes 差池 in the sense of "spread out" [its feathers]. GDCMZJ renders the first graph here as 遲. HDK/XZG 98.12

"【[My] gaze into the distance no longer reaches her;】 [my] tears stream down like rain." Only when one can "wear his feathers ragged" can he fully express his sorrow—the noble man is cautious over his 【solitude.

11 君】子之為善也，又（有）與司（始）[80]，又（有）與冬（終）[81]也。君子之為悳（德）也，（18）【有與始，無與】終也[82]。金聖（聲），而玉晨（振）之[83]，又（有）悳（德）者[84]也。■

render it instead as 邍, a graph that in the Baoshan manuscripts is equivalent to 沙, here read 差. HLY 99.12 renders similarly, noting that in the Chu Silk Manuscript 楚帛書 the graph is read 徙, which can also loan for 差. LXF 00.12 renders as given, but also notes the same Baoshan graphs and equivalency with 徙; he would also render 沱 directly as 池. WQP 00.7 notes that 屈 itself (minus the 辶) means "short" or "tailless," and that 沱 may be a loan for 鬌, or "shed off," which would combine to have the sense of the shedding off of feathers. LMC 00.6 (and again in 04.2b) reads the pair as 摧跎, with related variants of 蹉跎, 摧頽, etc., in the sense of "ruffled up" or "broken." The "wearing" of "feathers ragged," as with the swallows in the ode, appears to be an expression of singular sincerity or true sorrow; the MWDS explains the association of this ode with mourning in the sense that one in true grief cares not for the external appearance of his mourning garments, as true grief stems from within.

[78] This is a further variant of the graph 新, read 慎; see the note to 愼 in strip 16 above.

[79] MWD has a passage marker after 獨也; it also appears likely, as GDCMZJ conjectures, that a passage mark was included in the missing portion of the Guodian text here.

[80] 又(有)與司(始): MWD has 始 for 司, here and below, and also has 也 following it. PP 00.6 takes 與 in the sense of "take as a basis." According to the MWDS, the implied object here is body 體, thus: "(The noble man doing good) has his beginnings with [his body/self] and has his ends with [his body/self]. . . ." Among other things, this may imply that part of the "endlessness" of *de* lies in its extension outward upon society, beyond the self; as the commentary defines it, "endlessness" involves "abandoning the body and going solely with the mind" 舍(捨)其體而獨其心 (cf. the note to 獨 just above). As IT 89 notes, the "Quan xue" 勸學 chapter of the *Xunzi* provides a similar distinction between the ending and non-ending in reference to learning: "故學數有終，若其義則不可須臾舍也" ("Thus there is an end in the sequence of learning, but as for its significance, it can never be abandoned for an instant"); cf. CsM 04 (p. 80).

[81] 冬: MWD has 終, here and below.

[82] The missing graphs from the broken top portion of this strip are supplied on the basis of MWD; CW et al. 09.9 would supply the "訂亡" of fragment #21 for the "始，無" here, which is certainly quite plausible, even though the graph for 始 is written with the 口 rather than 言 radical (i.e., 司) in the line just above. On the possible meanings of 無與終, see the previous note.

[83] 金聲(聖)而玉晨之: for 金聖 and 玉晨, MWD has 金聲 and 玉振, here and throughout. The same phrase appears in the "Wang Zhang, xia" 萬章下 chapter of the *Mengzi* (10.1 [5B.1]): "孔子，聖之時者也。孔子之謂集大成。集大成也者，金聲而玉振之也。金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也。始條理者，智之事也；終條理者，聖之事也" ("Confucius was the timely one among sages. Confucius may be said to have 'assembled the great symphony.' 'Assembling the great symphony' means to '[possess] the tones of

The noble】 man, in carrying out goodness, has that with which he begins, and has that with which he ends.

The noble man, in carrying out virtuosity, 【has that with which he begins, [but] has *not* that with which he】 ends.

[He who possesses] the tones of bronze [bells], and [instills] them [with] the resonance of jade [chimestones], is one with virtuosity.

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bronze and [instill] them [with] the resonance of jade.' The 'tones of bronze' means being orderly in the beginning; '[instilling] them [with] the resonance of jade' means being orderly to the end. Being orderly in the beginning is the business of knowledge; being orderly to the end is the business of sagacity"). 振 is sometimes glossed 收, "to receive, take in," or "conclude," which is the interpretation that (Song) Zhu Xi 朱熹 follows: the commencing and concluding of "orderly [musical] patterns" as referring to the supposed practice of beginning a musical performance with the sounding of the bronze *bo* 鎛 bell and concluding it with the striking of a solitary chimestone. My reading (CS 00) of "resonance" here, however, follows the interpretation of (Song) Cheng Dachang 程大昌, who, citing the *Guanzi* as authority, notes that the tone of jade, unlike that of bronze bells, does not soon decay but rather resounds from beginning to end. His reference is to the "Shui di" 水地 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "夫玉之所貴者，九德出焉 . . . 叩之，其音清搏徹遠，純而不殺，辭也" ("The reason jade is valued so is because nine virtues come forth from it . . . when struck, its tone is clear, resounding, penetrating, and far-reaching; it is pure and does not decay—this is [the virtue of its] speech"), which again suggests the resonance of the noble man's words and a lasting influence that extends well beyond the self. A similar passage appears in the "Fa xing" 法行 chapter of the *Xunzi*: "夫玉者，君子比德焉 . . . 扣之，其聲清揚而遠聞，其止輟然，辭也" ("For jade is something to which the noble man compares himself in virtue . . . strike it, and its sound is clear, lofty, and heard far off; when ended, it comes to a full stop—such is its speech"). Thus the virtue of the noble man would appear to be one that both resounds sonorously like bronze bells yet also carries far and resonates lastingly like jade chimestones—a symphonic combination of virtues. See also the comments in (Song) Chen Yang's 陳暘 *Yue shu* 樂書, *juan* 94, quoted in WQP 00.7. LXF 00.12 interprets somewhat differently, taking the "resonance" in the sense of the sympathetic vibration produced in the sagacious ruler upon hearing the "bronze tones" of worthy men. CsM 04 (pp. 178-87) interprets similarly, but turns this on its head, so that the "influence of one instrument (the jade stone) upon another (the metal bell)" more directly describes the transformative effect of a ruler's virtue upon his subjects. GY 01.2, on the strength of the *Shang shu dazhuan* lines "在內者皆玉色，在外者皆金聲" (cited in the note to 玉色 in strip 13 above), sees the "jade timbre–bronze tones" relationship as one of internal versus external, such that for the virtuous sage all conduct derives from within and never takes external embodiment as an end. GLH 99.4 (pp. 525–30), on the other hand, sees both the "tones of bronze" and "timbre of jade" as describing the role of music in the promulgation of ritual, but with the latter having a further special role in direct communication with Heaven and the spirits.

[84] 者: FSJ 06.10 suggests that the form of this graph here and as it is written throughout most of "Wu xing" appears to have characteristics of the Qi script.

12 金聖（聲），善也；玉音，聖也。善，人（19）道也；悳（德），而〈天〉【道也】。[85]唯又（有）悳（德）者，肰（然）句（後）能金聖（聲）而玉晨（振）之。[86]

The tones of bronze are goodness; the timbre of jade is sagacity. Goodness is the way of mankind; virtuosity is the way of Heaven. Only one with virtuosity can [possess] the tones of bronze and [instill] them [with] the resonance of jade.

13[87] 不聦（聰）不明，不聖不（20）智[88]。不智不息（仁）[89]，不息（仁）不安，不安不樂[90]，不樂亡悳（德）。[91]■

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[85] This strip is broken off in the middle, thus the two supplied characters; note also that only the bottom portion of the following 唯 remains. These lines should be read against the beginning of passage 2 above.

[86] GDCJ lacks a passage mark here, though context seems to demand one; MWD, moreover, picks up from this with a different set of passages than does GDCJ (see next note). Note also that MWD mistakenly has an extra 之 here.

[87] In MWD, this (there seven-part) sequence, from 不聽不明 to 不樂亡德, does not come until after the next three parallel sequences (passages 14-16) leading to 仁, 義, and 禮—which, from the standpoint of the order of the virtues, might appear to make better logical sense; see XW 98.10 (p. 58) or 99.1b (p. 234).

[88] MWD is missing the portion containing the first several characters here, but space and a remaining repetition sign suggest that the text read "不聽不明，不明不聖" ("if not discerning, one will not be perspicacious; not perspicacious, one will not be sagacious"); as QXG 98.5 notes, the GDCJ text may have mistakenly omitted two pairs of repetition marks (cf. XSH 00.11, p. 5). However, given the close association of 聽 with 聖 and 明 with 智 (cf. passages 17-18 below), the first two phrases here may well have been parallel statements rather than the beginning of one continuous chain sequence, thus: "if not discerning, one will not be perspicacious; if not sagacious, one will not be knowing"; GY 01.2 interprets along these lines. I here choose a third option of reading the first phrase as a whole as the condition for the second—despite the fact that subsequent phrases of the same structure cannot be so read—given that these conditions are in line with those of passages 7 and 8 and that this makes more sense than reading 聽 as a condition for 明. The MWDS also seems to read it this way: "不聽明則不聖智." See also the reading of 不仁不智 in passage 4 (strip 9) above. IT 99.11b and LXF 00.12 both read similarly, but IT suggests that a repetition mark has dropped off after 聖, thus reading the subsequent line as: "not〔sagacious or〕knowing, one will not be humane."

[89] 不智不息(仁): LH 01.9 notes the following relevant lines from the "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 chapter of the *Mengzi*: "莫之禦而不仁，是不智也" ("To fail to be humane, even though no one prevents you from it, is to be unknowing"). MWDS explains the phrase here in terms of: "If one does not know what to love, what love can there be?" 不知所愛則何愛.

[90] 樂: the MWDS explains this as 流體, or "flowing throughout the body."

[91] Refer back to the wording at the end of passage 2. MWD also has a passage marker at this point, followed, in its sequence, by the passage beginning with 顏色容貌, which in GDCJ does not come until strip 32 (passage 21).

If not discerning [of ear] or perspicacious [of sight], one will not be sagacious or knowing. Not knowing, one will not be humane; not humane, he will be insecure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity.

14[92] 不㝴（弁〔勉〕）[93]不兌（悅），不兌（悅）不㦖（戚），不㦖（戚）不新（親），不新（親）不㤅（愛），不㤅（愛）不𢚩（仁）。■

If one is not encouraging, he will not be gratifying; not gratifying, he will not be affectionate; not affectionate, he will not be devoted; not devoted, he will not be loving; not loving, he will not be humane.

15[94] 不悳（直）[95]不𨒥（肆）[96]，不𨒥（肆）不果，不果（21）不柬（簡）[97]，不柬（簡）不行，不行不義。■

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[92] Passage 21 provides further definitions for the terms encountered in this passage. This passage can in some ways also be seen as a negative restatement of passage 6.

[93] 㝴(弁): MWD has 㝸, but MWDS quotes this as 𢿢, and glosses it in turn as 勉, with the sense, perhaps, of to "exert efforts" or "encourage" (see also the note to 悥㝴 in strip 32 below). As WQP 00.7 notes, this is a sound gloss, and any of these could be read directly as 勉; he also notes a relevant phrase from the "Biao ji" 表記 chapter of the *Li ji*: "勉於仁者，不亦難乎! ("To exert oneself to humanity, is it not indeed difficult!"). On the close relationship between 覍 and 弁, see Gao Heng, *Guzi tongjia huidian*, p. 155. CW 02.12 notes how a number of graphs in both the 弁 and 般 phonetic series carry the sense of "joyous," "pleased." PP 00.6 reads 𢿢 in the sense of "longing"; IT 99.11b reads 變/戀, in a similar sense; and LXF 00.12 takes 變 in a sense similar to what CsM 04 renders as "feeling affection." DSX 00.10 (pp. 131–32) reads 變, in the sense of a musical "change" or "movement," relating this to the end of passage 12 above.

[94] Passage 22 provides further definitions for the terms encountered in this passage.

[95] 悳: MWD is missing this graph, but MWDS quotes as it 直, not 德; 直 also makes much better sense as a reading in this context.

[96] 𨒥: ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 逑. MWD is missing this graph, but MWDS quotes it as 泄, which MWDHMBS suspects should read 肆, based on the fact that the Mawangdui *Laozi A* has 直而不紲 where the received versions have 直而不肆. LL 99.8 follows this reading for the GDCJ graph, as does GY 01.2; SP 01 (pp. 302–9) further supports the reading of 肆, citing a number of early uses to show how the term, which we can understand in the sense of "let loose," "unleash," just as often had positive connotations as negative ones. MPS 02.11 also supports the reading of 肆, taking it in the sense of "extend" 伸, or "see through to the end." This is in line with the MWDS explanation of 泄 as "taking it to the end" (終之), as well as with the gloss of 𨒥 as 迉 (遂), "follow through," provided in strip 34 below. MWDS further illustrates the lack of 泄 in terms of accepting things from a fierce warrior like Meng Ben 孟賁 that one would never take from a common man. IT 99.11b takes 泄 in the sense of "comfortable" or "carefree," CsM 04 in the sense of "resistant." LXF 00.12 reads 跇, in the sense of "breaking through," "rushing forth." WQP 00.7 reads 紲, to "tie up," with an extended

If one is not direct, he will not be unreserved; not unreserved, he will not be resolute; not resolute, he will lack straightforward determination; without straightforward determination, he will not take action; not taking action, he will not be [in accord with] propriety.

16[98] 不賰（遠）[99]不敬，不敬不嚴，不嚴不隮（尊）[100]，不隮（尊）不共（恭）[101]，不共（恭）亡豊（禮）。■

If one maintains no distance, he will hold no reverence; holding no reverence, he will hold no awe; holding no awe, he will hold no honor; holding no honor, he will hold no humility; holding no humility, he will have no [accordance with] ritual.

17[102] 未尚（嘗）[103]（22）沓（聞）君子道，胃（謂）之不聣（聰）。[104]未尚（嘗）見臤（賢）[105]人，胃（謂）之不明。沓（聞）君子道而不智（知）

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sense similar to 終, "conclude." LMC 04.2b sees the phonetic of the graph as 彖 and reads it as such, taking it as equivalent to 斷, "decisive." SJZ 11.12 (pp. 47–56) supports the reading of 肆, but proposes three different possible analyses for the form of the graph itself: seeing its phonetic as a form of 脊; interpreting the graph as a form of 遷(徙); or (citing CJ) taking the phonetic as a form of 杀.

[97] 柬: MWD has 簡, here and throughout. MWDS explains this in terms of judiciousness and "balancing" 衡, of "not allowing the insignificant to harm the important" 不以輕害重, which comes close to its definition as given in strips 34-35 below. As PP 00.6 and WQP 00.7 both note, a similar usage of 簡 appears in the "Xiao bian" 小辨 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*: "子曰：「辨而不小。夫小辨破言，小言破義，小義破道，道小不通， 通道必簡......夫道不簡則不行，不行則不樂」" ("The Master said: 'You may debate, but not in a trivial manner. For trivial disputation severs discussion, trivial discussion severs judgment, and trivial judgment severs the proper way. Trivial ways do not succeed; the successful way must be straightforward . . . For the ways that are not straightforward do not take one forth; not taking forth, they do not lead to happiness'"). HK 05 renders 柬 as "admonishing," seemingly reading 諫, perhaps following PP and WQP's gloss of 練 in strip 39 below; his 09 translates likewise, but he simultaneously seems to take it (p. 111) to refer to the unbridled behavior that would be the subject of such admonishment. PMZ 01.11 (p. 267) reads 柬 as 堅, "firm," "steadfast." On the whole, 柬/簡 would appear to have the senses of "single-minded," "straightforward," or "determined," a kind of simple moral resolution that holds firmly to standards of right and wrong without letting either clever arguments or emotional biases stand in the way of just action.

[98] Passage 23 provides further definitions for the terms encountered in this passage.

[99] 賰: MWD has 袁, which MWDHMBS reads 遠.

[100] 隮: MWD has 尊, here and below.

[101] 共: MWD is missing this character, but MWDS and later occurrences in MWD also have 共; both MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ read 恭, here and throughout.

（23）其君子道也，胃（謂）之不聖。見[106]臤（賢）人而不智（知）其又（有）悳（德）也，胃（謂）之不智。■（24）

To have never heard the way of the noble man is called "not discerning [of ear]." To have never seen the worthy man is called "not perspicacious [of sight]." To have heard the way of the noble man and yet not know it is the way of the noble man is called "not sagacious." To have seen the worthy man and yet not know that he possesses virtue is called "not knowing."

18 見而智（知）之，智也。❙ 昚（聞）而智（知）之，聖也。[107]❙ 明明，智也。■[108]虩（虩〔赫〕）虩（虩〔赫〕）[109]，聖也。❙ 「明明才（在）[110]下，虩（赫）虩（赫）（25）才（在）上」[111]，此之胃（謂）也。[112]■

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[102] In MWD, the passages equivalent to 17-20 follow, rather than precede, passages 21-23 (ending in 共[恭]而博交，禮也, GDCJ strip 37). This and the next passage also relate directly to the opening line of passage 13 above.

[103] 未尙: MWD has 未嘗.

[104] The MWDS seems to explain this (and the subsequent statements) as the difference between simply hearing of (and seeing, etc.) it and truly hearing it in the sense where one becomes "awestruck" (*seran* 色然) with it (or perhaps, to the point where it "radiates upon his countenance") and is able to "distinguish" (*bian* 辨) it.

[105] 臤: MWD writes 賢, here and throughout.

[106] 見: FSJ 06.10 suggests that the form of this graph as written here and elsewhere in "Wu xing" may have characteristics of the script of the three Jin 三晉 states.

[107] As WQP 00.7 notes, the "Dao yuan" 道原 chapter of the *Wenzi* (along with passages in the Dingzhou 定州 text) quotes "Lao Zi" as uttering the same pair of statements: "聞而知之，聖也；見而知之，智也."

[108] MWDS explains knowledge here as "knowing (/inferring) the unseen from the seen" 由所見知所不見. There is what looks like a black-square here, but which appears to function as a phrase rather than passage marker, as do the relatively thick horizontal strokes that appear elsewhere in this passage, which I also mark here for reference.

[109] 虩虩: MWD has 壑壑, which MWDHMBS reads 赫赫 (here and below, where *Mao Shi* reads 赫赫). MWD also lacks the 也 after 聖.

[110] 才: MWD and *Mao Shi* read 在, here and below.

[111] The quote comes from the ode "Da ming" 大明 of the "Da ya" 大雅 section of the *Shi jing*. As both GY 01.2 and WB 01.5c (p. 53) suggest, the lines may well be cited here to highlight the idea that "sagacity" is a higher form of wisdom than "knowledge," the understanding of "Heaven's Way" as opposed to just the human way below; cf. WQP 00.7, p. 146.

[112] MWD also has a passage marker at this point.

To see it and know it is knowledge. To hear it and know it is sagacity. The brightly illuminated (/perspicacious) is knowledge; the brilliantly manifest is sagacity. “Brightly illuminated below; it is brilliantly manifest above”—this is what [the ode] refers to.

19[113] 䎽（聞）君子道，聣（聰）也。䎽（聞）而智（知）之，聖也。▍ 聖人智（知）而〈天〉[114]（26）道也。智（知）而行之，義[115]也。行之而時[116]，悳（德）也。▍ 見臤（賢）人，明也。[117]見而智（知）之，（27）智也。智（知）而安之，急（仁）也。[118]安而敬之，豊（禮）也。▍ 聖智（知），[119]豊

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[113] This passage would appear to naturally divide into three smaller ones, and there are indeed thick horizontal strokes at these two locations, though two similar marks appear after this point as well. For reference, I mark all of these places within the passage.

[114] 而: MWD also has 而; as both MWDHMBS and GDCMZJ state, however, context suggests that 而 is an error for 天, as the MWDS in fact has it. For the same graphic error, see also strips 20 and 30. LXF 00.12, however, chooses to read 而 as 如, “is like.”

[115] 義: MWD has 聖; as MWDHMBS notes, this is likely in error, as the MWDS (like GDCJ) gives 義.

[116] Interestingly, MWDS defines “timeliness” 時 as “harmony” 和; this serves to better highlight the implicit connection between “virtuosity” and “musicality” that is made more explicit below.

[117] WQP 00.7 notes a relevant line from the “Jie bi” 解蔽 chapter of the *Xunzi*: “知賢謂之明” (“Knowing [/recognizing] the worthy we call ‘perspicacious’”). A number of interpreters take this and the following lines to refer to the literal recognition of worthies, whereas I take them to refer to the metaphorical appreciation of the “worthy man” whom one may oneself become, the understanding of the “way of the worthy man.” SKT 01.9 reads 見 here in the sense of 現, “exhibit [the manner of the worthy man].”

[118] Compare these lines from the “Li ren” 里仁 chapter of the *Lunyu*: “子曰：「不仁者，不可以久處約，不可以長處樂。仁者安仁，知者利仁」” (“The Master said: ‘Those who are not humane can neither long dwell in poverty nor long dwell in happiness. The humane are secure in humanity; the knowing [/cunning] profit from humanity”).

[119] 聖知: GDCMZJ punctuates after 聖, in which case knowledge, ritual, and music would all arise from sagacity; LL 99.8 follows, and WB 01.5c (p. 55) also subscribes to this interpretation. Like IT 99.11b, PP 00.6, WQP 00.7, LCS 00.5 (p. 242), LXF 00.12, and GY 01.2, I punctuate after 知; the MWDS itself suggests a similar punctuation, but instead gives 聖知 as 仁義 (the equivalent MWD *jing* portion here has worn away). WQP suggests that the Mawangdui text here was the product of purposeful alteration; LCS 00.5 (p. 244), XSH 00.11 (p. 7), and GY all argue likewise, LCS and GY both seeing the change as due to the influence of the *Mengzi*. It is also possible that it was simply the result of confusion with the parallel line in strip 31 of the next passage, though MWDS repeats the mistake/alteration here several times. For more on the connection between 聖智 and 禮樂, cf. GLH 99.4 (pp. 514–24), who notes the possible relevance of “Liu de” strips 1-2: “作禮樂，制刑法，教此民尔使之有向也，非聖智者莫之能也.” HK 09, despite his punctuation of the Chinese text, translates the line here (and the parallel one below) as if this entire phrase were subject to the next one: “Where

（禮）藥（樂）之所䌛（由）[120]生也，| 五（28）【行之所和】[121]也。| 和則囂（樂）[122]，囂（樂）則又（有）悳（德），又（有）悳（德）則邦豪（家）嬰（譽）[123]。文王之視[124]也女（如）此。[125]「文（29）【王在上，於昭】于而〈天〉」[126]，此之胃（謂）也。■

To have heard the way of the noble man is to be discerning [of ear]; to know it when one hears it is to be sagacious. The sage [is one who] knows the Way of Heaven. To know it and put it into practice is propriety. To practice it in a timely manner is virtuosity.

To have seen [the way of] the worthy man is to be perspicacious [of sight]; to know it when one sees it is to be knowing. To know it and be secure in it is humanity. To be secure in it and respectful of it is ritual.

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sageness, wisdom, ritual and music are born is the harmonious combination of the five aspects of conduct.”

[120] 䌛: (here and in strip 31 below): GDCMZJ renders the graph as 䌛 and, as MWD has it, reads 由; WQP 00.7 also sees 䌛 as a phonetic loan for 由 here. QXG 98.5 suspects the graph is actually a corruption of 繇 (由). LL 02.3 interprets it instead as a variant form of 繇, with an additional lower-right element of either 邑 or 多. The rendering adopted here follows LZ 03.12, who interprets the upper right element as 肉 and takes it as the phonetic in the graph to read 由.

[121] These four graphs are supplied on the basis of the parallel 四行之所和 of strip 31 below (as suggested in GDCMZJ), as well as the context of MWDS.

[122] 囂: MWD has 樂, here and throughout.

[123] 邦豪嬰: MWD has 國家與 (與 seen as corruption of 興, “prosper”), perhaps changing 邦 to 國 due to a taboo on the use of Han Emperor Liu Bang’s 劉邦 given name—though, as GY 01.2 reminds us, that taboo is not avoided in the Mawangdui “Laozi A” manuscript, which forms part of the same scroll with “Wu xing.” WQP 00.7 reads 嬰 as 譽; LXF 00.12 reads 與, in the sense of “follow”; XSH 00.11 and LZ 03.12 read 舉, LZ taking it also in the sense of “prosper.” LL 99.8 treats the graph as 興; cf. LL 02.3, pp. 57–58, who notes how the forms of 與, 譽, and 興 are all easily mixed up in the Chu script.

[124] 視: GDCMZJ sees this as a confusion for 見, noting that the two graphs are commonly mixed up; WQP 00.7 takes 見 in the sense of 顯, “manifestation” or “prominence,” a term that appears elsewhere in the “Wen Wang” ode quoted below. CWZ 06.11 interprets the graph itself as 見 rather than 視, here and throughout Chu manuscripts. LL 02.3 instead reads 視 as 示. I tentatively read 視 as is.

[125] The MWD text is largely missing here, but appears to have had the words 詩曰 preceding the quotation.

[126] Approximately the same portion of text is also missing in MWD; both can be supplied on the basis of the ode “Wen Wang” 文王, from the “Da ya” section of the *Shi jing*. Both MWD and *Mao Shi* have 天 for 而, which is obviously a corruption of the former. LL 99.8 suspects that fragment #27 may supply two of the missing graphs, 於昭, but his 02.3 notes that the remnant of the first graph does not in fact resemble 於.

Sagacity and knowledge are that from which ritual and music are born, 【that in which the】 five 【conducts find harmony】. With harmony, there is musicality (/happiness); with musicality (/happiness), there is virtuosity; and with virtuosity, the states and households will sing [one's] praises.

Such was the vision (/prominence) of King Wen. "【King】Wen 【is high above; oh, how he shines】 in Heaven!"—this is what [the ode] refers to.

20 見而智（知）之[127]，智也。智（知）而安[128]之，㤅（仁）也。安（30）而行之，義也。行而敬之，豊（禮）也。[129]㤅（仁）義，[130]豊（禮）[131]所𩁹（由）生也[132]，四行之所和也[133]。和（31）則同[134]，同則善。[135]■

[127] The "it" here is likely "the way of the worthy man," based on passage 19 above, or, perhaps, the "human way" 人道, as the MWDS would have it and as in the Mawangdui "De sheng" text, which has the line "知人道曰智" ("Knowing the human way is called knowing"); see PP 00.6.

[128] 安: MWD accidentally omits this graph.

[129] Compare these four lines (from the beginning of the passage to this point) to the three lines spanning strips 27-28 in the middle of the previous passage: the first two lines of each give identical definitions of *zhi* and *ren*, but the third line of the previous passage is expanded here to include the attribute of *yi* before concluding again with *li*. Note also that the basic attributes for all four conducts here are the same as those given in the previous passage (i.e., 見而知, 安, 行, and 敬, respectively), but the definition of *yi* comes at a different location in that passage.

[130] 㤅(仁)義: GDCMZJ punctuates after 仁, in which case both propriety and ritual would arise from humanity; LL 99.8, LCS 00.5, XSH 00.11 (pp. 6–7), and GY 01.2 all follow. This certainly works in context; I suspect, however, that the emphasis here is on ritual, which, alone here in the absence of music, consummates a harmony of only four conducts (minus sagacity), leading to goodness rather than virtuosity. Thus, like IT 99.11b, PP 00.6, WQP 00.7, and LXF 00.12, I punctuate after 義, which is also suggested by the (somewhat corrupted) explanation in the MWDS. WB 01.5c suggests a third possibility, that of reading: "it is this (i.e., 'knowledge') from which humanity, propriety, and ritual are born"; this is also possible in context, but the parallel line of the previous passage could not plausibly be read in like manner.

[131] MWD additionally has the two characters 知(智)之 after 仁義禮, thus adding "knowledge" after "ritual," but context seems to suggest that they are erroneous. For more on this point, cf. GLH 99.4 (pp. 519–20) and GY 01.2.

[132] WQP 00.7 notes a closely related passage in the "Zhong yong" 中庸 chapter of the *Li ji*, with the following lines attributed to Confucius: "親親之殺，尊賢之等，禮所生也" ("The gradations and levels extending downward from devotion to one's parents and from the honoring of worthies are that [from] which ritual arises").

[133] MWD lacks the 也 here. GLH 99.4 (pp. 530–33) suggests, somewhat imaginatively, that the harmony of four

To know it when one sees it is to be knowing. To know it and be secure in it is humanity. To be secure in it and put it into practice is propriety. To put it into practice and hold it in reverence is ritual. Humanity and propriety are that from which ritual is born, that in which the four conducts find harmony. With harmony there is unity, and with unity there is goodness.

21[136] 顏色[137]公（容）佼（貌）[138]�（溫），貞（弁〔勉〕）[139]也。以其审（中）心與人交，兑（悦）也。审（中）心兑（悦），𡎎（播）[140]舉（遷）[141]

versus five may have more to do with actual musical modes than anything else, with four-tone scales ostensibly favored by the Zhou but five-tone scales reflective of more ancient Shang practices, and she speculates on the possible connotations this may have for a more direct “religious communion” with Heaven’s way.

[134] MWDS variously explains this as “as if one with the heart-mind” 與心若一 or “setting aside the four [conducts]” 舍夫四 and having them “unify with the heart-mind of goodness” 同於善心.

[135] These last two phrases are repeated again at the end of passage 28, there in the context of the mind’s integration of the body parts.

[136] In MWD, the passages equivalent to 21-23 precede, rather than follow, passages 17-20. Passage 21 appears to constitute a sort of commentary on terms earlier encountered in passages 6 and 14.

[137] 顏色: this is written as a combined graph. For further analysis of this graph, see CJY 04.12.

[138] 佼: MWD is missing this graph, but MWDS suggests it had 貌 here; GDCMZJ accordingly reads the graph as 貌. For more on the phonological connection, see LZ 03.12. WQP 00.7 instead sees 佼 as equivalent to 佼, semantically interchangeable with 貌.

[139] �貞: GDCMZJ renders the first graph as 㥻 and reads the two together as 溫變; see the notes on these two graphs in strips 13 and 21, respectively. MWD is missing these two, but MWDS suggests that at least the latter read 變, containing glosses of “變變” as “勉(勉)勉(勉)” and “孫(遜)孫(遜),” which WQP 00.7 sees as equivalent to 亹亹 and 恂恂, the appearance of “joy” and “warm humility,” respectively. ZGY/YGH 99.1 see the first graph as equivalent to 恩 but read it here as 因, “depend upon.” With WQP 00.7 and LXF 00.12, I add the punctuation here before 貞(勉), seeing this line as an explanation of the term as it first appears in passage 14.

[140] 𡎎: MWD has 焉 at the equivalent juncture. QXG 98.5 suggests that the graph is equivalent to the right portion of the Chu script for 禪 (i.e., 𠊧, as the graph standing for the idea of abdication is written throughout “Tang Yu zhi dao”), here read 旃, a fusion, in other words, of 之 and 焉; LL 99.8 concurs with the reading, but interprets the original graph as 廛. IT 99.11b and LXF 00.12 treat it as a loan for 焉; BYL 01 sees it as a loan for 然, similar to its use in strip 34 just below (there written 肰). ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 interprets the graph as 播, which WQP 00.7 takes in the sense of to “spread” or “confer,” seeing 舉 (read 豫) as its object; WH 00.12 affirms the interpretation of the graph as 播 (noting how the 土 radical here relates it to land cultivation) and reads 播遷 together here as a term-pair. HXQ 05.12 (pp. 213–14) similarly sees the graph as a variant of 譒, but still follows QXG in reading 旃, despite the wide disparity between their initial consonants.

[141] 舉: GDCMZJ renders the graph as 舉 (與 over 足); ZGY/YGH 99.1 instead render 舉 and read 與; WQP 00.7 reads 豫, “joy.” MWD has 遷. QXG 98.5 would also interpret the graph here as 䙴, read 遷. LL 02.3 (pp.

（32）於兄弟，𢾞（戚）也。𢾞（戚）而信[142]之，新（親）〔也〕[143]。新（親）而篙（篤）[144]之，炁（愛）也。炁（愛）父，其稚（稽〔繼〕）[145]炁（愛）人，𢝔（仁）也。■

To be kind (/warm) in facial expression and demeanor is to be "encouraging." To interact with others with one's inner-heart is to be "gratifying." To be gratifying in one's inner-heart and transfer this upon one's brothers is to be "affectionate." To be affectionate with reliability is to be "devoted." To be devoted in all earnestness is to be "loving." To love one's father and, in turn, to love others is "humanity."

22[146] 𠁣（中）心（33）諓（辯）[147]肰（然）[148]而正行之，植（直）[149]也。悳（直）而逑（遂）[150]之，𢘹（肆）[151]也。𢘹（肆）而不畏彊（強）語（禦）

84 and 57–58) affirms QXG's rendering, noting how the graphic forms of 與, 畧, and 興 are all easily mixed up in the Chu script. Note that the form of this graph here is slightly different from that of 㘸 (which we read 譽) in strip 29 above.

[142] 信: PP 00.6 reads this as 伸, "extend," taking the MWDS to define 親 as "extending [outward from] the body."

[143] GDCMZJ suggests that a 也 is implied here but omitted due to the use of a repetition sign following 親. LXF 00.12 supports this with a number of such examples from the MWDS. It is uncertain, however, why this is the only term of the chain to be repeated via repetition marker.

[144] 篙(篤): MWD is missing this portion of the text, but the equivalent graph in MWDS is 築, which MWDHMBS reads 篤.

[145] 稚: MWD has 絲, which MWDHMBS reads 繼, in the sense of 次, "next," "secondly," "in turn"; the MWDS substitutes 殺, "diminish, "a step down." GDCMZJ sees 稚 as a variant of 攸 and reads 迪, in the sense of "advance"; WQP 00.7 reads this as 逐, in the sense of "afterward." QXG 98.5 would instead see the graph as a variant of 稽, read 繼. LXF 00.12 sees it as a corruption of the Chu graph for 殺; XZG 01.9 also analyzes it as a form of 殺. HXQ 05.12 (p. 218) would interpret the graph as 蔡 and read 次.

[146] Passage 22 appears to constitute a sort of commentary on terms earlier encountered in passage 15. In addition to the passage marker at the end, there are three additional black squares or thick horizontal marks that resemble passage markers, but which I treat here instead as line markers.

[147] 諓: MWD writes 辯.

[148] 肰(然): MWD has 焉.

[149] 植: MWD has 直. MWDS explains "directedness" by way of the example of not accepting even the most delicious food and drink if it is "offered brusquely" 吁嗟而予之.

[150] 逑(遂): this graph is missing in MWD, but MWDS suggests that it read 遂. MPS 02.11 notes that this is

[152]，果也。■不[153]（34）以少（小）道𨑳〈𩊚（害）〉[154]大道，柬（簡）也。[155]■又（有）大辠（罪）而大豉（誅）[156]之，行也。■[157]貴貴，其𣥺（等）[158]隣（尊）臤（賢），義也[159]。■（35）

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something of a sound gloss, as 肆 and 遂 interloan in early texts.

[151] 遙: only unrecognizable remnants of the MWD graph remain here. The same graph appears in strip 21; the corresponding graph there is also missing in MWD, but MWDS suggests that it had 迣, perhaps read 肆 (the remnant strokes in MWD at this point, however, do not appear to accord with 迣). For more details on the reading of 遙 as 肆, see the notes to strip 21 above.

[152] 彊語: MWD has 強圉, which MWDHMBS reads 強禦, pointing out that the line "不畏強禦" appears in the ode "Zheng min" 烝民 of the "Da ya" section of the *Shi jing*, where it has the sense of "fear not the powerful and domineering." For more on the term, see SP 01, pp. 309–10.

[153] 不: MWD mistakenly has 而.

[154] 𨑳: MWD has 害. GDCMZJ renders 夌 and takes it in the sense of "violate"; QXG 98.5, however, suggests that the graph is not 夌, but rather a corruption of 𩊚, a variant form of 害 seen in strip 26 of "Zun deyi"; cf. ZPA 00.8 (n. 7). HLY 99.12 instead renders the graph as 赴 and sees it as a variant of 徒, here read 屠, to "butcher." I adopt a somewhat more literal version of HLY's rendering here but tentatively follow QXG in seeing it as an error for 𩊚 and reading 害.

[155] MWDS explains 簡 with the interesting case of killing sacrificial animals: while one would never himself eat the flesh of an animal he had seen alive, he would still have it killed for sacrificial purposes as required by ritual propriety 見其生也，不食其死也，然親執株(誅)，閒(簡)也. For more on 柬/簡, see also the notes to strip 22 above.

[156] 豉: MWD has 誅, here and throughout.

[157] MWD somehow has what looks like a passage marker at this point, whereas GDCJ has just one of several black-square markers that appear within this passage.

[158] 𣥺: MWD has 等; GDCMZJ renders the graph directly as 止 and reads 等. This 等 would seem to parallel the 𣫶(繼) at the end of the previous passage. As PP 00.6 and WQP 00.7 both note, the following passage from the "Wan Zhang, xia" 萬章下 chapter of the *Mengzi* is highly relevant here: "用下敬上，謂之貴貴；用上敬下，謂之尊賢。貴貴、尊賢，其義一也" ("Subordinates respecting superiors we call 'valuing the noble'; superiors respecting subordinates we call 'honoring the worthy.' The significance of valuing the noble and honoring the worthy is the same"). PP takes 等 in the sense of "by rank" and also notes the relevance of a passage from the "Zhong yong" chapter of the *Li ji* already alluded to above: "仁者，人也，親親爲大；義者， 宜也，尊賢爲大。親親之殺，尊賢之等，禮所生也" ("'Humanity' is a matter of 'human' [bonds], of which devotion toward one's parents is the greatest; 'propriety' is a matter of 'appropriate' [deference], of which the honoring of worthies is greatest. The gradations and levels extending downward from devotion to one's parents and from the honoring of worthies are that [from] which ritual arises"). IT 99.11b suggests that the graph is equivalent to 步 but in fact a graphic error for 寺, which is in turn either an abbreviation for 等 or possibly a loan for 次.

[159] MWD lacks the 也 after 義.

To clearly discern it in one's inner-heart and act upon it correctly is to be "directed." To be directed and follow it through is to be "unreserved." To be unreserved and have no fear of the domineering is to be "resolute." To not harm the great way with petty ways is to have "straightforward determination." To mete out great punishments for great crimes is to "take action." To value the noble and, in turn, to honor the worthy is "propriety."

23[160] 以其外心[161]與人交，遠[162]也。遠而牂（莊）[163]之，敬也。敬而不懈〈解（懈）〉[164]，嚴也。嚴而畏（威）[165]（36）之，障（尊）也。障（尊）而不喬（驕）[166]，共（恭）也。共（恭）而尃（博）[167]交，豊（禮）也。[168]■

[160] Passage 23 appears to constitute a sort of commentary on terms earlier encountered in passage 16.

[161] MWDS states that to have a 外心 is "not to have another heart-mind" 非有他心也, but simply a different aspect of "one and the same heart-mind" 同之心也.

[162] 遠: MWD has just 袁 (read 遠); the GDCJ graph here is slightly corrupted. In the context of this line, MWDHMBS points to a line from the "Li qi" chapter of the *Li ji*, which also appears in the context of the term *shen du*: "禮之以多爲貴者，以其外心者也" ("That of ritual that places value on quantity is that which employs the outer-heart"); note that 外心 is not a negative term in that (or, for that matter, this) passage. WQP 00.7 takes 遠 in the sense of "distant quarters" and 外心 as a mind with its sights set on the world at large.

[163] 牂: MWD has 裝, but MWDS gives 莊, which GDCMZJ suggests as the reading for the graph here. The same graph appears in strip 21 of "Laozi A," which GDCMZJ reads instead as 道, but which QXG (99.8 and 00.1) and LL 99.8 interpret as 狀. Attempting to link these two readings, WQP 00.7 notes that both 道 and 莊 can also carry the sense of a "great thoroughfare"; the two readings, however, derive from different identifications of the phonetic element and are thus not mutually compatible.

[164] 懈: MWD has 解, which MWDHMBS reads 懈. GDCMZJ suggests that the graph here is similar to an "ancient script" form of 節 (which has 土 in place of 田) and takes this in the sense of "desist"; QXG 98.5 suspects the graph is a corruption of some other graph. WQP 00.7 suspects the graph is an alternate form of 桂, read 懈. LL 00.5 (p. 51), however, claims to have observed firsthand the graph 解 written on the back of the strip, and he takes this as a "correction" of the original erroneous graph; YS (quoted in YSX 03.12) sees it more as a kind of "transcription" into a graph more familiar to the reader of the text; cf. YSX 03.12, pp. 632–33, and FSJ 06.10. CW et al. 09.9 state, without elaboration, that the graph on the back of the strip is in fact 懈.

[165] 畏: MWD has 威.

[166] 喬: MWD has 驕, read 驕. To "hold honor" likely refers here more to the honoring of worthies (尊賢) rather than of superiors, and thus the call for the ruler to do so without arrogance. Alternatively, we could understand a switch to passive voice here: "to be honored and yet not arrogant."

[167] 尃: MWD has 博, while MWDS has 伯 or 柏. LXF 00.12 reads 甫, taking it as a kind of secondary status designation used to ritually distinguish members of the same clan. CW 04.7 reads 薄, in the sense of "superficially," seeing this as related to the notion of "maintaining distance." FSJ 06.10 argues that the form of the graph 尃 here reveals characteristics of the Qi 齊 script.

To interact with others with one's outer-heart is to "maintain distance." To maintain distance and make it solemn is to "hold reverence." To hold reverence and not slacken is to "hold awe." To hold awe and make it mighty is to "hold honor." To hold honor and not be arrogant is to "hold humility." To hold humility and interact widely is "ritual."

24[169] 不東〈柬（簡）〉[170]，不行。不匿[171]，不業（辨）[172]（37）於道。又（有）大辠（罪）而大戜（誅）之，東〈柬（簡）〉也。又（有）少（小）辠（罪）而亦（赦）[173]之，匿也。又（有）大辠（罪）而弗大（38）戜（誅）

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[168] MWD also as a passage marker at this point, and continues from here with the equivalent of Guodian passage 17 (beginning with "未嘗聞君子道").

[169] In MWD, this passage follows directly from the equivalent of GDCJ passage 20 (ending in 和則同，同則善).

[170] 東: MWD is missing the graph here, but gives it as 簡 just below; thus GDCMZJ sees 東 as a corruption of 柬 (here and below). MWDHMBS notes that the *Erya* glosses 簡 as 大, "great." LXF 00.7 explains 柬 in the sense of "manifest" or "unambiguous." For more on the reading given here, see the note on 柬 in strip 22 (passage 15) above; see also the note to "柬柬" in strip 66 of "Xing zi ming chu." WS 03 (p. 149) understands *jian* here in the sense of "discriminate," "discrimination," and she suggests that this and the next passage offer, in terms of legal philosophy, a "judge-centered ethic." ZFW (see his 12.6) also takes 柬 in the sense of "selectivity" or "discrimination" regarding which crimes are to be punished.

[171] 匿: literally to "hide," "harbor," "conceal," this word also has connotations of "lenience" or perhaps even "commiseration," similar in both senses to 隱. LJH 11.7 and others would read 暱, "close-knit;" cf. the notes to "Liu de" strip 32.

[172] 業: MWD has 辯 (here and below), which we may take as 辨. GDCMZJ leaves the graph here unrendered, but notes that it closely resembles the graph elsewhere read 察 (see strips 8 and 13); QXG 98.5, however, suggests that this graph is slightly different. ZGY/YGH 99.1 render the graph as 業 and read 辯; DLC 00.7 sees the graph as an abbreviation of 辯; XXR 01.7 (pp. 47–48) similarly sees it as an abbreviation of 辡. LL 99.8 gives it directly as 察, but his 02.3 tentatively reverts to the reading of 辯. Note, however, the much different graph for 辯 at the beginning of strip 34 above. WQP 00.7 sees the graph as an abbreviated form of 菐, read here as a loan for 辯. CW 02.12 reads 辯/辨 as a loan for 遍, "pervasive." LZ 02.12 (p. 125) argues that the graph is still a form of 察 here and that the MWD reading is simply a semantic alternate. See also the discussion of these various graphs in the subsection on "The Chu Script" in section C of the general introduction.

[173] 亦: MWD has 赦. WQP 00.7 notes here a line from the "Zizhang wen ruguan" 子張問入官 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*: "民有小罪，必以其善以赦其過" ("When the people commit minor offenses, you must forgive their errors on the basis of their good points"). GY 01.2 points to the "Zizhang" 子張 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "Zixia said, 'One may not cross the bounds in matters of great virtue, but may be allowed to come and go in matters of lesser virtue'" 子夏曰：「大德不踰閑，小德出入可也」.

也，不行也。又（有）少（小）辠（罪）而弗亦（赦）也，不𦍒（辨）於道也。■

If one lacks straightforward determination, he will not take action. If one does not harbor lenience, he is not discerning of the way. To mete out great punishments for great crimes is to have "straightforward determination"; to pardon minor crimes is to "harbor lenience." If one does not mete out great punishments for great crimes, he will not be taking action; if he does not pardon minor crimes, he will not be discerning of the way.

25[174] 東〈柬（簡）〉之為言猷（猶）練（/鍊）[175]（39）也，大而晏（顯）[176]者也。匿之為言也猷（猶）匿=（匿匿）[177]也，少（小）而訪（防）[178]者也[179]。

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[174] As will be noted below, this passage finds close parallels in strips 31-33 of "Liu de," and it may best be read in conjunction with that passage.

[175] 練: MWD has 賀, which MWDHMBS reads 加 (LXF 00.7 reads it as 何, in the sense of "balance [on the shoulders]"); MWDS quotes the graph as 衡, "balance(d)." GDCMZJ suspects 練 should read 間; LXF 00.7 equates it with 簡; PP 00.6 and WQP 00.7 read 諫, to "remonstrate." IT 99.11b reads 柬 or 揀, in the sense of "select and pick up"; WS 03 (p. 149) likewise translates the term here as "selectivity," and ZFW (see his 12.6) understands along similar lines. GY 01.2 would read 練 directly as 衡, which is phonologically plausible but unlikely; HGY 12.6, however, also supports the reading of 衡. I read 練 more or less as is, in the sense of "refined," or "hardened" (鍊/煉), as in the smelting of metals; LZ 03.12 similarly reads 練 as "refined," "succinct." DSX 00.10 (p. 132) reads 練 as white silk, in the extended sense of the unadorned or plain truth; LT 02.5 (p. 47) follows. LMC 04.2b reads both 柬 and 練 as 簡, which he explains in the sense of "verifying," i.e., determining cases impartially according to the true facts; he would also read the MWD 賀 as 簡.

[176] 晏: MWD has 罕, "rare," here and throughout, whereas MWDS gives 炭 instead (LXF 00.7 reads 罕 as 衎, understood in the sense of "settled"). IT 99.11b and WQP 00.7 see 晏 as a loan for 罕, and WQP suspects an extra 練(諫) should be implied before 大. If we do read 罕, the phrase is best understood as referring to what 柬(簡) applies to rather than to the term itself, i.e., serious crimes that are infrequently committed. LJH 11.7, however, would take 大而罕 in the sense of "long on action but short on caring." MWDHMBS suspects that both 晏 and 炭 should read 顯, "manifest"; cf. ZFW 12.6, who supports this reading. I also read 晏 as 顯 here, or, equivalently, take 晏 in a sense extended from its root meaning of "clear, cloudless." On the latter reading, see LXF (00.7 and 00.12), who sees this description as a kind of "definition *per genus et differentiam*"; cf. LMC 04.2b, who understands 晏 as "clear" in the sense of transparent and above board.

[177] 匿匿: in both GDCJ and MWD, this is written as a single graph followed by a repetition marker. PP 00.6 reads the second of these two as 慝, "depravity." MWD lacks the 也 afterward, allowing for reading the second as a verb for the following phrase; WQP 00.7 suspects this to be the correct reading, and that the 也 here should properly come in between the two 匿, with the one at the end of the first phrase read 暱, "close." It might also be possible to read the pair as 匿暱 together, in the sense of "harboring [those] close"; ZFW 12.6 offers such a reading. The *Zuo zhuan*, Lord Xiang 襄公 year 25, makes reference to a certain minister "knowing [only] to harbor his intimates" 知匿其暱, but the sense in that context is decidedly negative. LXF (00.7 and 00.12) takes

柬〈柬（簡）〉，義之方[180]也。匿，（40）㥁（仁）之方也。㢧（剛）[181]，義之方。矛（柔），㥁（仁）之方也。[182]「不㢾（強）不梂（求）[183]，不㢧（剛）不矛（柔）」[184]，此之胃（謂）（41）也。[185]■

匿匿 in the sense of 隱隱 or 惻隱, "commiseration"; GY 01.2 takes the second 匿 in the sense of "minor [faults]"; CW 02.12 takes both in the sense of "concealed." LJH 11.7 reads 暱暱, still in the sense of "close-knit." I suspect the two graphs should be read together as a binome and may have a loose phonetic relation to such binomes found frequently in later texts as 祕密 (秘密), "secreted," or perhaps 細密, "meticulous." HGY 12.6, on the other hand, sees the pair as a variant form of the alliterative binome 荏染, which appears in the *Odes* in the sense of "soft and flexible" (of wood).

[178] 訪: MWD has 軫; GDCJ also has 軫 in strip 43 below, and thus GDCMZJ sees 訪 as a corruption of 診. Both 匿 and 軫 have been glossed as "hidden," "concealed," but MWDS describes 軫 as 多矣, "numerous." If 診(軫) (*ȶĭən) is indeed the intended graph here and has the sense of "hidden," I suspect (along with ZFW 12.6) that it may read 隱 (*iən) (for an example of 隱's interloaning with another retroflex-type word, see Gao Heng, *Guzi tongjia huidian*, p. 39 [乘 (*ȡĭəŋ)]); MWDHMBS in fact notes a gloss by (Han) Wang Yi 王逸 of 軫 as 隱. PP 00.6 suggests that 軫 is itself an error for 縝 or 紾, with the sense of "tangled and numerous"; WQP 00.7 notes that such graphs as 㐱, 稹, 縝, and 槙 all have an extended sense of "concentrated and numerous"; LZ 03.12 further relates 軫 to 畛 and 疹, which also both refer to things "small" (and numerous). If we do read 軫 in the sense of "numerous," the phrase would best be understood as referring to what the verbal 匿 applies to rather than to the term itself, i.e., minor transgressions that are commonly committed. LJH 11.7, however, would take 小而軫 in the sense of "short on action but long on caring." LXF (00.7 and 00.12) takes 軫 in the sense of "capable of support," from its more literal sense of a carriage support-board or even as the name of a constellation. Taking the graph as given, IT 99.11b suggests the possibility of reading 訪 as 方 or 旁; LMC 01.5 (p. 176) likewise reads 旁, in the sense of "vast." I would instead read 訪 here in the sense of 防, "protective," "precautious," but still read 軫 as 隱 in the parallel line in strip 43 below, tentatively assuming they might just represent different words for a similar idea. Compare "Liu de" strips 32-33: "㥁(仁)蘛(柔)而㪉(納)，宜(義)強(剛)而柬(簡)。㪉(納)之爲言也，猷㪉(納)㪉(納)也，少而㒷多(者{也})也." 訪 here would be parallel to the 㒷 of those lines, for which I tentatively adopt the interpretation of 慎, "cautious."

[179] MWD lacks both this and the previous 也.

[180] 方: MWDS explains 義之方 in terms of 間(簡) being the "exhaustion of propriety" 義之盡 and, alternately, what propriety "adopts" 取; the same applies for 仁之方 and 匿 below. Others gloss 方 as a "way" or "method." Cf. the similar construction in strips 38-40 of "Xing zi ming chu." PMZ 01.11 (p. 267) takes 方 there in the sense of "analogy." WB 01.5f, on the other hand, reads 放, understood in the sense of "extension" or "development."

[181] 㢧: MWD writes 剛. For more on this graph, see LMC 00.6.

[182] MWD precedes the following quotation with "詩曰."

[183] MWD has "不勮不救," whereas *Mao Shi* has "不競不絿." As MWDS explains, "勮者强也，訧者急也" ("*Ju* is to 'compel'; *qiu* is to 'hasten'"); it also notes that what the ode refers to is the "harmony of humanity and propriety" 仁義之和. The MWDS gloss of 絿 as 急 follows the Mao commentary; I instead follow (Qing) Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰, who in *Mao Shi zhuanjian tongshi* sees 競 and 絿 as contrastive and glosses the later as 求, after the *Guangya* 廣雅. WQP 00.7 notes that the same ode is also quoted from the mouth of Confucius in the *Zuo zhuan*, year Zhao 20. ZFW 12.6 would interpret the graph rendered 㢾 here as a form of 耕 instead and read

As a word, "*jian*: straightforward determination" is like "*lian*: refined/hardened"—that which is great and obvious. As a word, "*ni*: harboring lenience" is like "*nini*: secretive"—that which is meticulous and protective. Straightforward determination is the orientation of propriety; harboring lenience is the orientation of humanity. Firmness is the orientation of propriety; pliancy (/flexibility) is the orientation of humanity. "Neither compelling nor imploring, neither firm nor pliant"—this is what [the ode] refers to.

26 君子集大成[186]。能進之[187]為君子，弗[188]能進也，各𡳿（止）[189]於其里[190]。大而（42）晏（顯）者，能又（有）取[191]安（焉）。少（小）而軫（隱）[192]

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it here as 挺, "straight," "upright"; he also reads 梂 as 樛, "bending" (of branches).

[184] The quotation is from the ode "Chang fa" 長發 of the "Shang song" 商頌 section of the *Shi jing*.

[185] MWD also has a passage marker at this point.

[186] 集大成: MWD has 雜泰成, which MWDHMBS reads 集大成 on the basis of the *Mengzi*. MWDS perhaps best explains the sense of this phrase: "【To 'assemble'】 is like to 'arrive,' to 'provide complete.' The 'great symphony' is [possessing] the tones of bronze and [instilling] them [with] the resonance of jade. Only 【he who】 [possesses] the tones of bronze 【and instills them with the resonance of jade】 can both himself be humane and make others humane, can himself be proper and make others proper. The great symphony is simply the ultimate, the spirit-like. People simply think that it cannot be done, that there is no way of reaching it, but this is not so" 【集也】者，猶造之也，猶具之也。大成也者，金聲玉振之也。唯金聲【而玉振之者】，然后忌(己)仁而以人仁，忌(己)義而以人義。大成至矣，神耳矣！人以爲弗可爲【也，無】由至焉耳，而不然 ("集" is supplied here following IT 99.11b and WQP 00.7 [MWDHMBS supplies 成]; "也，無" tentatively follows PP 00.6). 大成 appears to be a musical term, with 成 referring to one complete "movement" within a larger composition, as in the phrase "[Shun's] *Xiao Shao* plays nine movements" 簫韶九成 (*Shang shu*, "Yi Ji" 益稷 [i.e., "Gao Yao mo" 皋陶謨]; see [Han] Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 gloss)—thus the (albeit somewhat Western) musical term "great symphony." The sense seems to be that of a "harmony of virtues," wherein the conducts of humanity, propriety, etc., are each employed at the proper time. This becomes even clearer in Meng Zi's use of the term in describing Confucius, in a passage already quoted in part above: "Bo Yi was the pure one among sages; Yi Yin was the responsible one among sages; Liuxia Hui was the harmonious one among sages; Confucius was the timely one among sages. Confucius may be said to have 'assembled the great symphony.' 'Assembling the great symphony' means to '[possess] the tones of bronze and [instill] them [with] the resonance of jade.' The 'tones of bronze' means being orderly in the beginning; '[instilling] them [with] the resonance of jade' means being orderly to the end" 伯夷，聖之清者也；伊尹，聖之任者也；柳下惠，聖之和者也；孔子，聖之時者也。孔子之謂集大成。集大成也者，金聲而玉振之也。金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也 (*Mengzi*, "Wang Zhang, xia"). WQP 00.7 takes 集 in the sense of to "arrive at." LXF 00.12 takes 成 in the sense of "accomplish," "put into external practice." LZ 03.12 suggests that the "bronze tones" and "jade sounds" implied in the phrase "集大成" are meant to represent the aforementioned characteristics of "firmness" and "pliancy," respectively.

[187] 進之: MWDS explains this with the Mencian terminology of "able to advance and complete the founts [of

者，能又（有）取安（焉）。𧾷（赫）膚（曥）膚（曥）[193]達[194]者（諸）[195]君子道，胃（謂）之臤（賢）。[196]

The noble man "assembles the great symphony." Being able to advance [his conducts] is what defines a noble man. If one is unable to advance them, each will remain in its domain. Of the great and obvious, [the noble man] is able to partake; of the minor and concealed, [he likewise] is able to partake. [One who] radiantly (/diligently) elevates [all of his conducts] to the way of the noble man we call "worthy."

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virtue]" 能進端，能終端 (cf. *Mengzi*, "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上, wherein the would-be sage must "extend" 推 and "expand and fulfill" 擴而充 the "four founts" 四端 of virtue), of fulfilling 充 the conducts to the point where the "noble man's" "humanity covers the [land within] the four seas, [his] propriety encompasses the world, and he completely/sincerely practices it from within his inner-heart" 仁腹(覆)四海，義襄天下，而成(/誠)由其中心行之 (the reading of 誠 here follows PP 00.6). For other Mencian parallels in this commentary, see PP 00.6.

[188] 弗: MWD has 不, and it lacks the 也 at the end of this phrase.

[189] 各坒: MWD has 客止, read 各止.

[190] 里: I take this in its standard sense of "dwelling," "domain," or "neighborhood," though MWDS speaks of the "proper pattern" 理 of humanity and propriety. As PP 00.6 notes, 里, as a small territorial domain, may have been meant to contrast with 四海 and 天下 below.

[191] 取: WQP 00.7 reads 趣, "drive toward," here and below.

[192] 軫: most take this in the sense of the "small and numerous," whereas I (along with ZFW 12.6) adopt the reading of 隱; for details, see the note on 訪 in strip 40 of the previous passage.

[193] 𧾷膚膚: MWD has 索纑纑, whereas MWDS gives 衡盧盧; MWDHMBS suspects both 索 and 衡 are errors for 率 and reads 纑 or 盧 as 慮, in the sense of "natural" or "unforced." LL 99.8 reads 胥慮慮, in a similar sense. PP 00.6 suspects 索纑纑 is equivalent to Suolu Shen 索盧參, a figure noted for his rise from lowliness to prominence. I here follow WQP 00.7, who reads 赫曥曥, understood in the sense of "manifest," "prominent," "radiant." WZP 02.11 adopts LL's reading of 胥 for the first GDCJ graph here, but he takes it in the adverbial sense of "all," "in both cases," similarly taking MWD's 索 in the sense of "completely" and reading MWDS's 衡 as 恆, "constantly"; he further reads 膚膚 (/纑纑 etc.) as 僂僂, "earnestly," "diligently." LMC 04.2b also reads 𧾷 as 胥 in the sense of "in both cases," but he sees MWD's 索 as a phonetic loan for 胥 and MWDS's 衡 as a graphic error for 衛, i.e., 率, understood in the same adverbial sense as 胥; he reads 膚膚 as is, but takes it in the sense of "greatly."

[194] 達: for more on the form of this graph, see HLY 02.9.

[195] 者(諸): MWD has 於.

[196] MWD has a passage marker at this point. On the basis of content, I separate the passages here as well, though no passage marker is present in GDCJ.

27 君（43）子，[197]智（知）而與（舉）[198]之，胃（謂）之[199]隣（尊）臤（賢）；智（知）[200]而事之，胃（謂）之隣（尊）臤（賢）。[201]〔前，王公之尊賢〕[202]者也；後，士之隣（尊）臤（賢）者也。[203]■（44）

When one knows of (/recognizes) and promotes a noble man, we call this "honoring the worthy"; when one knows of and serves a noble man, we [likewise] call this "honoring the worthy." 〔The former〕 refers to the 〔honoring of worthies by kings and lords;〕 the latter refers to the honoring of worthies by scholar-gentlemen.

28 耳目鼻口手足六者，心之逅（役）[204]也。心曰「唯」，莫敢不唯；「如（諾）」[205]，莫敢不如（諾）；（45）「進」，莫敢不進；「後」，莫敢不

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[197] 君子: I take "noble man/men" as the topic of the sentence here rather than its subject.

[198] 與: MWD has 舉.

[199] This 之 is small and squeezed in between the two characters surrounding it; it appears to have been added after first being inadvertently omitted.

[200] MWD has 從, "follow," in place of this 知 and also repeats "君子" before it.

[201] MWDS gives the Sovereign Yao's 堯 promotion of Shun 舜 and King Tang's 湯 promotion of Yi Yin 伊尹 as examples of the former type of honoring, and Yan Zi's 顏子 (Yan Hui 顏回) and Zilu's 子路 serving of Confucius as their master as examples of the latter.

[202] These six characters seem to have been accidentally omitted from the GDCJ text; they are supplied here on the basis of MWD. GDCMZJ suggests that it is an eight-graph phrase, "前王公之尊賢者也," that has accidentally dropped out just before "後," and it has the "者也" that follows here placed instead at the end of the previous line, following the second "尊賢." However, given that the "者也" does not occur at the corresponding position in MWD, I follow LMC 04.2b in assuming that only six graphs, "前王公之尊賢," have dropped out here, coming *before* the "者也."

[203] PP 00.6 notes a loose parallel in the "Wan Zhang, xia" chapter of the *Mengzi*: "士之尊賢者也，非王公之尊賢也" ("The honoring of worthies by a scholar-gentleman is not the same as the honoring of worthies by a king or lord").

[204] 逅: MWD has 役. YSX 99.1 would interpret the GDCJ graph here as 㕘, understood as equivalent to 役. YGH 00.12 would instead interpret the graph as 渡, understood in the sense of "limit(ed)," "curtail(ed)" (by the heart-mind). ZJ 04.10 follows YGH's rendering, but suspects the graph is an elaborate form of 迈, here read 託 in the sense of "delegates" or "subordinates." MWDS explains this passage in terms of each of the organs and limbs having different sources of "gratification" 悅, which are, however, ultimately outweighed by the "greater" 大 and "nobler" 貴 gratifications of the heart-mind: humanity and propriety. Cf. the *Xunzi*'s concepts of *tianguan* 天官 and *tianjun* 天君 in its "Tian lun" 天論 chapter; for related references as quoted from the "*Zisizi*" 子思子, the *Guanzi*, the *Shizi* 尸子, and elsewhere in the *Xunzi*, see IT 00.5 (p. 226), PP 00.6, WQP 00.7 (p. 51), and LXF 00.12 (pp. 148 and 151). Further references of note from the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Wenzi*, and

後；「深」[206]，莫敢不深[207]；「濮（淺）[208]」，莫敢不濮（淺）。和則同，同則善[209]。■（46）

The ears, the eyes, the nose, the mouth, the hands, and the feet—these six are the servants of the heart-mind. When the heart-mind says "obey," none dares not obey; [when it says] "go along," none dares not go along; [when it says] "advance," none dares not advance; [when it says] "fall back," none dares not fall back; [when it says] "go deep," none dares not go deep; [when it says] "go shallow," none dares not go shallow. With harmony there is unity, and with unity there is goodness.

29 目[210]而智（知）之，胃（謂）之進之。腧（喻）[211]而智（知）之，胃（謂）之進之。辟（譬）[212]而智（知）之，胃（謂）之進之。（47）幾[213]而智

Huainanzi may be found in YGH 00.12, pp. 174–76. MWDS also defines 心 as 人體之大者 ("the major part of the human body"), which, as PP notes, reminds us of the distinction between the "greater body" 大體 and "lesser body" 小體 found in the "Gao Zi, shang" chapter of the *Mengzi* (11.15 [6A.15]).

[205] 如: MWD is missing text at this point; MWDS gives 若, read 諾. MWD repeats 心曰 before each of the "commands" subsequent to "唯." 唯 and 諾 are both verbal forms of consent, but the former a more formal and responsive "yes, sir," the latter a more casual "all right"—a relationship that parallels the "deep"/"shallow" distinction below.

[206] 深: LH2 01.10 suggests that the graph should be rendered more strictly as just 穴 over 水 and that it represents not 深, but some other word of equivalent meaning.

[207] The lines pertaining to 後 and 深 are accidentally omitted from MWD, though present in MWDS, where 後 is given as 退, "retreat."

[208] 濮: MWD has 淺. QXG 98.5 reads this graph too as 淺, noting the identification of its phonetic element with that of the Guodian graphs elsewhere read 察 and 竊; his 00.7 (p. 225) sees that phonetic as a form of 戔. MPS 02.7 provides further phonological support for the phonetic connection between 察 and 淺. WQP 00.7 suggests that the phonetic element might be an abbreviation of 糳, interchangeable with an alternate phonetic reading of 戔. LXF 00.12, XXR 01.7 (pp. 45–46), and LZ 02.12 also read the graph as 淺, but see the right phonetic element as deriving from 辛. HXQ 01.9 and LL 02.3 (pp. 55–57) see the phonetic as instead most closely related to 帶. For more on this and related graphs, see the subsection on "The Chu Script" in section C of the general introduction. MWDS explains the distinction between 深 and 淺 by reference to lines with a parallel in the "Yu zao" 玉藻 chapter of the *Li ji*, which reads: "父命呼，唯而不諾。手執業則投之，食在口則吐之，走而不趨" ("When the father summons him, [the son] assents respectfully and not casually; he throws aside whatever studies may be in his hand, spits out whatever food may be in his mouth, and runs forth rather than simply hasten his steps"); MWDS suggests that the response to the call of an elder brother would be "shallower" than this response to the call of the father.

[209] Compare the end of passage 20, where the subject matter is the four conducts of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* rather than the analogous organs and limbs.

（知）之，天也。[214]「上帝臤〈臨〉女（汝），毋貳尔（爾）心」[215]，此之胃（謂）也。■

[210] 目: PP 00.6 reads 侔, pointing to the “Xiao qu” 小取 chapter of the *Mozi*, where the term is defined as “comparing terms side-by-side and moving them in tandem” 比辭而俱行 (cf. IT 00.5, p. 227); PP also raises 眸, “focusing,” as a possible reading. MWDS explains 目 as “comparing side-by-side” and realizing, for instance, how we are different from plants and other animals in our capacity for humanity and propriety (cf. *Xunzi*, “Wang zhi” 王制), or realizing that our heart-mind, in its fondness for humanity and propriety, is superior to our other organs and limbs. On the unusual form of the graph 目 as written here, see FSJ 06.10.

[211] 譗: MWD has 諭, read 喻; MWDS gives 榆. GDCMZJ sees 譗 as a graphic corruption of 喻; HLY 99.12, LZ 00.5 (p. 76), and HXQ 00.7 (pp. 182–83) all argue or suggest that it is instead a phonetic loan, the lower left element being an abbreviation of 龍. LTH 05.11 and LJH (as cited in LTH) both offer similar analyses; see also the detailed examination in SJZ 11.12, pp. 6–11. In MWD, the order of the lines on 喻 and 譬 are reversed. MWDS defines 喻 as “illustrating a great fondness through a lesser fondness” 以小好喻乎所大好, and it explains this in terms of when, through a base desire such as the desire for sex, I become aware of an even greater desire for propriety, which outweighs it; for instance, as one would never consider engaging with one’s lover at the side of fellow citizens, let alone next to one’s parents or brothers—a point that MWDS illustrates through the *Shi jing* air “Guan ju” 關睢. As LXF 00.12 notes, the imagery of that ode is traditionally labeled as the technique of *xing* 興, but early definitions of *xing* point to a concept much like the one 喻 defines here. Note that graphs with the 俞 phonetic often have the sense of “crossing over” or “surpassing.” For more on the MWDS interpretation of “Guan ju,” see RJ 97 and KM 07; as KM notes (pp. 787–90), that interpretation appears nearly identical to one found in the Shanghai Museum (v. 1) text “Kong Zi shilun” 孔子詩論 and is almost certainly based in part on the air “Qiang Zhongzi” 將仲子.

[212] 辟: MWD also has 辟, read 譬. MWDS explains this form of advancement as realizing that just as a mound may, through the accumulation (積) of earth, one day become a mountain, so too may I, through continual learning and advancement of the humanity and propriety of which we are all inherently capable, one day become like the sage-king Shun. As IT 99.11b and PP 00.6 note, 譬 is explained in the “Xiao qu” chapter of the *Mozi* as “illuminating by means of other things” 舉他物而以明之.

[213] 幾: this graph is missing in MWD, but written 鐖 in MWDS. MWDHMBS suggest reading it as 計, to “plan” or “calculate,” or perhaps reading it as 譏, “inspect.” MWDS defines the term cryptically as “齎數,” “bestowed numbers/signs.” PP 00.6 reads 禨, in the sense of “[through] portents.” WQP 00.7, who reads 幾 in the sense of “in incipience,” notes that the implied subject of this phrase could be either Heaven or the noble man; the latter, however, seems more likely. As LXF 00.12 notes, 幾/鐖 is also closely related to the word for “trigger” 機. I take 幾 here in the sense of “intuitively,” i.e., the kind of knowing that, just like truly virtuous conduct, derives from within. GY 01.2 takes 幾 in the sense of “draw near to,” i.e., directly approaching one’s inner nature rather than drawing analogies from external things.

[214] In MWD, the following quotation is preceded by “詩曰.”

[215] MWD has “上帝臨女(汝)，毋膩(貳)爾心”; *Mao Shi* reads “上帝臨女，無貳爾心.” The quotation comes from the ode “Da ming” 大明 of the “Da ya” section of the *Shi jing*, from which a different line has already been quoted in passage 18 above. GDCMZJ interprets 臤 as 賢; QXG 98.5 sees it instead as a corruption of 臨. YSX 00.5 reaffirms the interpretation of 賢, but reads this as 睌, “to watch”; KM 05 reads 賢 as is, in the sense of “regards [you] as worthies,” considering this a lexical variant. The ode citation here would, as the MWDS suggests, appear to be in reference to “knowing it intuitively.”

To know [the way of the noble man] through categorical comparison is referred to as "advancing it." To know it through sublimating illustration is referred to as "advancing it." To know it through emulative analogy is referred to as "advancing it." To know it intuitively is [a matter of] Heaven. "The Lord-on-high watches over you; have no second thoughts in your heart"—this is what [the ode] refers to.

30 大〈天〉陰（施）者（諸）[216]其人[217]，天也。其（48）人陰（施）者（諸）人，𠐼（介）[218]也。[219]■

When Heaven bestows it upon its [chosen] person, this is [a matter of] Heaven. When that person bestows it upon others, this is [a matter of] mediation.

31 䎽（聞）道[220]而兑（悅）者[221]，好悬（仁）者也。■䎽（聞）道而畏[222]者，好（49）義者也。■䎽（聞）道而共（恭）者，好豊（禮）者也。■䎽（聞）道[223]而讐（樂）[224]者，好[225]悳（德）者也。■（50）

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[216] 大陰者: MWD has 天生諸; 天 appears likewise in MWDS. LL 99.8, PP 00.6, WQP 00.7, and others all see 大, "great," as a corruption of 天. LXF 00.12 and XSH 00.11 (p. 7) would leave 大 as is.

[217] MWDS explains this "person" with the example of King Wen, and the following line by reference to his bestowal, in turn, upon such ministers as Hong Yao 弘(閎)夭 and Sanyi Sheng 散宜生.

[218] 𠐼: this graph is missing in MWD. LL 99.8 interprets the right side of the graph as the ancient form of 甲 over 皿 and reads 狎, borrowed in turn for 習, "practice." WQP 00.7, seeing the phonetic element as 夅, reads 佮, "in accord." LXF 00.12 suggests the reading of 據, "use as a basis." I accept LL's interpretation of the phonetic element as 甲 (*keăp), but tentatively read the graph as 介 (*keāt), understood in the sense of "mediation."

[219] At this point, MWD has twelve characters that do not appear in GDCJ: "其人施諸人，不得其人，不爲法" ("When that person bestows it upon others without finding the right person, the standard will not be met"); they also appear in MWDS. Given the unusually short length of this passage, it is possible they may have been accidentally omitted; however, they also seem somewhat parenthetical and thus may have been added later. IT 00.5 (p. 219) suggests that they were added to MWD for clarity's sake; GY 01.2 suspects they constituted an annotation that somehow crept into the text. MWD also has a passage marker following these lines.

[220] In MWD, the word 君子 appears before this 道, thus the "way of the noble man."

[221] MWD lacks the 者 at the end of each of these phrases. MWDS explains 道 as both 天道 and 君子道 and defines the 悅, 畏, and 恭 of this passage as 刑(形), referring, one would guess, to the initial inclinations out of which the fuller virtues gradually "take shape."

[222] 畏: MWD is missing this graph, but MWDS gives 威, read 畏.

One who hears of the Way and finds gratification in it is one fond of humanity.
One who hears of the Way and stands in awe of it is one fond of propriety.
One who hears of the Way and feels humility before it is one fond of ritual.
One who hears of the Way and finds happiness (/musicality) in it is one fond of (/who possesses) virtuosity.

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[223] MWD lacks this 道.

[224] 轡(樂): MWDS explains 樂 as "harmony" 和 and describes one "fond of virtue" as one who hears the way of the noble man and "makes the five [conducts] into one" 以夫五爲一.

[225] 好: MWD has 有 here instead.

| 7 |

"TANG YU ZHI DAO"

"The Way of Tang and Yu"

〈唐虞之道〉

This text extols the ways of the legendary sage-kings Yao 堯 (of Tang) and Shun 舜 (of Yu), and in particular the legend that, once they grew old, they each abdicated the throne to a worthy successor (Yao to Shun, and Shun to Yu 禹), rather than, upon death, transmit it to their next of kin. Yao and Shun are portrayed as representing the pinnacle of virtue because of their selflessness in considering the benefit of the world over that of their own persons and lineages, and for thus setting the sagely model of humanity for others to emulate.[1] They ruled by example, showing the people such virtues as reverence, affinity, and the like, by the respect and service they themselves paid to Heaven, Earth, the ancestors, and other deities. In short:

[1] Much has been made about this notion of "benefiting the world and not benefiting from it" 利天下而弗利 in this text, particularly in view of the downplaying of "benefit/profit" 利 for which Meng Zi is famous. That is, whereas the *Mengzi* places "benefit" in direct opposition to humanity and propriety, this text appears to define the latter in terms of the former; see, for example, Deng Jianpeng, "'Tang Yu zhi dao' de minben sixiang," p. 47. Interestingly enough, even the "Xiu quan" 修權 chapter of the *Shang Jun shu*, while not actually advocating the practice of abdication, speaks of Yao and Shun's rulership and abdication in similar terms: "Thus Yao and Shun's overseeing of the world was not so that they could privately reap the world's benefits, but rather to oversee the world for the sake of the world. That they assessed the worthy, promoted the capable, and transmitted [the throne] to them was not in order to distance father and son and to endear themselves to outsiders, but because they understood the way to bring about order" 故堯舜之位天下也，非私天下之利也，爲天下位天下也。論賢舉能而傳焉，非疏父子、親越人也，明於治亂之道也 (Jiang Lihong, *Shang Jun shu zhuizhi*, p. 84); see Qian Xun, "Dui Yao Shun shanrang yiyi de renshi," pp. 822–23. Carine Defoort and Andrew Meyer have somewhat different takes on how "benefit" comes to play a role in this text, more on which will be mentioned below.

> When one insists on rectifying his self before rectifying the world, the sagely way will be complete. 【Such 】 was the 【Way】 of [Yao of] Tang and [Shun of] Yu. (strip 3)

The text singles out especially their dual virtues of "loving [their] parents" (*qin qin* 親親) and "honoring the worthy" (*zun xian* 尊賢), virtues that took their ultimate forms in extraordinary filial actions and abdication, respectively, and such virtues are in turn described as the "acme" of humanity and propriety. As we see elsewhere in the Guodian texts, humanity and propriety are portrayed as two distinct yet inseparable sides of the same coin: "To love one's parents and forget the worthies is to have humanity yet lack propriety; to honor the worthies and neglect one's parents is to have propriety yet lack humanity" (strips 8-9).

The text makes a point of stressing how Shun was a model of both filial piety and ministerial loyalty, and that it was through observing these traits in him, along with his brotherly proclivity to honor elders and nurture younger siblings, that Yao recognized his extraordinary capacity for humanity and propriety in rulership and thus in the end decided to abdicate the throne to him. Shun's ability to "honor worthies" is also demonstrated by his sagely appointment of such ministers as Yu, Yi 益, and Hou Ji 后稷 to positions overseeing the tasks most vital to the order and prosperity of the world. Abdication is seen here as the ultimate form of promoting the worthy and capable, and it is described as an act necessary for the maintenance of order because of the natural degradation of human capabilities with age: the sovereign should abdicate at the age of seventy because his "four limbs grow weary and the perceptiveness of [his] eyes and ears diminishes" (strip 26).

Interestingly, this text, much like "Qiongda yi shi," also emphasizes the role of fate, of "encountering [one's] mandate" (*yu ming* 遇命) or "meeting up with [one's] time" (*feng shi* 逢時) (strip 14).[2] Sagacity and humanity are necessary but not sufficient conditions for the achievement of sagely rule, and the important thing, as both Yao and Shun exemplified, is to maintain the same constancy of virtue through times of both obscurity and prosperity. It is precisely such constancy and equanimity that allows one to place the benefit of the world over that of one's self, as one is just as content in obscurity as he is in the ultimate position of prominence. From this perspective, abdication is seen as the supreme expression of sagely virtue and the highest form of a standard of conduct to which all should aspire. In the end, the text leaves little room for doubting the preferability of this form of royal transmission: "Ever

[2] Note that "Qiongda yi shi" (strips 2-3) also contains a specific reference to Shun being discovered by Yao and promoted from humble origins to take the throne as Son of Heaven, which, though it is not otherwise stressed in that text, could also be seen as an oblique reference to the abdication ideal.

since there have been living people, there has never been a case where they could be transformed without [the model of] abdication" (strip 21).

The story of Yao and Shun's abdications is a common one in Warring States literature, reflected in such texts as the "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter of the *Shang shu*, the "Wan Zhang, shang" 萬章上 chapter of the *Mengzi*, and the "Shang xian" 尙賢 chapters of the *Mozi*.[3] In all such stories, the overriding theme is the promotion of capable men—variations on the notions of "upholding virtue" (*shang de* 上德) and the "investing of worthies" (*shou xian* 授賢) that we see in this text, though they obviously occur in differing intellectual and rhetorical contexts. As the "Xianxue" 顯學 chapter of the *Han Feizi* famously records, "Confucius and Mo Zi both spoke of [the ways of] Yao and Shun, but selected different things [therein], each proclaiming his own [philosophy] was the true [way of] Yao and Shun" 孔子、墨子俱道堯、舜，而取舍不同，皆自謂真堯、舜.[4] For the Confucians specifically, while they generally held great reverence for these sages, their positions on the issue of abdication itself were especially complex and ever changing. What makes "Tang Yu zhi dao" unique is that it *clearly* advocates the practice of abdication while doing so from an essentially Confucian perspective, seeing it as an outward extension of the practices of filial piety and brotherly love. As many have noted, earlier scholars such as Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) and Tong Shuye 童書業 (1908–1968) had argued that stories of abdication must have first arisen from the Mohists, since such stories seem inherently inimical to the Confucian notion of social virtues as an outward extension of proper family relationships.

[3] We will further examine the first two of these below. For the *Mozi*, see for instance the "Shangxian, shang 上" chapter: "Thus the sage kings of antiquity governed by exhibiting the virtuous and honoring worthies. Though these be men of the farms or of craft markets, so long as they were capable they would promote them, giving them high ranks, generous salaries, important duties, and decisive commands. . . . Thus in ancient times Yao promoted Shun from the north banks of the Fu marshes, handing over to him the [reins of] governance, and the world was put in balance" 故古者聖王之爲政，列德而尙賢，雖在農與工肆之人，有能則舉之，高予之爵，重予之祿，任之以事，斷予之令……故古者堯舉舜於服澤之陽，授之政，天下平. In the *zhong* 中 and *xia* 下 versions of this chapter, Yao's promotion of Shun refers more unmistakably to abdication, where when Yao promotes Shun from his humble occupations in the Fu marshes, he "promotes him to be the Son of Heaven, having him take over the governance of the world and the rulership of the world's people" 舉以爲天子，與接天下之政，治天下之民. See (Qing) Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, pp. 46–47, 58, and 68. Yuri Pines, noting how such references to the abdication legend are made only in passing in the *Mozi* and not found at all in the "Shangtong" 尙同 chapters, where they might have been exploited to advantage, suggests that the abdication legend may still have been in its infancy by the time of the *Mozi*'s compilation; see his "Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign's Power," pp. 248–52.

[4] (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, pp. 457. Yao and Shun are also glorified in certain chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, such as "Tian dao" 天道, though they more frequently appear as objects of satire or literary foils in that work.

This text, however, potentially serves to dispel the argument, as filial piety and abdication are given as two sides of a *ren*/*yi* coin, and "love of parents" and "honoring of worthies" are considered mutually indispensable virtues, with wording, moreover, that closely parallels a statement attributed to Confucius in the "Zhong yong": "Humanity is the human, wherein love of parents is greatest; propriety is what is proper, wherein the honoring of worthies is greatest" 仁者人也，親親爲大；義者宜也，尊賢爲大.[5] This latter parallel, along with other potential clues, has led some to include this among the Guodian texts that may have been products of a Si-Meng lineage, as we will discuss further below.

Some scholars have offered anthropological or economic-historical explanations for the emergence of the abdication legends. Chen Ming, for example, views "Tang Yu zhi dao" specifically as representative of a kind of remnant of an early age in social history where collective tribal alliances selected a leader for their common good, but wherein power was not highly centralized in the hands of that leader. In this context, the dichotomy of "love of parents" and the "honoring of worthies" is seen as a reflection of the economic move from the immediate family to alliances of common interests, wherein the social division of labor necessary for efficiency in production is organized around a kind of expanded family model. In such a view, the Confucians thus hearken back to a dualistic archetype of social harmony

[5] See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 28, and the wording of strip 6 below; see also Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," pp. 49–50. For Gu Jiegang's classic study, see his "Shanrang chuanshuo qiyu Mojia kao"; for a summary and further criticism of the latter, see Qiu Xigui, "Xin chutu xian-Qin wenxian yu gushi chuanshuo," pp. 30–37. Li Xueqin, in "Xian-Qin Rujia zhuzuo de zhongda faxian," p. 14, suggested that the text might be a "strategic" work directly related to the persuasions of Su Dai and Cuomao Shou on Kuai, King of Yan (see below), but he gives little basis for this claim, and most scholars still see the text as an essentially Confucian work. Li Cunshan, for instance, emphasizing the commonality of the abdication theme across school boundaries, argues that all this text really tells us is that it was probably written before 318 BC, and could very well be considered Confucian, despite Li's claims; see his "Du Chujian 'Zhongxin zhi dao' ji qita," pp. 270–71. Wang Bo, in "Guanyu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' de jige wenti," p. 33, notes how both the notion of fate (discussed above) and the idea of retiring to nurture one's remaining years seen in this text would appear to be at odds with the anti-fate rhetoric and image of the tireless sage that we find in Mohist works, and he thus considers the work to more likely be the product of some Confucian lineage. Aside from the Confucian themes noted above, others note the emphasis on such typical (if not exclusively) Confucian virtues as humanity and filial piety; see, for instance, Deng Jianpeng, "'Tang Yu zhi dao' de minben sixiang," p. 46. See also Qiu Xigui, "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji san ze," p. 180. Nonetheless, Peng Yushang still finds the text to be primarily a Mohist product, arguing that the Confucians certainly had no monopoly on the way of humanity and propriety and that the text's notion of "benefitting the world" was more closely in line with Mohist values; see his "Liu di shuo," pp. 341–42 (cf. the analysis of Carine Defoort cited below). Yi Sŭng-ryul also argues for something of a Mohist influence, seeing the term *zun xian* 尊賢 as intimately connected with the Mohist catch-phrase *shang xian* 尚賢 and likewise citing such shared notions as "loving the people" and "benefitting the world"; see his "'Tō Gu no dō' yakuchū," p. 200. Note, however, that in the Shanghai Museum text "Zigao" (see below), the spokesman for Yao's abdication to Shun is none other than Confucius himself.

and social order that was once the norm in the distant past, based on both natural human affections and utilitarian economic interests.[6] Such interpretations are interesting and may even have some explanatory value, but they are of limited worth in accounting for some of the tensions that are evident in this text, which must ultimately be understood within the context of the intellectual, institutional, and political history of its own period.[7]

I will not attempt any such comprehensive treatment here—especially since excellent studies tracing the early development of the abdication theme have already been written—but to better put this text in perspective, let me briefly run through some of the other major references to abdication in Warring States literature, in particular those related directly to the Confucian tradition.[8]

[6] Chen Ming, "'Tang Yu zhi dao' yu zaoqi rujia de shehui linian." See also Deng Jianpeng, "'Tang Yu zhi dao' de minben sixiang," p. 45, who similarly sees this text as related to a kind of vague recollection of the democratic ideals of an earlier age, centered on the notion of benefiting the common good. For references to earlier arguments on how abdication legends more generally might be somehow reflective of ancient practices and institutions, see Liao Mingchun, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue," p. 72 n. 21; and Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," p. 245 n. 5.

[7] As far as the emergence of the abdication legend itself goes, however, I would give some credence to the notion that it may have distant origins in a quasi-historical past, rather than assume that it was invented wholly out of nothing to suit Zhanguo political ends. For a similar view, see Qiu Xigui, "Xin chutu xian-Qin wenxian yu gushi chuanshuo," p. 37, and "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji sanze," p. 284.

[8] For more extensive treatments in English, see especially Yuri Pines's excellent and comprehensive study, "Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign's Power," as well as his much briefer synopsis (but which discusses the relevant Shanghai Museum texts in greater detail), "Subversion Unearthed: Criticism of Hereditary Succession in the Newly Discovered Manuscripts." See also chapter three of his recent book, *Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era*, pp. 54–81. For a discussion of the text as it may relate to Mohist and "Yangist" philosophy, see Carine Defoort, "Mohist and Yangist Blood in Confucian Flesh: The Middle Position of the Guodian Text 'Tang Yu zhi Dao.'" Sarah Allan also discusses ways in which how the abdication legend is recounted in this text might place it within the larger discourse of the time; see her "The Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun: Appointment by merit as a theory of succession in a Warring States bamboo-slip text." For Allan's earlier, pioneering work on the study of the abdication legend more generally, see her *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China*, in which she employs a structuralist analysis to identify recurring themes in early legend sets pertaining to dynastic transition and the various manipulations these underwent in different texts.

CHANGING VIEWS ON ABDICATION IN THE WARRING STATES[9]

Perhaps the earliest, and certainly the most venerated version of the Yao and Shun abdication legends is to be found in the "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter of the *Shang shu*. While this text may well contain later accretions, it almost unquestionably existed in some form by the time the *Mengzi* was written, as it is directly quoted from in that text.[10] Though there is little evidence, prior to that *terminus ante quem*, for determining just when the text may have first been written, it seems reasonable to suggest that it may have preceded "Tang Yu zhi dao" as well. It certainly remains possible that "Yao dian" and "Tang Yu zhi dao" were both products of the same time period and intellectual context, but my analysis here will proceed on the model that "Yao dian" already existed for the latter text as a source of canonical authority to be dealt with and addressed. "Tang Yu zhi dao" itself directly quotes a potentially related canonical text—the "Records of Yu" (*Yu zhi* 虞志), or possibly "Odes of Yu" (*Yu shi* 虞

[9] The various textual references cited below have been noted already in a number of different articles. For one of the more comprehensive listings of the relevant passages, see Qian Xun, "Dui Yao Shun shanrang yiyi de renshi," pp. 821–26.

[10] Chen Mengjia, for instance, has noted how such phenomena in the text as the classification of geographical units into twelve, statements on calendrical adjustment and the standardization of weights and measures, and the practice of five-year inspection tours all appear to reflect Qin dynasty institutions and practices. He only concludes from this, however, that these lines reflect specific changes introduced into the official Qin version of the text by Eastern scholars such as Fu Sheng 伏生, not that the extant text as a whole is substantially different from the one that existed in Meng Zi's time. See Chen Mengjia, *Shangshu tonglun*, pp. 152–63. Qu Wanli draws a similarly cautions conclusion, suggesting only that the text was composed sometime between the times of Confucius and Meng Zi; see Qu Wanli, *Shangshu shiyi*, pp. 21–23. Yuri Pines, following Jiang Shanguo 蔣善國, assumes a middle-to-late Warring States date for the creation of the text; in his view, the fact that the text states that Yao did not retire until after seventy years *on the throne* effectively serves to undermine the notion of a "mandatory retirement age" and thus constitutes a crucial change in the story compared with that presented in such texts as "Tang Yu zhi dao"; see his "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 245–46 n. 7, and 275–76. Pine's observation is worth pondering, but my own inclination is not to read as much into the implications of this one line without further conclusive evidence of the author's intent to undermine this key aspect of the very legend it recounts. In terms of both form and content, while it is always possible that the authors purposely crafted it to seem archaic, "Yao dian" has all the marks of being an earlier text, at least relative to Warring States philosophical texts (not to other *Shang shu* chapters); on this point, see Peng Bangben, "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chutan," pp. 262–63. Note that the received version of the *Shang shu* artificially divides "Yao dian" into two chapters: "Yao dian" and "Shun dian"; here I (as with others) take "Yao dian" to refer to the original text containing both.

詩)—a now-lost text that may well have been considered at the time to be a Document of comparable authority.[11]

As Wang Bo has pointed out, "Tang Yu zhi dao" shares a number of narrative themes in common with "Yao dian." Specifically, "Yao dian" touches upon Shun's unsurpassed filiality toward his parents and ability to ultimately harmonize his obstinate family, discusses his sacrificial service to the ancestors and natural deities, and recounts at some length, in dialogue form, his appointment of such ministers as Yu 禹, Yi 益, and Hou Ji 后稷 to take charge of such vital tasks as flood-control, fire-management, and agriculture—all themes that reoccur in "Tang Yu zhi dao."[12] And of course there is the account of abdication itself; as "Yao dian" puts it:

> 帝曰：「格汝舜，詢事考言，乃言厎可績，三載，汝陟帝位。」舜讓于德，弗嗣，正月上日，受終于文祖。[13]
>
> The sovereign (Yao) said: "Come, Shun. For three years have I consulted affairs with you and examined your words, which have all proven accomplished. You shall now ascend to the sovereign's throne." Shun yielded to [those of greater] virtue and did not [immediately] succeed him, [but] on the first favorable day of the first month, he [finally] accepted the retired [throne] in the ancestral temple.

While Wang believes that "Tang Yu zhi dao" could thus be viewed as a kind of commentarial elaboration on "Yao dian," it may be more accurate to characterize it as a sort of philosophical reflection distilled from a narrative that was by then already well known. As Wang suggests, the existence of such an earlier, common canonical tradition would help

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[11] On the reading of the graphs in question (strip 27) as *Yu zhi* rather than *Yu shi*, see Liao Mingchun, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi wen zhi,' 'Tang Yu zhi dao' yu *Shang shu*," p. 37. Liao suspects this might be an alternate name for the "Yu shu" 虞書 section of the *Shang shu*. Whatever sort of text this was, however, it may yet be of relatively late date; on this point, see Pines, who, in "Disputers of Abdication," p. 262 n. 17, notes how the term *wanwu* 萬物, which appears in the quoted passage, is unattested in pre–400 BC texts.

[12] See Wang Bo, "Guanyu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' de jige wenti," pp. 30–31. See especially strips 4-6, 9-10, 12, and 22-25 of the text.

[13] See Qu Wanli, *Shangshu shiyi*, pp. 30–31.

account for the fact that the theme of abdication is taken up in earnest by both Mohist and Confucian scholars.[14]

The *Lunyu* itself has relatively little to say about abdication per se, save for an oblique allusion to the Yao and Shun abdications at the opening of the "Yao yue" 堯曰 chapter, but Yao and Shun are often cited as paragons of virtuous rulership in the work. For instance, Confucius is quoted in consecutive passages as exclaiming: "How majestic!—Shun's and Yu's possession of the world without taking part therein!" 巍巍乎！舜禹之有天下也，而不與焉, and "How majestic! Only Heaven is [truly] great, and only Yao [truly] emulated it!" 巍巍乎！唯天爲大，唯堯則之.[15] These speak to the notions of Heavenly impartiality and selflessness in Yao and Shun, but as Yu is also included in these praises, they should probably not be seen as directly related to the act of abdication.[16] A more direct statement of Confucius's on that topic is given in the *Mengzi*, though that reliably tells us more about Meng Zi's own thought than it does about that of the master. The *Mengzi* passage is fascinating for a number of reasons and is worth quoting at some length here. It begins with a question by the disciple Wan Zhang 萬章, who has obviously heard of the abdication legend but is unsure of its veracity: "Is it true that Yao gave the empire to Shun?" 堯以天下與舜，有諸？. To which Meng Zi replies, significantly, with a resounding negative: "No, the Son of Heaven cannot 'give' the world away to another" 否。天子不能以天下與人. When the puzzled disciple follows up with the question of just who, then, gave the world to Shun, Meng Zi replies that "Heaven gave it to him" 天與之, and goes on to elaborate as follows:

> 天子能薦人於天，不能使天與之天下……昔者堯薦舜於天而天受之，暴之於民而民受之……使之主祭而百神享之，是天受之；使之主事而事治，百姓安之，是民受之也。天與之，人與之，故曰：天子不能以天下與人。……[17]
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> The Son of Heaven can offer someone to Heaven, but cannot make Heaven give him the world. . . . In former times, Yao offered Shun to Heaven and Heaven accepted him; he exposed him to the people and the people accepted

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[14] See again, however, Pines's somewhat different take on the line of development in his "Disputers of Abdication," esp. pp. 249–52 and 274–75.

[15] See the "Tai Bo" 泰伯 chapter; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 107. The opening passage of this same chapter is also often cited in reference to abdication, as it has Confucius exclaiming approval for Tai Bo's abdication-like act of yielding inheritance of the throne to his youngest brother, the father of King Wen.

[16] Pines already makes much the same point in "Disputers of Abdication," p. 247.

[17] "Wan Zhang, shang," passage 5; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 307–8.

> him. . . . He had him oversee the sacrifices, and the hundred spirits received them—this is how Heaven accepted him; he had him oversee affairs, and affairs were put in order and the hundred surnames were content with them—this is how the people accepted him. Heaven gave it to him, and the people gave it to him; this is what I meant by "The Son of Heaven cannot give the world away to another." . . .

Interestingly enough, Meng Zi concludes this reply by quoting for support not the "Yao dian," but rather the "Tai shi" 泰誓: "'Heaven views from the view of our people; Heaven listens from the listening of our people'—this is what the text refers to"「天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽」，此之謂也. Wan Zhang then follows up with an additional query about whether it is true, as people say, that "By the time of Yu, there was a decline in virtue, so he transmitted [the throne] to his son rather than to a worthy"? 「至於禹而德衰，不傳於賢而傳於子」. To which Meng Zi again replies: "No, that is not so. When Heaven chooses a worthy, [the Son of Heaven] bequeaths it to a worthy; when Heaven chooses the son, [he] bequeaths it to the son" 否，不然也。天與賢，則與賢；天與子，則與子. Meng Zi then goes on to explain how Yu originally chose the worthy Yi 益 to succeed him, but, upon Yu's death, the people flocked to Yu's son Qi 啓 rather than to Yi, thus indicating Heaven's will. He then reflects upon this as follows:

> 莫之為而為者，天也；莫之致而至者，命也。匹夫而有天下者，德必若舜禹，而又有天子薦之者，故仲尼不有天下。繼世以有天下，天之所廢，必若桀紂者也，故益、伊尹、周公不有天下。……孔子曰：「唐虞禪，夏后、殷、周繼，其義一也。」[18]
>
> That which is done without any doer is a matter of Heaven; that which is caused without any causer is a matter of fate (/mandate). For a common man to gain possession of the world, his virtue must be comparable to that of Shun and Yu, and he must also have the Son of Heaven recommend him [to Heaven]; thus Confucius never possessed the world. When the world has been possessed [hereditarily] for consecutive generations, it takes a [tyrant] like Jie or Zhou to be deposed by Heaven; thus Yi, Yi Yin, and the Duke of Zhou never possessed the world. . . . As Confucius said: "[Yao of] Tang and [Shun] of Yu abdicated,

[18] "Wan Zhang, shang," passage 6; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 308–9.

> while the sovereigns of the Xia, Yin, and Zhou all passed [the throne] along [hereditarily]—the significance is one and the same."

As some have argued, Meng Zi's account of transmission in accordance with "Heaven's will" as seen through the eyes and ears of the people may be close in spirit to the notion of benefiting the common good that we see in "Tang Yu zhi dao," and this last paragraph also touches upon a notion of fate not at all unlike the one found in that text.[19] However, Meng Zi's position on abdication is clearly a much different one. Though Meng Zi does not discount the ancient practice of abdication per se, he certainly attempts to rationalize it and thereby staunchly defend the current political reality of hereditary transmission. Faced with the canonical authority of texts like "Yao dian," Meng Zi cannot escape altogether the weight of accepted legend concerning the almost superhuman moral feats of the exemplary sages of the distant past. But by playing up the role of Heaven and fate, of both popular support and sovereign recommendation, and by setting the bar of virtue to nearly insurmountable heights, Meng Zi effectively portrays abdication as a highly exceptional act, and yet one that does not ultimately differ from the norm of hereditary transmission in any fundamental way.[20]

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[19] Such views are noted, for example, by Ma Yunzhi, who observes how the emphasis "Tang Yu zhi dao" placed on "benefiting the people," "loving the people," "nurturing the people," "teaching the people," etc., shows commonalties with certain populist ideas found in *Mengzi*; he also notes, however, how the text is obviously different from the *Mengzi* in expressly *opposing* hereditary transmission, whereas Meng Zi seems bent on justifying the established fact of hereditary transmission as the norm. See Ma Yunzhi, "Guodian Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' de shanrang guan," pp. 34–35. As we discuss below, Ma is certainly correct in emphasizing this difference, a central aspect of the passage that some have overlooked. Jiang Guanghui, for instance, observes how Meng Zi makes use of the notion of popular demand to justify the act of abdication in much the same way that he (and later Xun Zi) also appeals to both populism and name-rectification to justify the revolutionary overthrow of despotic leaders by Kings Tang 湯 and Wu 武 (see [Song] Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 221, 280); see Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian Chujian yu daotong youxi: ruxue chuantong chongxin quanshi lungang," pp. 17–19. Jiang, however, fails to take note of Meng Zi's equally strong defense of the practice of hereditary transmission in this passage. See also the record of an early discussion of this issue in "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, pp. 177–79, where Sarah Allan also points to key differences with the *Mengzi*, whereas Li Xueqin, emphasizing the similarities, offers the conclusion that the two texts are "approximately contemporaneous."

[20] In common with "Tang Yu zhi dao," however, Meng Zi also stresses elsewhere how Yao and Shun were paragons of both filial piety and the promotion of worthies, as well as the epitome of selflessness. For instance, he emphasizes that "The Way of Yao and Shun is simply filial piety and brotherly love" 堯舜之道，孝弟而已矣, though there in the context of stressing his view that "everybody can become a Yao or Shun" 人皆可以爲堯舜; cites Confucius as proclaiming that "Shun was the epitome of filiality, [still] thinking of [his parents] at the age of fifty" 舜其至孝矣，五十而慕; states that "Yao and Shun, for all their humanity, did not love all others impartially, because they were urgent in seeking affinity with worthies" 堯舜之仁不徧愛人，急親賢也; and declares that "Shun viewed casting aside the world as he would casting aside an old pair of shoes" 舜視棄

This is not the case in "Tang Yu zhi dao," where abdication is not only accepted as the ideal but in fact extolled as the only morally efficacious form of transmission. Nonetheless, the weight of that traditional legend proves a burden for the authors of this text as well, as there is evidence of tensions at work that they are clearly attempting to resolve. These tensions are precisely the same ones that caused Guo Moruo to speculate on Mohist origins for the abdication legend: given the Confucian emphasis on social virtues as derived from an extension of the affections and obligations one has toward the members of his immediate family, how can Confucians espouse an act that ultimately undercuts family loyalties at the highest and most influential of all levels? The paradox is unmistakably felt, and it is for this reason that the text takes great pains to stress how Yao and, especially, Shun were, in fact, paragons of both filial devotion to their parents *and* loyal servitude to the state in their promotion of worthies.[21] This places their acts in a context of the balanced expression of the dual virtues of humanity and propriety that we find in a number of the other Guodian texts, and it serves to help explain away the potential contradiction with the prioritizing of family over state that is found unequivocally stated in texts like "Liu de." In spite of this effort, however, the problem of the contradiction would not go away, as we shall see later on.

As it turns out, "Tang Yu zhi dao" would not be the only excavated text to extol the virtues of abdication, as at least two of the Shanghai Museum texts, "Zigao" 子羔 and "Rongcheng shi" 容成氏, would appear to do so as well. In the former of these, Shun is singled out as a worthy of humble origins whose unique virtue (including his filial piety) caused Yao to recognize his worth and seek him out "from amidst the wilds" 草茅之中 (strip 5) and to promote him to the position of the world's Sovereign (*di* 帝). Shun is contrasted with the founding fathers of the three dynasties, each of whom possessed miraculous birthrights, but who in the end were still no match for Shun, the common man of uncommon

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天下，猶棄敝蹝也. See (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 339, 303, 363, and 359; for more on the similarities of such passages with "Tang Yu zhi dao," see Qian Xun, "Dui Yao Shun shanrang yiyi de renshi," pp. 824–25.

[21] This aspect of the text's rhetorical strategy has also been discussed by Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 258–60. As Pines notes, the notion that "The dissemination of filiality is to love all the people of the world" (strip 7) effectively serves to reconcile the conflicting obligations to family and to the state; on this point, cf. Peng Bangben, "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chutan," p. 269; Huang Junliang, "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' yinfa 'liu di' yishuo," pp. 88–90; and Sarah Allan, "Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun," pp. 33–34. Ouyang Zhenren goes to the opposite extreme from those who would look to Mohist origins, contending that abdication is in fact the definitive essence of Confucian thought, seeing the latter as a philosophy that is ultimately concerned with virtue that transcends the familial obligations from which it derives its initial impetus; see his "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' 'shan er bu chuan' de lilun zhuizong." Such a conclusion largely glosses over many of the tensions evident not only in "Tang Yu zhi dao," but indeed throughout the early Confucian tradition.

virtue. In the latter text, a lengthy historical account of the legacy of past sovereigns places abdication, the "transmission to worthies rather than to sons" 不授其子而授賢 (strip 1), as the demonstrated norm and successful practice for many generations of sovereigns in the ideal past.[22] When the narrative turns to the situation following the change to hereditary transmission in the three dynasties, however, the world begins to fall into varying degrees of disorder, implying a direct connection between the mode of transmission and the achievements or failures of rulership.[23] While both of these texts differ somewhat from "Tang Yu zhi dao" in terms of their lines of argumentation, they do share certain common themes, and, most importantly, represent further examples of a textual tradition in clear support of the practice of abdication that would later all but disappear from the received canon of pre-Qin philosophical works.[24]

If such a tradition of pro-abdication philosophy existed among Confucian thinkers of the fourth century BC, what was it that caused Meng Zi to back away from such a stance and, later, philosophers such as Xun Zi to (as we shall see) condemn the idea of abdication outright? The obvious turning point was an historical event that took place during Meng Zi's own period of activity: Kuai, King of Yan's 燕王噲 decision to abdicate to his chancellor Zizhi 子之 and the disastrous consequences that followed from this action.[25] According to

[22] Compare strip 8 of "Tang Yu zhi dao": "The rise of the Six Sovereigns in antiquity all originated from this" 六帝興於古，均由此也.

[23] For more in-depth analysis of these texts, from which the above description draws heavily, see Qiu Xigui, "Xin chutu xian-Qin wenxian yu gushi chuanshuo," pp. 30–37; and Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 254–57 and 263–68, and, especially, "Subversion Unearthed," pp. 161–64 and 169–75 (see also his *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, pp. 65–71). The texts themselves may both be found in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu, v. 2*, pp. 181–99 and 247–93. For the most comprehensive treatment of these texts to date, see Guo Yongbing's recently published study, *Dixi xinyan: Chudi chutu Zhanguo wenxian zhong de chuanshuo shidai gudiwang xitong yanjiu*.

[24] Some would point to the "Li yun" 禮運 chapter of the *Li ji* as another text from the received literature that appears to extol a past age when abdication was the norm, when "the world belonged to all" 天下爲公 rather than belonging "to households" 天下爲家. See Jiang Guanghui, "Guodian Chujian yu daotong youxi," pp. 16–17; Ouyang Zhenren, "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' 'shan er bu chuan' de lilun zhuizong," pp. 98–99; and Qiu Xigui, "Xin chutu xian-Qin wenxian yu gushi chuanshuo," p. 33.

[25] In spite of these consequences, Huang Junliang attempts to argue that it is at least plausible and logical that "Tang Yu zhi dao" could have been written after Kuai's abdication, seeing it as a text that accepts the impossibility of abdication in the present age yet still holds it up as a kind of spirit from which present-day rulers could somehow learn. Huang contends that the text was written primarily to explain the historical reasons why the practice of abdication had come to an end, and he sees it as focusing on showing how the change from Shun to Yu signaled the end of the abdication era, such that even if one had the necessary sagely attributes and encountered an enlightened ruler, the times themselves no longer allowed for the practice. See his "'Qiongda yi shi' yu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' zhong de 'shi' yu 'yu,'" pp. 471–76. The end of abdication, however, is hardly

the *Zhanguo ce*, "Yan ce 1" 燕策一, the event took place in the third year of Kuai's reign (318 BC), when Kuai was deluded by the persuasions of Su Dai 蘇代 and Lumao Shou 鹿毛壽 (Cuomao Shou 厝毛壽) into feigning, for political purposes, to abdicate the throne to Zizhi, who in fact failed to decline as expected and instead took over control of the reins of government, eventually prompting a bloody counterattack by the crown prince and a devastating invasion by the state of Qi 齊.[26] Whatever we make of the specific details of this event, it is hard to imagine that it did not serve as a major factor in discouraging continued support of the practice of abdication among the itinerant philosophers, and it alone would likely serve to account for the general demise of texts like "Tang Yu zhi dao" beginning in the final years of the fourth century BC.[27]

By the time of Xun Zi, we find little trace of any further support for either the legend or the practice, and the *Xunzi* offers a stance on abdication that is clearly more critical than what we find in the *Mengzi*; this is especially the case in the "Zheng lun" 正論 chapter of the

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evident in the text itself, unless one follows Huang's problematic and speculative interpretation of the highly ambiguous and tentatively ordered strips 12-15, for more on which refer to the translation notes.

[26] Passage 9; see He Jianzhang, *Zhanguo ce zhushi*, pp. 1104–5; for a partial translation of the passage see Allan, "Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun," p. 38. According to this passage, it was none other than Meng Zi himself who urged the King of Qi to invade. The *Mengzi* itself records a couple of somewhat more equivocal instances of Meng Zi's advice in connection with this same invasion; see "Liang Hui Wang, xia" 梁惠王下, passages 10 and 11, and "Gongsun Chou, xia" 公孫丑下, passage 8, in (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 222–23 and 246. The most interesting condemnations of Kuai's abdication to Zizhi are to be found in the bronze vessels cast by Cuo, King of Zhongshan 中山王礕, for a discussion of which see Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 269–71.

[27] On this point, see Li Cunshan, "Du Chujian 'Zhongxin zhi dao' ji qita," pp. 270–71. While accepting the significance of this event as the major turning point, others would equally emphasize institutional changes of the mid-Zhanguo period that led to the increasing centralization of power in the hands of state rulers. See Peng Bangben, "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chutan," p. 263; and Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," p. 271. As to when the sort of abdication philosophy seen in "Tang Yu zhi dao" may have first arisen, Peng (p. 264), following the lead of Wang Baoxuan, would trace its origins to the early fifth century BC, when the powerful ministerial households of Jin 晉 and Qi took de facto power in their states and required theoretical justification for their eventual nominal takeover. Huang Junliang makes much the same argument, but focuses more specifically on the Tian 田 household in Qi, given especially that the Tian clan traced its ancestry directly back to Shun; see his "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' yinfa 'liu di' yishuo," pp. 90–94. See also Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 252–53, who similarly suggests that "a new skepticism regarding the legitimacy of lineal succession emerged" around the time the ministerial families in question seized power. Such linkage between these ministerial families and the abdication theories may actually be traced back to Han Fei 韓非, who more than once directly equates the usurpations of these Zhanguo figures with the takeovers of Shun, Yu, Tang, and Wu; see (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, pp. 406–7.

work.[28] There, Xun Zi first refutes the prevalent assertion that "Yao and Shun abdicated" 堯舜擅讓, and then further refutes three qualified versions of the same claim: that they "abdicated upon death" 死而擅之, that they "abdicated when old and decrepit" 老衰而擅, and that they "retired when they got old and could no longer handle the burden" 老者不堪其勞而休也. To the general claim that Yao and Shun abdicated, he responds as follows:

> 是不然。天子者，埶位至尊，無敵於天下，夫有誰與讓矣？道德純備，智惠甚明，南面而聽天下，生民之屬莫不震動從服以化順之。天下無隱士，無遺善，同焉者是也，異焉者非也。夫有惡擅天下矣。[29]
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> This is not so. The Son of Heaven occupies the most honored position and is without peer in the world—to whom would he abdicate? His ways and virtue are complete, his wisdom and kindness are enlightened, and as he faces south and oversees the world, no living person is not roused to submit to him and transform under his influence. There are no hidden recluses or disregarded goodness: those of like mind are with him, and those who dissent are against him. Whence, then, would he abdicate the world?

To the first of the three qualified assertions, he concludes a reply with:

> 天子生則天下一隆，致順而治，論德而定次；死則能任天下者必有之矣。夫禮義之分盡矣，擅讓惡用矣哉！[30]
>
> While the Son of Heaven is alive, the world unanimously exalts him, order is achieved with perfect accord, and stations are established on the basis of virtue; once he dies, there will invariably be one who can take on the duties of the world. For once the divisions of humanity and propriety have been thoroughly fulfilled, what need is there for abdication?!

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[28] As Carine Defoort points out, the "Cheng xiang" 成相 chapter of the *Xunzi*—a rhymed text—appears to present a relatively positive view of the historical abdications, though the relationship of this text to the main body of the *Xunzi* is questionable; see her "Mohist and Yangist Blood," p. 67 n. 108.

[29] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 331

[30] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, p. 332.

While this sounds like the idea of non-hereditary succession may be acceptable in extraordinary circumstances, Xun Zi's main point is that purposeful abdication to a minister, even on one's deathbed, constitutes a violation of the ritual order.[31] As to the second claim, that of abdication due to the infirmity of old age, Xun Zi simply responds: "That is not the case: while there may be a diminishment of vigor and strength, there is no diminishment in the ability to deliberate and make decisions" 是又不然。血氣筋力則有衰，若夫智慮取舍則無衰. And as to the final point of early retirement from arduous duties, Xun Zi makes the argument that "The Son of Heaven is the highest of positions, but the most relaxing on the body: the mind remains perfectly content as its will is never thwarted, the body is never toiled, and no position is more honored" 天子者，埶至重而形至佚，心至愉而志無所詘，而形不為勞，尊無上矣. Since he wears the best clothes, eats the best food, enjoys the most comfortable furnishings, rides the best rides, and is generally coddled in every conceivable manner: "Is there any better way of supporting one's old age and nurturing one's infirmity? 持老養衰，猶有善於是者與？; "Is there any retirement as contented and relaxing as this?" 休猶有安樂恬愉如是者乎？. Interestingly, however, he concludes by stating: "Thus it is said: 'Feudal lords get old, the Son of Heaven does not.' There are cases of abdicating a state, but never of abdicating the world—this has been the same from antiquity to the present. To say that 'Yao and Shun abdicated' is a baseless statement" 故曰：諸侯有老，天子無老。有擅國，無擅天下，古今一也。夫曰堯舜擅讓，是虛言也.[32] Perhaps Xun Zi was simply conceding the historical reality of the King of Yan's abdication, though not necessarily condoning it, and in any case he clearly vehemently opposed the practice as a model for the world.

For our purposes, the most interesting aspect of these passages, as Wang Bo has already pointed out, is that two of the three refuted claims here—that the sages abdicated "when old and decrepit" and "when they got old and could no longer handle the burden"—are precisely the forms of direct justification for the practice that are given in "Tang Yu zhi dao," while

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[31] Kenneth Holloway emphasizes the inclusion of such exceptional circumstances in the *Xunzi* as constituting "an unmistakable encapsulation of a hybrid meritocracy/aristocracy," and he believes that "Tang Yu zhi dao" demonstrates that the *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, and all such pre-Qin texts generally "embraced a harmonization of aristocratic and meritocratic government methods that includes elevating the outstanding to rulership positions"; see his *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*, pp. 125, 128. While the exception is noteworthy, however, the rhetorical thrust of Xun Zi's argument is nonetheless clear, and any shared points of departure in these disparate texts should only serve as a backdrop against which to measure their obvious differences and to observe the general trajectory of the ongoing debate over this issue throughout the later Warring States period.

[32] (Qing) Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, pp. 333–36.

none of the three appear in any of the received texts that remain to us from the period. It would thus appear quite plausible that Xun Zi had in mind a text closely related to "Tang Yu zhi dao," if not this text itself, as the primary target for his polemic.[33] In any event, it is clear that Xun Zi, given his general emphasis on the sanctity of ritual divisions, could not tolerate the thought of a practice, even in the distant past, that would serve to so thoroughly undercut the established hierarchical distinctions between ruler and minister.[34]

No less instructive is the even more thoroughgoing criticism by Xun Zi's ostensible student, Han Fei. Without denying the historical accuracy of the abdication legends, Han Fei would either criticize the acts themselves as examples of the greatest disloyalty, or simply argue that the practices of the past are not longer relevant to today's political situation.[35] The most intriguing argument, however, is to be found in the "Zhong xiao" 忠孝 chapter of the *Han Feizi*:

> 堯、舜、湯、武，或反君臣之義，亂後世之教者也。堯為人君而君其臣，舜為人臣而臣其君，湯、武為人臣而弒其主、刑其尸，而天下譽之，此天下所以至今不治者也。……父而讓子，君而讓臣，此非所以定位一教之道也。臣之所聞曰：『臣事君，子事父，妻事夫，三者順則天下治，三者逆則天下亂，此天下之常道也，明王賢臣而弗易也。』……是廢常、上賢則亂，舍法、任智則危。[36]
>
> Yao, Shun, Tang, and Wu have acted in opposition to the proprieties of ruler and minister and wreaked havoc upon the teachings of later ages. Yao served as ruler and yet made a ruler of his minister, while Shun served as minister yet made a minister of his ruler. Tang and Wu served as ministers, and yet they assassinated their rulers and punished their corpses, and all the world hailed

[33] See Wang Bo, "Guanyu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' de jige wenti," p. 32; cf. Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," p. 291. For the relevant portions of "Tang Yu zhi dao," see strips 25-27. Wang Bo believes that most of the targets in "Zheng lun" are related to the Jixia 稷下 academy of Qi, which may well be where the closely related "Jie" 戒 chapter of the *Guanzi* (see below) originated as well.

[34] Cf. Qian Xun, "Dui Yao Shun shanrang yiyi de renshi," p. 826.

[35] See the "Shuo yi" 說疑 chapter of the *Han Feizi*, where Shun, Yu, and Kings Tang 湯 and Wu 武 are all spoken of as usurpers or assassins, or "Wu du" 五蠹, where the emulation of these same four sages is ridiculed as impracticable for the present age; (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, pp. 406–7, 442.

[36] (Qing) Wang Xianshen, *Han Feizi jijie*, pp. 465–66. This passage is particularly rich in implications for the development of abdication discourse; for more on parts of the passage not discussed or cited here, see Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," pp. 292–93.

> them nonetheless. This is why the world, to the present day, cannot be put in order.
>
> . . . For a father to yield to his son, or a ruler to yield to his minister, this is not the way to establish positions and unify teachings. I have heard it said that: “A minister serves his ruler, a son serves his father, and a wife serves her husband. When these three [relationships] are in accord, the world is ordered; when they are in conflict, the world is in chaos. This is the constant way of the world, which enlightened kings and worthy ministers would not alter.” . . . Thus to abandon the constant and honor the worthy yields chaos; to forsake the laws and give rein to the clever results in danger.

If there are still Confucians at this point in history who are advocating the practice of abdication—as it seems there must have been—Han Fei cleverly uses their own discourse against them.[37] The three relationships that constitute the “constant way” Han Fei has “heard about” here are none other than those of the “six positions” put forward in “Liu de,” and the quotation embedded in this passage might as well have come straight out of that text. While Han Fei clearly spells out how the act of abdication subverts the ruler-minister relationship, he could just as easily have pointed out how it could also undermine the prioritizing of family over state that we sometimes find expressed in Confucian writings of that ilk.

To conclude our brief exploration of the early literature related to abdication, there is one more text worth quickly mentioning here. This is the “Jie” 戒 chapter of the *Guanzi*, which, as Wang Bo and Qiu Xigui have both separately noted, contains a paragraph with uncanny similarities to “Tang Yu zhi dao,” and which, significantly enough, begins with the same internal/external dichotomy of *ren* and *yi* that we see in “Liu de” and the “Yucong” manuscripts:

> 仁從中出，義從外作。仁故不以天下為利，義故不以天下為名。仁故不代王，義故七十而致政。是故聖人上德而下功，尊道而賤物。道德當身故不以物惑。

[37] Meng Zi anticipates these very sorts of objections when he ridicules the saying that both Yao himself and Shun’s father ended up serving Shun as ministers as “the sayings of eastern savages from Qi” 齊東野人之語, explaining the situation rather as Shun simply serving as a kind of regent in Yao’s old age. See “Wan Zhang, shang,” passage 4; (Song) Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, pp. 305–7.

> 是故，身在草茅之中，而無懾意，南面聽天下，而無驕色。如此，而後可以為天下王。[38]
>
> Humanity originates from within; propriety arises from without. Being humane, one does not take the world as a source of [personal] benefit; being proper, one does not take the world as a source of fame. Humane, one does not [have his family] rule as kings for successive generations; proper, one hands over the reins of governance at age seventy. Thus the sage privileges virtue and de-emphasizes achievements, honors the way and devalues things: since he embodies the way and virtue, he is not deluded by things. Thus, though he may dwell in the wilds, he has no sense of meekness; though he may face south to rule the world, he has no airs of conceit. Only thus may one serve as king to the world.

Most of the phrases in this paragraph have close parallels to lines in “Tang Yu zhi dao,” as I will mark in the notes to the translation below. As both Wang and Qiu soundly argue, since the “Jie” chapter of the *Guanzi* is inherently an eclectic mixture of different topics and intellectual ideas, it is quite probable that its author(s) borrowed here directly from an earlier text in constructing this patchwork of ideas—a text that, if not “Tang Yu zhi dao” itself, was at least one very much like it.[39]

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[38] Li Xiangfeng, *Guanzi jiaozhu*, pp. 509–10. The phrase 仁故不代王 could also be taken to refer to the minister, who “does not take the king’s place [while he still occupies the throne],” but I choose to interpret it as an expression, parallel to the sense of the subsequent phrase, of the abdication ideal for the ruler, who thus “does not [have his family] rule as kings for successive generations.”

[39] I would also view such texts as the “Ben sheng” 本生 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* (which also has a couple of closely parallel lines) in similar fashion, and thus differ somewhat from Carine Defoort’s take on “Tang Yu zhi dao.” Defoort, in “Mohist and Yangist Blood,” suggests that the notion of benefit 利 in the text may have resulted from the influence of both “Yangist” and Mohist ideas. The “Yangist” position would be to avoid “benefiting from the world” because the world is a dangerous attraction potentially harmful to one’s self, whereas the notion of actively “benefiting the world” is one of the criteria for judging the validity of a doctrine in the *Mozi*. According to Defoort, “Tang Yu zhi dao” reflects the former because of its concern with “abdicating for health” reasons, and the latter by emphasizing not only the notion of benefiting the world, but also going even further by stressing the “willingness to ‘not benefit’ *from* the world”—so that a “deepened Mohism is reconciled with an altruistic and political version of Yangism” in this text (p. 63). Defoort’s analysis is insightful and thought-provoking, but I would diverge from her on a couple of points. First, although the Son of Heaven is to retire to “nurture his life,” I do not believe that health concerns themselves are all that central to the argument of this text. More crucially, Defoort’s arguments hinge to some degree on A. C. Graham’s highly speculative claims that certain chapters from the *Zhuangzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* are “Yangist” texts. My own inclination is to view the latter’s chapters (such as “Ben sheng”), especially, as texts that are themselves reconciling discourses from earlier writings (including, perhaps, a text like “Tang Yu zhi dao”), rather than the

ZISI CONNECTIONS

Among the criticisms that Xun Zi leveled against the "Si-Meng" lineage in his "Fei shi'er zi" chapter is that of its ostensible penchant for "invariably citing Yao and Shun" in its discourse 言必稱堯舜. Given this, it should not be surprising that "Tang Yu zhi dao" is one of the Guodian texts that scholars have connected most closely with Zisi or the "Si-Meng" lineage.[40] We have already discussed Meng Zi above; here, let us briefly run through the parallels in wording and ideas that the text may share with those writings most directly associated with Zisi.

We noted earlier how the "Zhong yong" contains a striking parallel with this text, emphasizing the simultaneous "love of parents" and "honoring of worthies" as the balanced expression of the dual virtues of humanity and propriety, respectively.[41] We may similarly note strips 32-35 from "Wu xing":

> ……愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。……貴貴，其等尊賢，義也。
>
> ……To love one's father and, in turn, to love others is "humanity." . . . To value the noble and, in turn, to honor the worthy is "propriety."

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other way around, and thus would take greater caution in treating them as source texts. Regarding the notion of Yao and Shun "profiting (/benefitting) the world without profiting themselves," Andrew Meyer actually suggests that "Tang Yu zhi dao" had "subversive implications" for the doctrine of the *Mozi*, insofar as "if the gain or loss of the world cannot move [Shun] one way or the other, there is truly no way that reward or punishment could hold sway over him," making this "difficult to reconcile" with the Mohist position that all humans are ultimately motivated by a self-interested "love of benefit and terror of punishment"—a position that would logically include the Son of Heaven. See his "'Only the Human Way May Be Followed': Reading the Guodian Manuscripts against the *Mozi*," pp. 21–23.

[40] Jiang Guanghui is perhaps the first among many who cite the "Fei shi'er zi" quote as important evidence for the association; see his "Guodian Chujian yu *Zisizi*," pp. 82–83. Jiang, as noted above, does not observe any differences in Meng Zi's views of abdication from that of this text. Note that section 30 of the "Zhong yong" itself states that "Confucius took Yao and Shun as the ancestral basis for his teachings" 仲尼祖述堯舜; see (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, p. 37. See also Yang Rubin, who, in "Zisi xuepai shitan," p. 608, would oppose this reverence for Yao and Shun with Xun Zi's emphasis on the "latter kings" (*houwang* 後王). Cf. Liu Huan, "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji," pp. 60–61, and Lin Zhipeng, "Guodian Chumu zhushu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chongtan," p. 490 n. 3.

[41] The line itself may be found in (Song) Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju*, passage 20, p. 28. Though we speak of a dualism between *ren* and *yi*, there is a certain sense in this text in which the ultimate act of propriety may be seen *as* the ultimate expression of humanity, a blurring of the distinction between the two virtues that finds

—and how "Tang Yu zhi dao," strip 7, shares a similar notion of the graded outward extension of these virtues:

> 孝之殺，愛天下之民。禪之流，世亡隱德。
>
> The dissemination of filial piety is to love all the people of the world; the outflow of abdication is for the age to have no hidden virtue.

"Tang Yu zhi dao" also shares some striking similarities with parts of the "Biao ji" 表記 chapter of the *Li ji*, one of the other texts most closely associated with the figure of Zisi. We already alluded in the general introduction to the following "Biao ji" lines with a near-exact parallel in "Yucong 1":

> 厚於仁者薄於義，親而不尊。厚於義者薄於仁，尊而不親。
>
> Those who are high on humanity but low on propriety are held close but not honored; those who are high on propriety but low on humanity are honored but not held close.[42]

—which speaks to the *ren/yi* dualism in the very same terms as both this text and the "Zhong yong."[43] More directly in reference to abdication, however, come the following lines from the "Biao ji":

> 子言之曰：「後世雖有作者，虞帝弗可及也已矣。君天下，生無私，死不厚其子，子民如父母。……親而尊，安而敬，威而愛……非虞帝其孰能如此乎？」[44]
>
> The Master said: "Though there may be creators in later ages, none would match up to the Sovereign [Shun] of Yu. In ruling the world, he was selfless while alive, and, in death, he did not show [special] generosity toward his own

further development in the *Mengzi*; on this point, see Peng Bangben, "Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chutan," pp. 266–68.

[42] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1302. For the "Tang Yu zhi dao" parallels, see again especially strips 8-9.

[43] Pang Bangben, however, detects a slight shift in emphasis as we move from "Tang Yu zhi dao" to the "Zhong yong," wherein the "honoring of worthies" may be stressed somewhat more than the "loving of parents," a reflection, he suggests, of the political realities of the times; see his "Chu jian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chutan," pp. 264–65.

[44] (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1312.

> son, loving the people as parents would love their own children. . . . Holding affinity and yet honoring, secure and yet respectful, awesome and yet loving . . . Who but the Sovereign [Shun] of Yu could be like this?"

This passage strongly alludes to Shun's selfless act of abdication, and does so again in terms similar to what we find in "Tang Yu zhi dao."[45]

In short, the associations with Zisi-related texts are, while far from conclusive, at least strongly suggestive, and that "Tang Yu zhi dao" may be a product of his lineage is not at all an unreasonable supposition.[46] We should not, however, belabor the point, for no matter who wrote the text, they did so in an historical context that may have been just as responsible for shaping the arguments in that text as the philosophical inclinations of the authors themselves—to the extent that these two aspects could ever be separated in the first place.

TEXTUAL NOTES

The *Guodian Chumu zhujian* editors originally arranged the strips of this manuscript into eight separate segments, of either individual strips or blocks of contiguous strips, as follows: 1-3; 4-10; 11; 12; 13; 14-21; 22-28; 29. As strip 29 consists of only the three characters 如此也 and a horizontal band followed by blank space, it is almost certainly the final strip of the text. Supplying two graphs each at the end of broken strips 10 and 11, Li Ling connects 10 directly to 11 and then follows 11 with the block beginning with strip 22; he further follows 28 with strip 12, connecting this in turn directly to 13 and that in turn to 14-21, finally

[45] See Deng Jianpeng, "'Tang Yu zhi dao' de minben sixiang," pp. 47–48; Ye Guoliang, "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 11–12; and Yang Rubin, "Si-Meng xuepai shitan," p. 609. Deng suggests (p. 48) that if Zisi had indeed been an advocate of the abdication idea, his influence might thus account for Meng Zi's viewing of the practice in terms of populist principles. Note that the 親而尊 in the passage above could also be understood as "held close yet honored," similarly to how I take the 親而不尊 in the other "Biao ji" passage just cited, but local context seems to more strongly suggest that the line here refers to Shun's own attributes.

[46] In addition to the above parallels, some have noted further similarities in particular word usage. Ye Guoliang, in "Guodian Rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," p. 12, points to similarities in wording with "Zhong yong," such as their common pairing of *xingming* 性命 with *xieqi* 血氣, not to mention the *ren/yi* pairing mentioned above. Yang Rubin points further to close similarities in wording with the *Mengzi*, noted previously by Zhou Fengwu, such as the pairing of *xiansheng* 先聖 and *housheng* 後聖, found also in the "Li Lou, xia" 離婁下 (passage 1) chapter of the *Mengzi*, as well as the phrase 自生民未之有, variants of which appear several times in the *Mengzi*; see Yang Rubin, "Zisi xuepai shitan," p. 609.

connecting this to strip 29.[47] Zhou Fengwu, on the other hand, follows the editors' order, with the exception of moving strip 11 in between strips 21 and 22—supplying different graphs at the end of 11 than Li Ling.[48] Zhou thus connects strip 10 directly to strip 12, an innovation first introduced by Chen Wei; this move, which serves to place all of Shun's ministerial appointments together, is undoubtedly correct.[49] Chen Wei further suggests placing strip 13 between 3 and 4, following strip 17 with 11 (also following that in turn with 22), and following 28 with 18 (thereby splitting up the original 17-18 connection).[50]

Of these, I follow only Chen's move of connecting strip 10 directly to 12, and tentatively follow Zhou in (loosely) following strip 21 with 11. To these, I add three further changes. First, I tentatively connect 13 to 22, supplying the two graphs "正義" at the end of 13; while this yields a statement that appears somewhat circular, it is also one that is neatly parallel and which serves to keep the discussion of "correctness" (*zheng* 正)—a term already found in both of these strips—all in one place. Second, I follow strip 28 directly with 14, which results in the statement "仁者爲此進(28)治"—this "order" being the logical object for "advancement," given the preceding statements on order and chaos in 28. Finally, supplying the two graphs "禪者" at the end of strip 11, I follow it directly with the concluding strip 29, taking the quasi-miraculous effects mentioned in 11 as a concluding encomium on the efficacy of the abdication act. My final order is thus as follows: 1-10、12; 13、22-28、14-

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[47] Li Ling, "Guodian Chujian jiaoduji," pp. 497–98.

[48] Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian Chumu zhujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' xinshi," p. 754.

[49] See Chen Wei, "Wenben fuyuan shi yixiang changqi jianju de gongzuo," p. 8.

[50] Chen Wei, *Guodian Chujian bieshi*, pp. 61–64, 68–73. An additional rearrangement is provided by Fan Yuzhou, "Guodian Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' de shiwen, jianxu yu fenzhang," wherein he adopts Chen's and Zhou's moves of connecting 10 to 12 and placing 11 in between 21 and 22, and further suggests connecting 3 to 14, 28 to 4, and 13 to 29. I follow none of Fan's own three moves, while Sarah Allan tentatively follows Fan's order in her translation of the text (in "Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun," pp. 26–28). Zhan Qunhui has further proposed following the opening block of strips 1-3 with that of strips 22-28 (and also connecting strip 11 to 14), and Lin Zhipeng, partly following the rearrangements of Chen and Zhou, adopts an order of 1-3, 18-21, missing strip, 13, 4-10, 12, 14-17, 11, 22-28, missing strip(s), 29; for details, see Zhan Qunhui, "Dui Guodian Chujian 'Tang Yu zhi dao' jianxu, fenzhang de zai tantao," and Lin Zhipeng, "Guodian Chumu zhushu 'Tang Yu zhi dao' chongtan," pp. 482–83. Most recently, the editors of *Yue gu* have adopted yet another ordering, which works out to a combination of those of Zhan and Zhou but with the two further innovations of following strip 13 with 18-21, and of having the final strip 29 conclude the block of 14-17; see "Chūgoku kodai no kiso shiryō" kenkyūhan, "Doku Kakuten Sobo chikukan hudaki (yon)," pp. 1–14. Their rationale includes an analysis of ostensible consistencies in physical residue on certain strips that may have been grouped together in the manuscript; for details and assessment, refer to the translation notes below. Note that both Lin and the *Yue gu* editors appear to have been unaware of my proposals, as they do not include them their discussions of prior arrangements.

21; 11、29.[51] With this arrangement, all of the strips are accounted for, and while the rhetorical logic at one or two of the assumed connecting points (such as 12 to 13) is still not entirely clear (and the connection from 17 to 18 is especially tentative), it is to my mind at least as coherent as any of the other possibilities brought forward so far, given the state of the text as we have it.

As noted in the general introduction, the script in which the manuscript is written appears closely related to that of "Zhong xin zhi dao," a text with which it also shares nearly identical dimensions. Several scholars have noted the somewhat exceptional style of this script, one which both Li Xueqin and Zhou Fengwu have suggested may be reflective of external origins.[52] Aside from a few combined-graph markers and the final horizontal band, there are no other markers in the manuscript.

Substantial portions of this text have already been translated into English by both Carine Defoort and Yuri Pines, appearing at various points in the articles by these authors cited above, and the entire text (differently ordered) has also more recently been translated by Sarah Allan in her aforementioned article.[53] I will make note of these scholars' translations only where they may have presented a unique and compelling alternative reading not previously offered elsewhere; due to divergent readings adopted for a number of graphs and lines, our translations inevitably differ substantially in more than a few places.

[51] Gu Shikao, "Guodian Chujian 'Cheng zhi' dengpian zazhi," pp. 86–87.

[52] See "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *Guodian* Laozi, p. 178; and Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng jiqi fenlei yiyi," p. 59. Li is quoted as stating only that it is "not in Chu script"; Zhou suggests that it may have been copied directly from a manuscript written in the Qi 齊 script and thus retains certain features from that region. Allan disputes such conclusions, arguing that the differences between the script of these two manuscripts and others of the corpus "are usually minor and stylistic rather than structural"; see her "Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun," pp. 25–26.

[53] A partial translation also appears in Kenneth Holloway's *Guodian*, pp. 107–9.

"The Way of Tang and Yu"
唐虞之道[1]
Text and Translation

1-3

湯（唐）吳（虞）之道[2]，⿰亻⿱番壬（禪）[3]而不⿰彳叀（專）[4]。堯舜[5]之王，利天下而弗利也[6]。⿰亻⿱番壬（禪）而不⿰彳叀（專），聖[7]之（1）盛也。利天下而弗利也[8]，忎（仁）[9]之

[1] Alternative titles include simply "Tang Yu" 唐虞 (ZLW 99.1b).

[2] 湯(唐)吳(虞): Tang 唐 and Yu 虞 are the names of the ancient states associated with the legendary sage-kings Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, respectively—those which they separately ruled over or were enfeoffed with prior to ascending to the position of Son of Heaven (both in the area of modern-day Shānxi province). As Yao's original fief was in the territory of Tao 陶, he is also often referred to as Tao-Tang shi 陶唐氏. Tong Shuye 童書業 and other scholars of the "doubting-antiquity" (*yigu* 疑古) era have long since noted how the pairing of Tang and Yu is not to be found in texts prior to the *Lunyu* or *Mengzi* and contended, perhaps rightly, that Yao and Shun were both originally understood to be members of the same Yu dynasty; HJL (02 [pp. 84–87] and 07.4 [pp. 475–77]) suggests that the Tang-Yu pair's appearance in "Tang Yu zhi dao" in fact supports Tong's view that it was a mid–Warring States invention and notes that the Yu-Xia 虞夏 pairing is found much more frequently in pre-Qin texts. GYB 08.9 (pp. 57–71), however, argues that such suspicions that the pairing was a new and conscious invention have arisen from confusion over the intended meaning of the terms Tang and Yu, which were never in fact meant to be understood as dynastic titles in these contexts.

[3] ⿰亻⿱番壬 (here and throughout): GDCMZJ renders ⿰亻⿱番土 and notes only that the graph carries the meaning of 禪讓, abdication. The rendering here follows ZGY(/YGH) 99.1, who reads 播, to "sow," "disseminate," and notes how the 壬 element probably stands for 土; WH 00.12 also supports this interpretation and reading. The same rendering is offered as well by ZFW 99.9 and HLY 99.12, who both, however, read it as a loan for 禪 (番 [*bǐwan] and 禪 [*ʑǐan] at least share the same final). HXQ 05.12 also supports this interpretation and reading while suggesting that ⿰亻⿱番壬 itself is probably an alternate form of 蹯. LL 99.8 interprets the graph as a variant of ⿱廛土, read 禪; HLY 99.12 also suggests this as an alternate interpretation. ZFW also notes that, according to the *Shuowen*, 禪, as abdication, is in turn a loan for the graph 嬗 (*ʑǐan); cf. the discussion in DC 04 (pp. 47–50), as well as that of AS 06 (p. 30), who suggests that 禪 is primarily a "ritual term." The received *Xunzi* employs the graph 擅, which can carry the sense of "monopolize"; LZP 07.4 suggests that the *Xunzi* selected this graph on purpose due to its ideological criticism of the practice. The Guodian graph is alternately written ⿺辵⿱番壬 in strips 20-21 below; WH 00.12 suggests that the 彳 or 辵 elements in all these graphs are added to emphasize the "transferring" aspects of the term.

[4] ⿰彳叀: GDCMZJ reads 傳, "transmit," but ZFW 99.9 reads instead 專, "monopolize." While the presence of the motion radical 彳 seems to favor the former interpretation, ZFW's reading makes more sense given that, as he notes, the senses of 禪 and 傳 overlap to some degree. Consider Wan Zhang's question in the "Wan Zhang,

至也。[10]古[11]昔臤（賢）忎（仁）[12]聖者女（如）此。竆=（身窮）[13]不夘（困）[14]，叏（損）[15]（2）而弗利，竆（窮）[16]忎（仁）歖（矣）[17]。朼（必）[18]正其

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shang" 萬章上 chapter of the *Mengzi*: "萬章問曰：「人有言『至於禹而德衰，不傳於賢而傳於子』，有諸？」" ("Wan Zhang asked: 'Some say that "By the time of Yu, there was a decline in virtue, so he transmitted [the throne] to his son rather than transmit it to a worthy"—is that true?'"). For further references wherein 傳 is used to describe abdication, see YSR 03b; YSR himself, however, still reads 傳 here. The reading of 專 would also form a close counterpart to the 利, "profit," of the next line. See also, however, the discussion of DC 04 (p. 49), who notes that 專 does not appear to be found elsewhere in early texts within the context of hereditary transmission. HXQ 05.12 also argues that the graph is a variant of 連 and should read 傳 here.

[5] 堯舜: I follow the GDCMZJ editors in transcribing the graphs for Yao and Shun directly throughout this text; they might be more precisely rendered as 垚 and 坴, respectively (see, for example, LZ 03.12). For an analysis of the form of the graph 舜, see JXS 01.12 or, for a competing analysis, WYH 04.4 (pp. 159–60), who sees the phonetic as a form of 矣. See also HXQ 05.12, who suspects that 堯 as written here might be interpreted as 墝, read 堯, and that the graph for 舜 here might in fact be 夋, read 舜. See also FSJ 07.4 (pp. 274 and 298), who notes how both graphs are written with forms having no precise replicas elsewhere in Chu texts.

[6] ZFW 99.9 notes a number of similar expressions, as in the "Gui gong" 貴公 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*: "伯禽將行，請所以治魯，周公曰：「利而勿利也」" ("When Boqin was about to set forth, he asked how he should govern Lu, and the Duke of Zhou replied: 'Bring it benefit but do not treat it as beneficial'"). DC 04 (pp. 52–53) suggests that the possible sense of the latter 利 as to "derive benefit from" might be traced back specifically to Mohist writings, as the usage appears a number of times in the *Mozi*; YSR 03b suggests more generally that the notion of "benefitting the world" here may derive from Mohist ideology. ZFW also notes a more specifically relevant passage from the "Banfa jie" 版法解 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "凡所謂能以所不利利人者，舜是也" ("Of all those who are said to have been able to benefit others with what they could have used to benefit themselves, Shun was the one").

[7] 聖: the form of the graph here is somewhat unusual; HXQ 05.12 suspects the lower element, which resembles 吇, may be an alternate phonetic for 壬 (*ting*) in this graph.

[8] 也: ZFW 99.9 suggests that this graph is an interpolation.

[9] 忎: GDCMZJ renders this 仁 as 悬, but QXG 98.5 would instead render 忎 and notes that all cases of 仁 in this text are written either 千 or 人 over 心; I here render them 忎 throughout. YWL 02.3 (p. 436) sees this 千 as an abbreviation of 身.

[10] WB 99.2 and QXG 02.12 (pp. 179–80) note a close parallel in the "Jie" 戒 chapter of the *Guanzi*: "仁故不以天下爲利" ("Being humane, one does not take the world as a source of [personal] profit").

[11] 古: GDCMZJ reads 故; ZFW 99.9 leaves it as is, and CW 02.12 suggests that 古昔 stands here as a compound, "ancient times."

[12] 忎(仁): ZFW 99.9 reads 人 in this instance. I read 仁 here as is, given especially the parallelism of 仁 and 聖 throughout this passage.

[13] 竆 =: GDCMZJ reads this combined graph directly as 身窮. CW 98.4 reads it as a combination for 窮以, taking the 以 to be parallel to the 而 of the next phrase. A similar combined graph 竆= appears in the Wangshan 望山 and Baoshan manuscripts, and the Baoshan manuscripts in other parallel instances spell this out as 躬身, one's "own self"; for these examples, see YSX 99.12, p. 209. Given the context here, however, 身窮 appears to

身，肰（然）后（後）正世[19]，聖（聖）道備歖（矣）。古（故）湯（唐）吳（虞）之【學（教），如此】[20]（3）

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remain the more sensible reading.

[14] 䵂: GDCMZJ renders 䵂 and reads 均. ZFW 99.9 reads this as 慍, “angry,” “resentful”; CW 98.4 reads 𢡎, “sorrowful.” LZ 02.9 reads 困, “distressed,” as in the “You zuo” 宥坐 chapter of the *Xunzi*: “君子之學，非爲通也，爲窮而不困” (“The learning of the noble man is not for the sake of success, but rather for the sake of not distressing in the face of adversity”). LL 99.8 sees the uppermost element of the graph as 今 rather than 勻, and reads 貪, “greedy”; HXQ 05.12 interprets the graph similarly, but suspects it is a variant form of 坅, here read like 趛, with the sense of “cower.” YSR 03b and LTH 07.4 both see this graph as equivalent to the 㘱(均) seen in “Zun deyi” strip 34 (understood as 土 plus a 旬 phonetic); YSR follows CW in reading this as 𢡎, while LTH reads this 均 “as is,” in the sense of “[not demand] an equal share [of benefits].” Note that the same graph also appears in the phrase “天下大和䵂” in strip 30 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) manuscript “Rongcheng shi” 容成氏; LL there reads 和䵂 as 和均. YSR also suggests the alternate possibility that 畇 may be the phonetic; if this is the case, we might consider the graph as a whole to be a variant form of 畇, a term that is descriptive of land being “evenly cultivated.” I tentatively follow LZ’s reading here.

[15] 㝵: GDCMZJ leaves unrendered; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 suspects the graph might be a form of 及, understood in the sense of “when [they] reach [the throne].” HDK/XZG 99.2 would render 㝵, interpreted as a variant of 抎, understood in the sense of “suffer loss.” CSP 99.6 concurs, noting that the graph can be considered equivalent to 損 (see also the reading of 員 as 損 in strip 19 below); LZ 02.9 and HXQ 05.12 similarly interpret the graph as a variant or early form of 損. LZP 07.4 also interprets along the lines of HDK/XZG, but suspects this 抎 should read 困. ZFW 99.9 would instead render the upper portion of the graph as 勹 and reads 約, “[in] constrained [circumstances].” LL 99.8 sees the graph as equivalent to the right side of 沒, here read 沒 or 歿, “perish”; ZGG 01.9 gives a similar interpretation, and CSP (in a separate study cited in LTH 07.4) notes equivalency with a graph read 沒 in strip 9 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 4) manuscript “Cao Mo zhi zhen” 曹沫之陳.

[16] 竆: GDCMZJ reads 躬; QXG 98.5 would have this 躬 placed at the end of the previous phrase instead, as the direct object of 弗利. LL 99.8 follows the original punctuation, but reads 窮, thus yielding “take [humanity] to its conclusion”; CW 02.12 reads likewise. ZFW 99.9 assumes a missing combined-graph marker and would read 躬身 here.

[17] 歖: GDCMZJ reads 嘻; QXG 98.5 reads 矣, here and below. For more on this graph, cf. LSK 06.11, pp. 298–99.

[18] 𣏟: GDCMZJ punctuates after this graph; QXG 98.5 would move the punctuation beforehand and suggests that this unrecognized graph should probably mean “first.” HLY 99.12 renders 𠂉, read 甫, also taking it in the sense of “first.” ZGY(/YGH) 99.1, CSP 99.6, LL 99.8, ZFW 99.9, and LTH 00.5 all convincingly read the graph as 必; cf. YGH 03.3. LXF 00.12b approves of this reading, but, seeing the graph itself as a variant form of 比, suggests the alternate possibility of reading 比 here, in the sense of “when he comes to.” The SBCJ graph corresponding to the 必 of GDCJ “Ziyi” strip 40 is also written 𣏟; see also the note to this graph in strip 2 of “Zhongxin zhi dao.” CW 98.4 would take 歖𣏟 as a unit, read 矣哉 (cf. ZGG 01.9), but CW 02.12 supports the reading of 必. ZJW 07.4 instead takes 才 as the phonetic and reads 則, assuming an erroneous equivalency in usage with 必.

[19] Cf. the “Zilu” 子路 chapter of the *Lunyu*: “The Master said: ‘If one can rectify himself, what difficulties would there be in practicing governance?’” 子曰：「苟正其身矣，於從政乎何有？」.

The Way of [Yao of] Tang and [Shun of] Yu consisted in abdication [of the throne to worthies] rather than monopolization (/transmission [to sons/relatives]). In Yao and Shun's rulership as kings, they brought profit to the world rather than bring profit to themselves. To abdicate rather than monopolize is the pinnacle of sagacity, and to profit the world rather than profit the self is the height of humanity. So it was with the humane and sagacious of ancient worthies. When one is not distressed in the face of personal poverty and suffers loss rather than profit himself, he will have exhausted [the depths of] humanity. When one insists on rectifying his self before rectifying the world, the sagely way will be complete. 【Such(?) 】 were the 【teachings】 of [Yao of] Tang and [Shun of] Yu.

4-10

也。[21]夫聖人上事天，效（教）民又（有）尊也；下事陸（地），效（教）民又（有）新（親）也。旹（時）事山川，效（教）民（4）又（有）敬也；[22]新（親）事且（祖）滰（廟），效（教）民孝也。大（太）教（學）[23]之中，天子罜（親）齒，效（教）民弟（悌）也。[24]先聖（5）牙（與）[25]後耶（聖）[26]，考[27]

[20] Space remains after this broken strip for two to three graphs (the very top part of the first of these remains). LL 99.8 assumes "道，禪"; ZFW 99.9 supplies "道如此." I tentatively follow ZFW for the latter two graphs, but it is uncertain whether the top part of the first graph would allow for it to be 道. CW 02.12, noting this problem, instead supplies "興也" for the missing graphs (cf. YSR 03b), and would place strip 13 in between strips 3 and 4. However, as the examples of strips 4-5 appear to be an elucidation of the notion of rectifying the self before the world from strip 3, I do not follow CW's strip rearrangement; and in light of the context of strips 4-5, it appears that a more probable reading for the first graph would be 教, here likely written 學 (based on the remnant strokes) rather than the 效 that appears below. Note that others would follow strip 3 with 14 (FYZ 02.2), 18 (LZP 07.4), or 22 (ZQH 02.2 and YG 07.9).

[21] CW 02.12 would have strip 4 follow 13 instead; FYZ 02.2 and YG 07.9 would have it follow 28, for more on which see the notes to strip 28 below.

[22] Compare the "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter of the *Shang shu*: "肆類于上帝，禋于六宗，望于山川，徧于群神" ("[Shun] thereupon performed *lei* sacrifice to the Lord-on-High, *yin* sacrifice to the six ancestral bodies, *wang* sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, and comprehensive sacrifices to the many spirits").

[23] 大教: QXG 98.5 reads 太學. Note the distinction between this graph 教 (read 學) and the various 效 (which all read 教) elsewhere in this passage; for more on these forms, cf. FSJ 07.4, pp. 277–78.

[24] ZFW 99.9 and LTH 00.3 both point to a number of related received passages (where, however, the object of instruction is often the feudal lords rather than the people), such as in the "Jiyi" 祭義 chapter of the *Li ji*: "祀乎

後而遆（歸）[28]先[29]，效（教）民大川（順）[30]之道也。堯舜之行，炁（愛）睪（親）障（尊）臤（賢）。[31]炁（愛）（6）睪（親）古（故）孝，尊臤（賢）

明堂，所以教諸侯之孝也；食三老五更於大學，所以教諸侯之弟也……" ("[His] sacrifices in the Bright Hall are how he instructs the feudal lords in filial piety; [his] feeding of the elders in the academy of higher learning is how he instructs the feudal lords in brotherly affection . . ."); and the "Bao fu" 保傅 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji*, which in turn quotes the "Xue li" 學禮 as saying: "'帝入東學，上親而貴仁，則親疏有序，如恩相及矣。帝入南學， 上齒而貴信，則長幼有差，如民不誣矣 . . .'" ("When the [young] sovereign enters the eastern academy and [learns to] honor his parents and value humanity, there will be order between close and distant relations and they will treat each other with kindness; when the sovereign enters the southern academy and [learns to] honor elders and value trust, there will be differentiation between young and old and the people will not be dishonest . . ."). See also the related citations given in LZ 03.12.

[25] 牙(與): LZP 07.4 instead reads 舉, "promote."

[26] ZFW 99.9 notes that the "Li Lou, xia" 離婁下 chapter of the *Mengzi* is one of the few places where the terms 先聖 and 後聖 appear together, where they refer to Shun and King Wen, respectively: "先聖後聖，其揆一也" ("These former and latter sages—their standards were identical").

[27] 考: GDCMZJ mistakenly punctuates afterward. BYL 99.6, LL 99.8, ZFW 99.9, and HLY 99.12 all move the punctuation beforehand. BYL reads 考 as (or takes as a graphic error for) 孝, which he takes in the sense of "carry forward" or "transmit"—we might also understand it in the broader sense of "emulate"; HXQ 05.12 supports this reading. HLY takes 考 in the sense of 合, "unite." See also the next note.

[28] 遆(歸): GDCMZJ renders this graph as 遈. LL 99.8 sees the phonetic element as equivalent to that seen in a graph elsewhere read 鎮, and here reads 甄, "appraise"; DSX 00.10 suggests reading this as 承, "inherit," instead. ZFW 99.9 believes the interior element might be 炗, or the phonetic component of 庶, and reads 續, "continue"; HLY 99.12 similarly renders 遮, but takes this in the sense of 兼, "bring together." If these latter renderings are correct, we might read 度, "evaluate [oneself against]," which sometimes forms a counterpart with 考, as in the "Fei yue, shang" 非樂上 chapter of the *Mozi*: "上考之不中聖王之事，下度之不中萬民之利" ("Examined above, it does not accord with the affairs of the sage kings; evaluated below, it does not accord with what benefits the masses"). BYL 99.6 would instead see the graph as a form of 歸 (遆) and read it as 餽/饋, in the sense of "sacrifice to"; HXQ 05.12 also supports this reading. QXG 02.12 (p. 178) affirms BYL's rendering of 遆/歸 and notes that LTH once independently offered the same interpretation in a pre-published version of her 00.5; instead of BYL's readings, though, he approves of LTH's reading of the graphs 考 and 歸 as is, in the sense of "examine against" and "pay allegiance to," respectively. QXG takes the 先(聖) and 後(聖) to refer broadly to such former sages as Yao and Shun, and later sages as Kings Wen and Wu, respectively, the author's argument being that the Son of Heaven should ultimately "pay allegiance to" the abdication practices of the former; my translation here roughly follows along these lines. LZP 07.4 reads 歸 as 揆, "assess," and, reading 牙 as 舉 in the previous phrase, interprets these two lines to mean: "When the former sage (Yao) promoted the latter sage (Shun) [as his successor], he assessed the latter's actions (in the form of various tests) and examined [the abdication practices] of earlier [sages]." LR 11.7 would also read 遆 as 揆.

[29] It is unclear whether the 先 and 後 in this line refer back to the "former and latter" sages of the previous line or, in some sense, to their "priorities." Refer also to the various interpretations mentioned in the previous note.

[30] 大川(順): noting the occurrence of this term in both the *Daodejing* and the *Zhuangzi*, YSR 03b would have us consider this to be a kind of "Daoist" usage.

古（故）僐（禪）。孝之蚉（殺）[32]，㤅（愛）天下之民。[33]僐（禪）之流[34]，世亡忄乚（隱）[35]直（德）。孝，忎（仁）之免（冕）[36]也。（7）僐（禪），義之至也。六帝[37]興於古，廥（均）[38]采（由）[39]此也。㤅（愛）罤（親）巟（忘）臤

[31] As LMC 99.1 notes, this notion is close to that expressed most clearly in the “Zhong yong”: “仁者人也，親親爲大；義者宜也，尊賢爲大” (“‘Humanity’ is what is ‘human,’ of which affection for parents is greatest; ‘propriety’ is what is ‘proper,’ of which the honoring of worthies is greatest”), though similar notions may be found in other texts of the period. The term 尊賢 also appears, not surprisingly, in “Wu xing”: “貴貴，其等尊賢，義也” (strip 35) and “君子，知而舉之，謂之尊賢；知而事之，謂之尊賢者也” (strips 43-44).

[32] 蚉: GDCMZJ reads 方, “orientation”; WB 01.5f reads this as 放, in the sense of “extension” or “development”; PYS 02.7, following the same rendering, reads 旁, in the sense of “promulgation.” CW 98.4 interprets the graph instead as a variant “ancient form” of 殺, “diminution”; HLY 99.12 concurs with this interpretation. For more on this reading, cf. the note to 蚉 in “Yucong 1,” strip 103. LL 99.8 reads 放; LL 02.3 instead follows CW’s interpretation as 殺, but reads this as 施, “application” or “extension.” LR 05.4 also follows, but reads it like 發, “scatter,” in the sense of “dissemination.” HXQ 05.12 would interpret the graph as 蔡 and read 次. LZ 03.12 would render the graph as 㣇, equating this with the “ancient form” of 殺. LZP 07.4 similarly sees the graph as a corruption of 㣇, forms of which are also seen in “Wu xing” strips 21 and 34 and “Yucong 2” strip 24, where they may be read 肆; LZP also reads 肆 here, in the sense of “expansion,” “development,” “unfolding.”

[33] Cf. “Yucong 3,” strip 40: “愛親，則其蚉(殺)愛人,” and “Wu xing,” strip 33: “愛父，其繼愛人，仁也.”

[34] 流: GDCMZJ leaves this graph unrendered; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 and LZ 00.5 both render 流, LZ taking it in the sense of “dissemination.” LZ explains the form in some detail; for more on this graph, see also LTH 02.3a (pp. 380–81) and HXQ 05.12. LL 99.8 would render it as 湩, read 傳. ZFW 99.9 and HLY 99.12 both render 湅; ZFW reads 重, in the sense of “expansion,” while HLY reads 動, “motivation.” BYL 01 follows this latter rendering, but sees it as a loan for 等, “[next] gradation.” LR 05.4 reads 緟, in the sense of “augmentation,” and LZP 07.4, following ZFW, reads 重, but takes this in the sense of “utmost.” WH 00.12 interprets the graph instead as 朝(潮), here read 廟, taking this as the location in which the abdication takes place (and 之 thus an object pronoun). PYS 02.7 suspects the graph may be a form of 溥, also understood in the sense of “dissemination.” The same graph appears again in strip 17 below.

[35] 忄乚: GDCMZJ suggests this corresponds to 隱, “hidden”; LZP 07.4 supports this. ZJ 04.10 interprets the graph instead as 㭟 and reads 曲, in the sense of “crooked.”

[36] 免(冕): CW 02.12 would render this instead as 大, “greatest”; SJZ 11.12 (pp. 21–22) supports this view. LZ 03.12 understands 冕 in the sense of “sign” or “mark.”

[37] 六帝: This is an unusual term, given that an enumeration of “five sovereigns” is what we more often find in early texts, and there is some debate over just whom the term refers to and its potential significance. LL 99.8 suspects it may refer to Fu Xi 伏羲, Shen Nong 神農, Huang Di 黃帝, Shao Hao 少昊, Zhuan Xu 顓頊, and Di Ku 帝嚳. ZFW 99.9 instead adopts an enumeration of the six sovereigns by (Han) Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, which gives them as Huang Di, Shao Hao, Zhuan Xu, Di Ku, Yao, and Shun; he also speculates that the term *liu di* here, along with the various correlations of six seen in “Liu de,” may somehow be a reflection of the theory of the coming ascendancy of water in connection with the five-phase numerology of the times. WBX 99.1 (p. 389) makes a similar argument, but concludes instead that the “six” was a later interpolation of scribes influenced by this theory, and that the text originally read “five” *di*. Cf. the brief discussion in AS 06 (p. 37). DJP 00.5 argues

（賢），忎（仁）而未義也。尊臤（賢）（8）遺罜（親），我（義）而未忎（仁）也。古者吳（虞）舜篙（篤）事宊（瞽）寞（盲）[40]，乃戈〈弋（試）〉[41]其孝；忠事帝堯，乃戈〈弋（試）〉其臣。（9）炁（愛）罜（親）尊臤

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that the Zheng Xuan enumeration is too late to be of relevance here and adopts instead a listing of six sovereigns found in the "Wudi de" 五帝德 chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu* (which he takes to more or less accurately reflect earlier Confucian thought on the subject), which excludes Shao Hao but adds Yu to the end. As both HJL 02 (pp. 75–76) and GYB 08.9 (pp. 147–48) have already pointed out, however, Yu's inclusion here would make little sense in context, given that he ultimately passed the throne down to his own son; as HJL notes, moreover, the "Wudi de" chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu* is in essence a revised version of a text by the same title in the *Da Dai Li ji*. Even more problematic in this regard is PYS's 04.10 notion that the *liu di* here should be seen as equivalent to the *liu wang* 六王 often found listed together in the *Mozi*, i.e., Yao, Shun, Yu, (Shang King) Tang 湯, and (Zhou Kings) Wen 文 and Wu 武; though they may indeed have been paragons of promoting the worthy, Tang, Wen, and Wu had nothing to do with the practice of abdication. HJL himself cites a variety of evidence in support of Zheng Xuan's enumeration and its likely derivation from Warring States sources, averring that the author of "Tang Yu zhi dao" was well versed in the study of royal genealogy and may in fact have crafted the notion of "six sovereigns" by separating Yao and Shun into the different "dynasties" of Tang and Yu so as to better emphasize the notion of political transference through abdication (see esp. pp. 74–75 and 84–87); on this latter point, however, see the note to Tang and Yu at the beginning of this translation.

[38]㡿: GDCMZJ renders 㡿 and reads 咸; QXG 98.5, however, sees the graph as a corruption of 䲜, read 皆. ZFW 99.9 supports the original reading of 咸. The rendering here follows YZS 06.1, who sees the lower element as 旬 and reads the graph as 均.

[39] 采(由) (here and in strip 12): YSX 99.1 follows the reading of 由, but suggests an additional possible rendering of the graph as 枲, seen as a variant of 柔. LZ 03.12 suggests that 采 represented an ear of grain and thus was sometimes pronounced as 秀, thereby able to serve as a loan for 由.

[40] 宊寞: GDCMZJ leaves the first graph unrendered and notes only that the two should refer to Shun's father, Gu Sou 瞽叟 (see also strip 24 below). LJH 99.1 renders the first graph as 兆, read 瞽, and reads 寞 as 瞙, blind; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 similarly renders the first graph as 冗 and sees it as a variant of 兆, read 瞽, but takes 寞 as Gu Sou's given name. HDK/XZG 98.12, on the other hand, render the first graph as 宊, also read 瞽. LL 99.8 renders and reads the first graph as do HDK/XZG, and reads the second as 盲, a similar form of blindness to what 叟, read as 瞍, likely designates. HXQ 05.12 also renders the first graph as do HDK/XZG, but reads the second like LJH. LXF 00.1 renders the first graph as 庀, or 庇, and reads the combination of 庇寞 as 瞀矇, which, like 瞽瞍, also carries the meaning of "blind" or "blinded." ZFW 99.9 reads the second graph as 幕 and sees 瞽幕 as a conflation of the two originally distinct figures of 瞽 and 虞幕, both of whom were said to have had the ability to "listen to (/divine) the harmonious winds" 聽協風. Like LXF, ZJW 07.4 sees the lower element of the first graph as 匕, but reads the graph as 耆, reading 耆盲 in the sense of the "old and benighted" one. Note that in strip 1 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) text "Zigao" 子羔, Shun's father is referred to as "舌弃"; I suspect that 舌 is an error for 害, that 弁 is an abbreviation of 茻(莽), and that 害弃 might thus also be read as 瞽盲.

[41] 戈〈弋〉: GDCMZJ renders 弋; LL 99.8 reads this as 戴, "uphold." LXH 99.3 (p. 66) takes 弋 in the sense of "establish" or "exhaust." BYL 99.6 reads 弋 as 試/式, "employ"; MPS 02.11 also reads 試. ZFW 99.9 notes that the graph is actually written 戈, but that 弋 and 戈 are commonly confused in Chu script; he sees this "弋" as 式, here used as an empty metric particle. CW 02.12 follows, but takes 式 in the verbal sense of "give the

（賢），吳（虞）舜其人也。𡍞（禹）幻（治）水，膉（益）幻（治）火，后禝（稷）幻（治）土[42]，足民羧（養）【也。伯夷[43]（10）

For the sages, above, served Heaven, so as to teach the people to hold reverence, and below, they served Earth, so as to teach the people to hold affinity. They seasonally served the mountains and rivers, so as to teach the people to hold respect, and they personally served the ancestral temple, so as to teach the people to be filial. In the academies of higher learning, the Son of Heaven [honored] close relations and elders, so as to teach the people to be brotherly; and toward the former and latter sages, he examined [the practices of] the latter but paid allegiance to the former, so as to teach the people the way of great accord.

The practice of Yao and Shun was to love their parents and to honor the worthy. Loving their parents, they were therefore filial; honoring the worthy, they therefore abdicated. The dissemination of filial piety is to love all the people of the world; the outflow of abdication is for the age to have no hidden virtue. Filial piety is the acme of humanity, and abdication is the height of propriety. The rise of the Six Sovereigns in antiquity all originated from this.

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model for"; HXQ 05.12 interprets in like manner. Along similar lines, we might also read 示, "show," "display": while 弋/式 (*ʎĭək/*ɕĭək; *zhi* 職-group) and 示 (*ȡĭei; *zhi* 脂-group) are not particularly close in their finals, there is attested interloaning between 式 and 視 (see Gao Heng, *Guzi tongjia huidian*, p. 414); on inter-borrowing between the 之(/職) and 脂 groups more generally, cf. YSX 00.5, p. 105, and LZP 07.4, p. 492 n. 4. DSX 00.10 (p. 369) and TZL/LZX 01.2 all read 弋 directly as 一, in the sense of "adhere to singularly"; YSR 03b sees the graph as an error for 弌/弍 (一), which he likewise takes in the sense of "devote oneself to." LR 03.6, also seeing the graph as 戈, reads 歌, "sing," which would seem to imply that others sang Shun's praises. ZJW 07.4 reads 弋 as 試, 式, or 軾, in the sense of to "test," "model after," or "respect" (here and below).

[42] LLX 99.1 suggests that this particular sequence of water, fire, and earth here may reflect the influence of five-phases theory—though this seems somewhat tangential here.

[43] There is space here for 3 (or possibly 4) graphs. LL 99.8 suggests 生 for the first, on the basis of a remnant of the top stroke, and 夫唯, as the beginning of a new sentence, for the other two; he connects this strip directly to strip 11. As CW 99.3 (p. 8) and ZFW 99.9 both point out, however, this strip should connect directly to 12 (see the notes to strip 12 below); ZFW supplies "也。契" for the first two graphs, and speculates from this that the text may have been conceived as a kind of elaboration or commentary upon the parallel passage in the "Yao dian" chapter of the *Shang shu*. Given the number of missing graphs, we might instead supply "也。伯夷," as does CW, based on the alternate tradition given in the "Wudi de" 五帝德 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji* (quoted in CW 98.4), wherein Bo Yi (also written 伯益, 柏翳, etc.) oversaw ritual (主禮) and Kui created music (作樂); cf. PBB 00.5 (p. 270 n. 9), citing DSX. Alternately, we could supply "生也。契" for the three, also connecting directly to strip 12. YSR 03b would supply four graphs: "生也。伯夷."

To love one’s parents and forget the worthies is to have humanity yet lack propriety. To honor the worthies and neglect one’s parents is to have propriety yet lack humanity. In ancient times, Shun of Yu earnestly served [his father] the Blinded One, and thus demonstrated his filial piety; he loyally served the Sovereign Yao, and thus demonstrated his [capacity to be] minister. In his love of parents and honoring of worthies, Shun of Yu was the man.

Yǔ controlled the waters, Yi controlled the fires, and Hou Ji controlled the soils, assuring that the people’s sustenance would be sufficient.[44] 【Bo Yi(?)

12

幻（治）】[45]豊（禮），愢（夔）[46]守樂，孫（遜）[47]民效（教）也。咎采（繇）內[48]用五型（刑），出弋（試）[49]兵革，辠（罪）涇〈淫〉[50]秦（暴）[51]【也。[52]虞[53]】（12）

[44] The six ministers mentioned in this paragraph are all reputed to have served as ministers in Shun’s court. Yǔ 禹, not to be confused with the state of Yu 虞 found elsewhere throughout this text, is the man to whom Shun would eventually cede the throne. Hou Ji 后稷 is the legendary progenitor of the Zhou 周 people, who would eventually go on to establish their own dynasty around 1045 BC.

[45] I (GSK 06.1) would supply 幻(治) here and, along with CW 99.3 (p. 8) and ZFW 99.9, connect this strip directly to strip 10 above. CW supplies 守, which would make this phrase more strictly parallel to the next. LL 99.8 would instead supply 明 or 知 and have this strip directly follow strip 28.

[46] 愢: GDCMZJ reads 畏. CW 98.4 reads 夔, given as Shun’s music master in other texts. I follow him here, but alternately also suggest the possibility of reading 威, in which case the entire line would refer to Xie 契 rather than to Bo Yi and Kui, as follows: “【契治】禮威、守樂順，民教也” (“【Xie brought order to】 the majesty of ritual and upheld the accord of music—such was the instruction of the people”; cf. the “Yi bing” 議兵 chapter of the *Xunzi*: “禮者，治辨之極也，強固之本也，威行之道也，功名之總也” (“Ritual is the pinnacle of order and discrimination, the foundation of a strong state, the way to majestic influence, and the confluence of accomplished reputation”). LL 99.8 punctuates as follows: “[明]禮、畏守、樂遜，民教也.”

[47] 孫: LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.9 both read 遜; I read this like 順. If this 遜/順 did go together with 樂 (see previous note), we should note the “Yue lun” 樂論 chapter of the *Xunzi*: “先王惡其亂也，故脩其行，正其樂，而天下順焉” (“The former kings detested such chaos, and thus they cultivated their practices and rectified their music, and all the world followed in accord”).

[48] 內: LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.9 both read 入.

[49] 弋: ZFW 99.9, BYL 99.6, and MPS 02.11 all read 式/試, “employ.” LL 99.8 reads 戴. Cf. the note on 戈〈弋〉 in strip 9 above.

brought order to】 ritual and Kui took guard over music, assuring that instruction of the people would go smoothly. Gao Yao employed the five punishments within, and soldiers in battle without, assuring that transgressors and insurgents would pay for their crimes.

13

用愄（威）[54]，虽（夏）[55]用戈，正（征）[56]不備（服）也。[57]悉（愛）而正之，吳（虞）虽（夏）之㚸（治）[58]也。[59]僮（禪）而不連（専），義亙（恆）【正；義】[60]（13）

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[50] 涇: LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.8 both read 輕. ZGY/YGH 99.1 render this instead as 淫; YSR 03b also sees it most likely as a graphic error for 淫. As FSJ 07.4 (pp. 97–98) notes, the same graphic confusion appears in strip 6 of "Ziyi."

[51] 秦: GDCMZJ tentatively renders 柭. LL 99.8 would instead render 秦 and interpret the graph as 法; ZFW 99.9 also reads 法, seeing the lower part of the graph as an abbreviation of 廌 and thus seeing the graph as equivalent to 灋, i.e., 灋 minus its water radical. If these readings are correct, we could understand 罪輕法 as "punishing those who belittled the laws." SXJ (as cited in FSJ 07.4, pp. 97–98), on the other hand, interprets the graph here as 暴, taking the previous 涇 as an error for 淫. YG 07.9 espouses the same interpretation, suspecting the graph may be roughly equivalent to the 𣋡 in strip 64 of "Xing zi ming chu," which ZFW 04.4 reads 暴.

[52] Compare these last few lines to the passage from the "Yao dian" chapter of the *Shang shu* that begins with: "咨禹，汝平水土."

[53] Space remains for two or perhaps three graphs; along with LL 99.8, I supply "也。虞" on the basis of assumed context and connect this strip directly to 13. HXQ 05.12 assumes the same connection, but would actually supply four graphs: "服蠻夷。虞"; spacing considerations make this unlikely. CW 02.12 tentatively connects to strip 14 instead, but suspects a missing strip may have come in between. LZP 07.4, connecting directly to 14, supplies the three graphs "明，安民," yielding "罪輕法明，安民治也."

[54] 愄: GDCMZJ reads 威. CW 02.12 instead sees the graph as a variant form of 戚, which he takes in this case in its original sense of a kind of axe, parallel to 戈 below. However, a similar graph in strip 20 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 5) manuscript "San de" 三德, which also appears to read 威, serves to support the original rendering/reading.

[55] 虽(夏): 虽 is an abbreviated form of the graph elsewhere written 𩠐, equivalent to 夏. On how the form, with its 虫 element, derived from a gradual process of graphic corruption, see WYH 02.2.

[56] 正: LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.9 both read 征, "subdue," here and six graphs later. DJP 99.5 (p. 45) reads 政, "governance." Note that the graph here appears to be accidentally written without an upper horizontal stroke.

[57] AS 06 (p. 37) suggests that this refers specifically to Shun's civilizing mission against the tribes of Huan Dou 驩兜 and Yu's pacification of the San Miao 三苗.

[58] 㚸: LL 99.8 instead reads 始, thus "it *began* with Yu and Xia."

[59] Cf. the words placed in the mouth of Zigong 子貢 in the "Tianyun" 天運 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "堯授舜，

【The Yu?】 employed might and the Xia employed warfare—this was to subdue (/rectify) the unsubmissive. To cherish them and rectify them was the rule of Yu and Xia.

[When] abdicating rather than monopolizing, propriety is constantly correct, and those whose propriety is correct are able to abdicate the world.

22-28

之正者[61]，能以天下㣽（禪）歖（矣）。古者堯之與（舉）[62]舜也：昏（聞）舜孝，智（知）其能羧（養）天下（22）之老也；昏（聞）舜弟（悌），智（知）其能㚸（事）[63]天下之長也；昏（聞）舜丝（慈）[64]虖（乎）弟，【智（知）其能王天下而】[65]（23）為民宔（主）也。古（故）其為㓅（瞽）寞（盲）[66]子也，甚孝[67]；及[68]其為堯臣也，甚忠；堯㣽（禪）天下（24）而受

舜授禹。禹用力而湯用兵" ("Yao bequeathed [the throne] to Shun, and Shun bequeathed to Yu. Yu employed efforts/force, and Tang employed warfare"); or the "Liqi" 禮器 chapter of the *Li ji*: "堯授舜，舜授禹，湯放桀，武王伐紂，時也" ("Yao bequeathed to Shun, and Shun bequeathed to Yu; Tang expelled Jie, and King Wu punitively attacked Zhou—[each] was a matter of [what was appropriate for] the time").

[60] Space remains here for most likely two graphs. I (GSK 06.1) tentatively supply "正，義" and would connect this strip directly to 22. LL 99.8 would instead supply "絕，夏" and connect it directly to 14, reading the first graph there as "始." On the basis of what he sees as formal similarities, CW 02.12 places 13 in between 3 and 4. YG 07.9 would supply "萬" for the last graph and connect the strip directly to 18 below. Note that both WB 01.5e (p. 74) and HJL 07.4 assume LL's connection and reading here as established fact, and HJL in particular draws a number of sweeping conclusions on its basis.

[61] LL 99.8, ZFW 99.9, and CW 02.12 would all have strip 22 follow 11; see the note to strip 11 below.

[62] 與: ZFW 99.9 reads 舉.

[63] 㚸: GDCMZJ reads 嗣, "inherit from," "succeed"; QXG 98.5 suggests instead reading 事, "serve." ZFW 99.9 and YSX 03.12 (pp. 656–57) both support QXG's reading. CW 02.12 reads 司(伺), "observe," "await," "abide by."

[64] 丝(慈): as YSR 03b notes, 丝 itself should be seen as an abbreviation of 兹.

[65] Space remains here for five to seven graphs. Based on context, ZFW 99.9 supplies "知其能" for the first three graphs; I tentatively supply seven graphs: "知其能王天下而." LL 99.8 supplies "象□□，知其能," Xiang 象 being Shun's younger brother.

[66] 㓅寞 (瞽盲): see the notes to strip 9 above.

[67] Cf. the "Yao dian" chapter of the *Shang shu*: "瞽子，父頑，母嚚，象傲，克諧以孝，烝烝乂，不（伓）

（授）之，南面而王而〈天〉下而甚君。古（故）[69]堯之儃（禪）虖（乎）舜也，女（如）此也。

In ancient times, Yao's promotion of Shun was thus: he heard of Shun's filial piety, and knew he would be able to nurture the elderly of the world; he heard of Shun's brotherliness, and knew he would be able to serve the elders of the world; he heard of Shun's affection for his younger brother, 【and knew he would be able to rule the world (?) and】 serve as sovereign to the people. Thus as son of the Blinded One, [Shun] was exceedingly filial; when he became minister to Yao, he was exceedingly loyal; and when Yao abdicated the world and invested him with it, he faced south as king and was exceedingly [accomplished as] ruler. This, then, was how it was with Yao's abdication to Shun.

古者聖（聖）人廿（二十）而（25）冐〈冒（帽）〉[70]，卅（三十）而又（有）家，五十而幻（治）天下[71]，七十而至（致）正（政）[72]。四枳（肢）眹（倦）

格姦" ("He is the son of a blind man: his father was obtuse, his mother untrustworthy, and his [younger brother] Xiang arrogant, [and yet] he was able to bring them into harmony through filial devotion. So abounding was his cultivation that he could greatly reform the wicked").

[68] 及 (here and throughout): GDCMZJ renders 秉, but takes it as a corruption of 及. LJH 99.1, ZGY/YGH 99.1, and LL 99.8 all see it instead as the "ancient script" form of 及; cf. FSJ 07.4, pp. 274–75.

[69] 古: I follow GDCMZJ in reading 故; it is also possible to read 古 here as is, "in ancient times."

[70] 冐: GDCMZJ sees the lower element as a corruption of 目 and renders the graph as 冐, reading this as 冃, the ancient form of 帽, referring here to the capping ceremony of male adulthood at age twenty. LL 99.8 would instead render the graph as 冟 and suspects it is a variant of 冠, also referring to capping; ZFW 99.9 also renders 冠. LTH 00.3 sees the lower half as a variant form of 首 and also interprets the graph as 冠. HXQ 05.12 suggests that the graph may well be a variant form of 帽, but also does not rule out the possibility that it is a variant of 冠 instead. As YG 07.9 notes, the form of the graph here appears to closely resemble the 冐 in strip 60 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 4) manuscript "Cao Mo zhi zhen" 曹沫之陳.

[71] As ZFW 99.9 notes, the "Yao dian" chapter of the *Shang shu* seems to express a similar ideal of Shun's becoming Son of Heaven at the age of fifty; for details, see p. 755 of his article.

[72] 至正: WB 99.2 and QXG 02.12 both note a parallel in the "Jie" chapter of the *Guanzi*: "義故七十而致政"; WB (pp. 32–33) and LTH 00.3 also both note several instances of similar phrases in the *Li ji*, though they are generally in reference to the great officers rather than rulers: "Quli, shang" 曲禮上: "大夫七十而致事"; "Wang zhi" 王制: "七十致政"; and "Nei ze" 內則: "七十致事."

陞（惰）[73]，耳目敢（取〔聰〕）明[74]衰[75]，僮（禪）天下而（26）受（授）臤（賢），退而羕（養）其生。此以智（知）其弗利也。《吳（虞）時（志）》[76]曰：「大明[77]不出，完（萬）[78]勿（物）㬪（皆）[79]訇（暗）[80]。聖（27）者不才

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[73] 四枳胅陞: QXG 98.5 reads 四肢倦惰. ZGY/YGH 99.1 follow this reading, but would first take the graphs 枳 and 陞 to be variants/corruptions of 枝 and 隋, respectively. For more on the latter graph, cf. LTH 02.3a (pp. 378–80); CWW 00.8 interprets this graph instead as 崖, read here as 解(懈).

[74] 敢明: GDCMZJ renders the first graph as 肝; LL 99.8 would instead render 耼, read 聰. ZFW 99.9 accepts the rendering of 肝, but sees it as a Chu-dialect loan for 聰. LXF 00.1 reads the first graph as 許, understood in the sense of "listening"; as YSR 03b points out however, this gloss appears untenable. BYL 01.2 disputes LL's rendering and also affirms the initial rendering of 肝, but reads this as 聕, with a sense similar to 聰. HLY 99.12 would render the first graph 敢 and read 輒, in the sense of "as for," taking 明 adverbially in the sense of "clearly." FSJ 00.7 would also render 敢, but he sees this as a variant of 取, here read 聰. The form in fact does closely resemble that of 取 in strip 30 of "Laozi A." WLB 01.5, however, affirms again the original rendering and sees it as an abbreviated form of 聰.

[75] Cf. the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) manuscript "Rongcheng shi" 容成氏, strip 12: "堯乃老，視不明，聽不聰……見舜之賢也，而欲以爲後" ("[When] Yao became old, his vision failing and his hearing fading . . . he saw that Shun was worthy and wanted to make him his successor").

[76] 吳時: GDCMZJ suspects this is the name of some ancient text; QXG 98.5 suggests reading 虞詩, the "Odes of Yu." The nature of the text is unknown, though ZFW 99.9 suspects the ode may have been found within a now-lost chapter of the *Shang shu*. LMC 99.3b (p. 37), however, argues persuasively that we read this as 虞志 instead, with 志 standing for a genre of texts overlapping in reference with the term 書 (as with the *Zuo zhuan* citation of an *Yi Zhou shu* chapter as "Zhou zhi" 周志 and other similar examples), and thus takes this to refer to a lost line from some chapter in the "Yu shu" 虞書 section of the *Shang shu*, not to be found among any of its chapters in the received version of the work. Note that the Shanghai Museum (v. 4) manuscript "Cao Mo zhi zhen," strip 41, similarly refers to a "周等," which LL also reads as "周志."

[77] 大明: as ZFW 99.9 notes, this term, literally "great brightness," has been used to stand for the sun in early texts.

[78] 完: GDCMZJ renders the graph as 完 and reads 萬. QXG 98.5 suspects the graph should have been written 万 (丏), which more often serves as a loan for 萬 in early inscriptions.

[79] 㬪: GDCMZJ reads 皆, as the graph closely resembles the "ancient form" of 皆 found in the *Guwen sishengyun*. WYH (cited in CW et al. 09.9) contends that the "君" form in the graph derives from a component of 皆 seen in early bronze inscriptions; HXQ 05.12 also supports the interpretation of the graph here as 皆. ZFW 99.9, on the other hand, sees the phonetic as a corruption of 含 and reads the graph as 咸. CW 02.12 would instead render 麐(麇), taken in the sense of "[in a] herd," "all together." The same graph also appears in strip 7 of "Zhongxin zhi dao," where parallel structure suggests that it might not stand for 皆 after all; YZS (01.12 and 06.1) reads 均 in both instances. Cf. the related graph 㡒 in strip 8 above.

[80] 訇: LL 99.8 reads 暗 (*əm), "dark," and notes instances of interrhyming between its *qin* 侵 group and the *wei* 微 group of 壞 (*ɣoəi) below; LMC 99.3b (p. 36) reads likewise, seeing the 言 as a mistake for 音. ZFW 99.9 reads 隱 (*wen* 文 group; *iən), which, as he points out, would work out well as a *duizhuan*-type rhyme with 壞. BYL 99.6 similarly sees the graph as a variant of 揞, viewing this as a Chu-region term for "hidden." YSX

（在）上，天下花（必）[81]壞。」[82]㠯（治）之至[83]，羖（養）不喿（肖）[84]；亂之至，滅臤（賢）。忎（仁）者為此進（28）[85]

In ancient times, sages were [ceremoniously] capped (as adults) at the age of twenty, took a family at the age of thirty, ruled the world at the age of fifty, and handed over [the reins of] government at the age of seventy. When their four limbs grew weary and the perceptiveness of their eyes and ears diminished, they would abdicate the world and invest it to the worthy, and would retire to nurture [the remaining years of] their lives. This is how we know that they did not [use the world to] bring profit to themselves. The *Records*(?) *of Yu* say, "If the sun does not come out, the myriad things will all be in darkness. If a sage is not on top, the world will surely crumble." At the height of order, the unworthy are nurtured; at the height of chaos, the worthy are destroyed. For this reason, the humane advance order.

03.12 (p. 657) supports the readings of 暗 or 隱, but suggests that the 勹 here could actually be a corruption of 今, in which case it would be a secondary phonetic. HXQ 05.12 similarly sees the graph as a shared-stroke combination of 今 over 言 and reads 陰 (*iəm), in a sense corresponding to 暗. Read as is, 訇, "shrieks of terror" or "thunderous sounds," could have the extended sense of being in "uproar" or "turmoil." YG 07.9 suggests the possibility of reading 玄, "darkened," which conforms to an alternate early phonetic gloss on 訇. MPS 02.11 reads 虐訇 together as 氤氳, a rhyming binome here descriptive of a kind of state of primordial flux.

[81] 花: see the note on this graph in strip 3 above; LMC 99.3b also reads 必 here. LXF 00.12b suggests the alternate possibility of reading 比, here in the sense of "will in turn."

[82] Along with LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.9, I suspect the quotation ends at this point, though it could conceivably run through to the end of the next set of parallel lines. YG 07.9 suggests that even the 賢 (*zhen* 真 group; *ɣien) at the end of those lines might conceivably be incorporated into the rhyme.

[83] GDCMZJ punctuates between 之 and 至; along with ZFW 99.9, I punctuate instead after 至, here and below.

[84] 喿: QXG 98.5 suspects this should read 肖.

[85] I (GSK 06.1) would follow this strip directly with strip 14. LL 99.8 follows it with 12, supplying 明 as the first graph of that strip. CW 02.12 tentatively follows it with 18. FYZ 02.2 follows it with strip 4, thus concluding the phrase with the 也 that begins that strip. YG 07.9 follows FYZ, but does so primarily on the basis of apparent scrapes or tying-residue lines on the strips at or near the point of the upper tying notches that, with slight adjustments in height positioning, would appear to all line up, from strips 26-28 on through to 4-6, in a continuous slanted direction; close inspection, however, reveals that such marks are by no means clearly evident on strip 4, one of the two crucial strips at the juncture of this proposed connection.

14-17

㚸（治）[86]也。古者堯生於[87]天子而又（有）天下，聖以墨（遇）[88]命，忎（仁）以逵（逢）[89]旹（時）。[90]未嘗墨（遇）【命而】[91]（14）並[92]於大旹（時）[93]，神明㸋（將）[94]從[95]，天陞（地）右（佑）之。[96]從（縱）[97]忎（仁）、聖可与

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[86] 㚸: LL 99.8 reads 始 ("began [with]"), having this strip remain connected directly to 13. CW 02.12 tentatively has it follow strip 12, but suspects a missing strip may have come in between. FYZ 02.2 would place strip 14 after strip 3. ZQH 02.2 and YG 07.9 would both have it follow 11; like LL, YG would read 始, but tentatively suggests that the two graphs [知]命之 might be supplied at the end of strip 11.

[87] 生於: LL 99.8 suspects 於 is an error for 爲. I read 生 here in a sense close to that of 升, which appears in the case of Shun in strip 16 below. Others would take it in the sense of Yao's being "born into" the position, which obviously holds much different implications. On a reading of "Yao dian" and other literature suggesting that Yao may have received the throne through hereditary succession, see PBB 00.5, p. 269; along similar lines, DC 04 (p. 59 n. 76) tentatively translates the line as "possessed the world through his birth right."

[88] 墨: QXG 98.5 reads 遇, here and below.

[89] 逵: QXG 98.5 suggests this should read 逢.

[90] Following ZFW 99.9, I end the sentence here.

[91] LL 99.8 supplies "賢。雖" for the two missing graphs here. I tentatively follow ZFW 99.9 in supplying "命而." FYZ 02.2 offers a compromise in supplying "命，雖." LZ 03.12 assumes a word with a meaning along the lines of "obstacles" may have followed "未嘗遇"; YG 07.9 would similarly supply a graph such as 災, "disaster."

[92] 並: LL 99.8 reads 秉. ZFW 99.9 sees the graph as a slight corruption of 朁 (替), read in the sense of 廢, "abandon(ed)." CW 02.12 retains the original rendering and sees 並 as interchangeable with 傍, having the sense of "rest upon," "go along with." HXQ 05.12 also affirms the rendering of 並, but reads 屏, "obstruct(ed)."

[93] 大旹(時): HJL 07.4 (pp. 470–71) would relate this term directly to the 大時 that appears in the "Qin ce, san" 秦策三 chapter of the *Zhanguo ce*, which references Shun's timely encountering of Yao in the course of a larger argument on the need to act while the time is ripe.

[94] 㸋(將): GDCMZJ tentatively renders 均, "all, equally"; ZFW 99.9 provisionally reads this as 慍, "angered," punctuating afterward. LL 99.8 would render the graph as 㸋 and tentatively read this as 將. HXQ 05.12 would render 䏊 and interpret this as a form of 壯, here read 裝, in the sense of "pretend to."

[95] 從: ZFW 99.9 reads 縱, as in the next phrase, and punctuates beforehand instead of after; he thus takes what follows from it as a double-conditional sentence with two concessive hypothetical phrases each beginning with 縱.

[96] LL 99.8 would punctuate here with a comma instead; following this, CW 02.12 sees all the phrases from 並於大時 to 天地佑之 as being governed by the single hypothetical conditional 未嘗 ("Had he not yet"), which is all then followed with the concessive hypothetical 縱 ("[then] even though . . ."), leading to the hypothetical conclusion that he would not have been able to meet his time. I here read only the last two phrases (following the 縱) as a conditional statement.

（舉）[98]，旹（時）弗可及[99]歖（矣）。夫[100]古者（15）舜佢（居）[101]於艸（草）茅之中而不悥（憂）[102]，升[103]為天子而不喬（驕）。[104]佢（居）艸（草）茅之中而不悥（憂），智（知）命（16）也。升為天子而不喬（驕），不流[105]也。[106]

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[97] 從: GDCMZJ and most others read this second 從 as 縱. YG 07.9 would read it as is, "to follow," "abide by."

[98] 与(與): LL 99.8 and ZFW 99.9 both read 舉. LZX 03.12 renders 牙, reading it as 与 in the sense of "provide assistance." YG 07.9 suspects the graph may serve here as the interrogative particle 歟.

[99] 及: see the note to this graph in strip 24 above.

[100] 夫: YG 07.9 suggests the possibility of placing this instead at the end of the previous line.

[101] 佢: GDCMZJ reads 居. CW 02.12 reads 拒/距, in the sense of "arrive at."

[102] Cf. the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) text "Zigao" 子羔, strip 5: "堯之取舜也，從諸草茅之中" ("When Yao selected Shun, he sought him out from amidst the wilds"); and *Zhanguo ce*, "Zhao ce, si" 趙策四: "昔者堯見舜於草茅之中……而授天下傳" ("In former times, Yao had Shun presented from amidst the wilds . . . and invested him with the transmission of the world"). "Wilds" should be understood in the sense of the countryside, i.e., the areas outside the direct reach of the court.

[103] 升: GDCMZJ renders 身; QXG 98.5 would render 升, here and below; LL 99.8 gives the transcription of 登. YSX 00.8 concurs with the rendering of 升 or 登, pointing to such passages as the "Shen ren" 愼人 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*: "舜之耕漁，其賢不肖與爲天子同。 ......其遇時也，登爲天子，賢士歸之......" ("When Shun was [still] farming or fishing, his worthiness was no different from when he became Son of Heaven. . . . When he encountered his time and rose to become the Son of Heaven, worthy men paid their allegiance to him. . . ."). LSQ 05.12 (p. 15 n. 30) reads 徵, "summon." YGH 00.5 notes that the graph more closely resembles 斗 than 升, and, if taken as the latter, would have to be seen as a graphic error; he, however, sees the graph here as a form of 弓 and reads 躬, "himself," "personally."

[104] DC 04 (p. 57) notes a close parallel in the "Ben sheng" 本生 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*: "Acting above as the Son of Heaven he is not arrogant; acting below as a common man he is not depressed" 上爲天子而不驕，下爲匹夫而不惛.

[105] 流: see the note on this graph in strip 7 above. LZ 00.5 takes it here in the sense found in the "Zhong yong" 中庸 chapter of the *Li ji*: "君子和而不流" ("The noble man is harmonious but not given to abandon"). LL 99.8 would render 潓/傳, here read 專. ZFW 99.9 renders 湅, read 重; LSQ 05.12 (p. 15 n. 30) similarly interprets the graph as 重. BYL 01 follows the rendering of 湅, but here reads 恃, "presume upon [one's position]." WH 00.1 interprets the graph instead as 朝(潮), here read 朝 in the causative sense of making the feudal lords "pay court."

[106] WB 99.2 and QXG 02.12 both note a close parallel in the "Jie" chapter of the *Guanzi*: "是故，身在草茅之中，而無懾意；南面聽天下，而無驕色" ("Thus when [a sage] is dwelling in the wilds, he has no sense of fear; when he oversees the world as ruler, he has no look of arrogance"). For other related passages, see also HXQ 05.12.

洓（漻）[107]虖（乎）[108]，大人之興散（微）[109]也！今之戈〈弋（式）〉[110]於直（德）者，未[111]（17）

In ancient times, [when] Yao arose (or: "was born") [to be] the Son of Heaven and possessed the world, he received his mandate with sagacity and met his time with humanity. Before he ever received 【his mandate and】 stood together with the great times, the spirits were [set] to favor him, and Heaven and Earth assisted him. Even if [one's] humanity and sagacity are worthy of elevation, the times cannot [always] be caught up with.

For when Shun, in ancient times, dwelled amidst the wilds, he was not concerned, and when he rose to become Son of Heaven, he was not arrogant. That he remained unconcerned while dwelling in the wilds was because he knew his mandate, and that he did not turn arrogant upon rising to become the Son of Heaven was because he did not go astray. How tranquil is the great man's rise [from] obscurity!

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[107] 洓: QXG 98.5 suspects this should read 求. ZFW 99.9 reads 逑, in the sense of "compared with," not punctuating all the way through 微. LZ 03.12 reads 仇, also in the sense of "matched to," "compared with"; HXQ 05.12 suggests 究, "investigate." I read 洓 as 漻, "clear, placid, tranquil," as in the "Tian di" 天地 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: "夫子曰：「夫道，淵乎其居也，漻乎其清也」" ("The master said: 'For the Way—how deep is its dwelling, how placid is its clarity!'").

[108] 虖(乎): I treat this as an exclamatory particle and punctuate afterward.

[109] 興散也: GDCMZJ reads "興，美也." ZFW 99.9 reads 興微, in the sense of "arise from low status," and would punctuate with a comma after 也.

[110] 戈: GDCMZJ renders 弋. BYL 99.6 reads 弋 as is, in the sense of "take"; LL 99.8 reads 戴 (here and below). ZFW 99.9 here reads 式, in the sense of "model." DSX 00.10 reads 弌(一), be "singular" toward. Cf. the note on 戈〈弋〉 in strip 9 above. YSR 03b would also render the graph here as 戈, but sees it as a variant form of 弋; LR 03.6 would also render 戈, but instead reads 戈於 as 歌呼, "sing the praises of."

[111] 未: LL 99.8 reads 微, taking "微年" in the sense of "無年"; LR 03.6 takes 未年 directly in the same sense. ZFW 99.9 suspects that the strip that follows strip 17 is missing; CW 02.12 would connect it with 11, and suggests that the phrase "Those today . . ." would necessarily precede a negative statement to be contrasted with the positive examples of the past. I tentatively leave 17 connected to 18, though I divide them into separate paragraphs here to indicate the uncertainty of the connection; for lack of a better solution, I take what follows from this point forward in a quasi-imperative sense. AS 06, though also leaving 17-18 as is, translates with a logic similar to that of CW: "Those of today who uphold (戴) virtue, before the year is out do not maintain it."

18-21

年不弋（式）[112]，君民而不喬（驕），卒王天下而不矣（喜）[113]。方才（在）下立（位），不以厄（匹）夫[114]為（18）巠（輕）；及[115]其又（有）天下也，不以天下為重。又（有）天下弗能益，亡天下弗能員（損）。[116]亟（極）忎（仁）（19）之至，利天下而弗利也。禪（禪）[117]也者，上直（德）受（授）臤（賢）之胃（謂）也。[118]上直（德）則天下又（有）君而（20）世明。受

[112] 弋: ZFW 99.9, assuming a missing strip before 18, tentatively reads the 弋 here as 忒 ("alter," "fall into error"); LZP 07.4, connecting strip 18 up to strip 3, reads likewise, but also reads the preceding 年 as 而 in an attempt to make this phrase parallel to the following two. Tentatively retaining the original connection of strips 17-18, I read 弋 here the same as 戈〈弋〉 in the previous phrase, taking it as 式 in the sense of "employ." LR 03.6 also reads the graph here as 式, but in the extended sense of "revere." CW 02.12 tentatively connects this strip up to strip 28. YG 07.9 would have this strip directly follow strip 13, supplying the last missing graph of that broken strip as 萬, and reads the phrase as either 萬年不代 or 萬年不忒 ("not to be altered for ten thousand years"). YG suggests that while strips 16-18 all appear to have been broken off at the point of their bottom tying notches, the string residue on strips 17 and 18 does not tilt in the same direction, whereas that of 13 and 18 align much better; none of this, however, is particularly clear from the photographs, and I see no reason to assume that the slant of the tying strings would necessarily be consistent from strip to strip.

[113] 矣: GDCMZJ reads 疑, "uncertain." LLX 02.9 reads 喜, "joyful," "pleased." LR 03.6 reads 肆, "let loose," "indulge oneself in." ZJW 07.4 reads 俟, in the sense of "large," "[self-]aggrandized."

[114] 厄夫: GDCMZJ renders 仄夫; HLY 99.12 reads 仄 as 側, in the sense of "marginal" or "of low status." QXG 98.5, however, suspects that the two graphs are a corruption of 匹夫. LL 02.3 would render the first graph instead as 厄, read 匹; YGH 03.3 also argues that the graph is a variant of 匹, noting also how 匹 is written essentially the same way in strip 21 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 1) "Ziyi" manuscript. YSX 03.6 interprets the graph instead as 人 inside a 匹 phonetic, also read 匹. LZP 07.4 also interprets as 匹, along the lines of LL, but sees the 厂 as including a shared stroke with the upper part of 匕 and thus being an abbreviated form of 匿, also functioning as a meaning signifier in the graph.

[115] 及: see the note to this graph in strip 24 above.

[116] QXG 02.12 (pp. 179–80) notes a relevant line from the "Jie" chapter of the *Guanzi*: "道德當身，故不以物爲惑" ("The way and virtue reside in him, thus he is not deluded by external things").

[117] 禪: this and the equivalent graph in the next strip are alternate forms of the graph written 禪 elsewhere throughout this manuscript. See the note to the latter in strip 1.

[118] As WB 99.2 (p. 33) notes, this language is reminiscent of that found in the "Shang xian, shang" 尚賢上 chapter of the *Mozi*: "故古者聖王之爲政，列德而尚賢……故古者堯舉舜於服澤之陽，授之政，天下平" ("Thus the sage kings of old governed by arraying the virtuous and honoring the worthy . . . thus, in antiquity, Yao raised Shun from the northern banks of the Fu marshes and invested him with governance, and the world was in balance"); he also (p. 55) notes a vague parallel in the "Jie" chapter of the *Guanzi*: "是故聖人上德而下功" ("Thus the sage honors virtue and deemphasizes achievements").

（授）臤（賢）則民瞿（遷）[119]效（教）[120]而蟡（化）虖（乎）道。不僐（禪）而能蟡（化）民者，自生民未之又（有）也。（21）[121]

Those today who [would] emulate/employ virtue [may] not employ it before their age [has come],[122] [and must] not turn arrogant when they [come to] rule the people, or become pleased with themselves if they finally [come to] serve as king to the world. When they occupy a low position, they [must] not think lightly of being a commoner, and when they come to possess the world, they [must] not attach importance [to themselves] because of it. Possession of the world may not augment them, and loss of the world may not diminish them. The ultimate in humanity is to bring profit to the world rather than to profit one's self.

"Abdication" refers to the upholding of virtue and the investing in worthies. When virtue is upheld, the world has its ruler and the age is enlightened. When worthies are invested, the people are moved [through] instruction and transformed by the Way. Ever since there have been living people, there has never been a case where they could be transformed without [the model of] abdication.

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[119] 瞿(遷): GDCMZJ renders 興, "arise." The graph, however, is written somewhat differently from the 興 of strips 8 and 17 above, and LL 02.3 would see it instead as 與 with an added 口 underneath, read 舉. CW 02.12 interprets it instead as 遷, "moved by"; LZP 07.4 also supports CW's interpretation.

[120] 效: GDCMZJ reads 教, as the graph is read in strips 4-6 above. LL 99.8 instead reads 效 here.

[121] As ZFW 99.9 notes, the phrase "自生民..." is one that is characteristic of the *Mengzi*. LL 99.8 would tag the text-ending strip 29, "如此也," directly onto this strip; CW 02.12 follows this. I instead tentatively follow strip 21 with 11 and then have 29 directly follow 11 to conclude the manuscript; ZFW 99.9 also tentatively follows 21 with 11 (see below), but does not place the latter at the end of the text.

[122] The first part of this sentence is translated from the end of the previous block; the connection, and indeed the subjunctive interpretation of this entire paragraph, can only be regarded as tentative.

11、29

▯卩（節）[123]虖（乎）脂（肌）[124]膚血㬎（氣）之青（情），羧（養）眚（性）[125]命之正[126]，安[127]命而弗宎（夭），羧（養）生而弗敡（傷）[128]，智（知）【禪者】[129]（11）女（如）此也。█（29）

To regulate the affections of [the people's][130] skin, blood, and vital breath, to nurture the authenticity of [their] ordained natures, to secure [their] fates without cutting them short, and to nurture [their] lives without harming them—【those who】 know 【abdication?】 are [able to rule] like this.

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[123] ▯卩: GDCMZJ leaves the left half of this graph unrendered and tentatively reads it as 節. LL 99.8 would render the left side as 寸 and, seeing this as the phonetic, read 順, "accord with"; retaining the original connection, he supplies the two graphs "夫唯" before it at the end of strip 10. ZFW 99.9 would instead interpret the graph as an abbreviated form of 僎, read 巽, understood in the same sense as 順; ZFW tentatively has this strip follow 21 as a separate paragraph, but suspects it may have originally followed a strip that is now missing. CW 02.12 interprets the graph as a variant of 妃, read 配, and connects the strip up to 17. Cf. CW's and CJ's (02.12) reading of 卬 as 配 in strip 5 of "Zhongxin zhi dao"; note that ZFW (98.12) also renders that graph as 僎 and reads 巽. YSR 03b sees the left side of the graph here as a variant form of *ji* 皀 and thus renders the graph as 即, read 節. LJH (quoted in LR 05.4) renders the graph as 𠬝, which LR reads 述, also in the sense of "follow." None of these renderings is particularly convincing; I tentatively take the right-side 卩 as the phonetic and read 節.

[124] 脂: YSR 03b sees this as a loan for 肌.

[125] 眚: this graph is somewhat different from other instances of 眚(性); GDCMZJ suspects it to be a variant form of that character.

[126] 正: LL 99.8 reads 政.

[127] 安: LL 99.8 would render 焉, but still read 安.

[128] 敡: GDCMZJ and others all read 傷; LR 05.4 instead reads 殤, "die young." YSR 03b takes note of the fact that such phrases as 養生, 安命, and 性命 (or 性命之情) all appear as important notions in the *Zhuangzi* and in certain chapters of such works as the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*.

[129] Remaining space suggests that two graphs are missing here. LL 99.8 would supply "天下" and connect this strip directly to the block beginning with strip 22, thus: "知天下之政者，能以天下禪矣"; he would then have strip 29 directly follow 21 (CW 02.12 follows; see above). ZFW 99.9 would likewise follow 11 with 22, but supply instead the three graphs "養性命"; CW 02.12 follows this, but would leave out the "養." ZFW leaves 29 unconnected, assuming one or more missing strips. I (GSK 06.1) connect 11 directly to strip 29 and tentatively supply 禪者 for the two missing graphs. YG 07.9 tentatively connects strip 11 to strip 14, following ZQH 02.2, and suggests the possibility of supplying 命之 for the two graphs (ZQH supplies 天下); YG would then have strip 29 directly follow 17, thus yielding: "今之弋(忒)於德者，未如此也" as the final line of this text.

[130] Depending on placement, the context of this strip may well make these lines refer more to the retiring ruler himself rather than, as I have it here, his influence upon the people. At some level, though, they must simultaneously refer to both, as the ruler above all sets the model of moderation for the people to follow.

| 8 |

"ZHONGXIN ZHI DAO"

"The Way of Loyalty and Trustworthiness"

〈忠信之道〉

As the title implies, this short text of only nine strips focuses on the two cardinal virtues of *zhong* 忠, "loyalty," "fair-mindedness," or "true-heartedness," and *xin* 信, "trustworthiness," "fidelity," or "reliability." The former term implies an internal sense of devotion toward a superior, the state, or a belief or practice, and the latter the demonstrable fidelity of one's words to his actions, a predictable reliability upon which others may count.[1] They are thus two sides of the same coin, an almost inseparable pair of complementary virtues that relate to each other much in the same manner as do *ren* 仁, "humanity," and *yi* 義, "propriety," in many Confucian writings of the period. This particular text begins by defining *zhong* and *xin* in negative terms, as virtues that involve "neither deceiving nor ingratiating" and "not cheating the uninformed," respectively.[2] The virtues are described as traits that must be "built up" and which may thus ultimately lead to winning over the affections and trust of the people, an outcome suggesting that the focus of these qualities here is as much on the position of superiors as it is on subordinates. This association is strengthened by the lofty claims that by cultivating such inherently unassuming virtues and adhering to them with constancy, the

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[1] The multivalence of the term *zhong* has been discussed in many articles, wherein it is commonly pointed out how the relatively standard interpretation of "loyalty" cannot adequately capture the full range of the term in many contexts. For a most recent treatment, see Paul R. Goldin, "When *Zhong* Does Not Mean 'Loyalty.'" Despite its limitations, I still find "loyalty"—which we should understand as much in the sense of loyalty to one's own sense of integrity and fairness as loyalty to a lord or state—to best represent the range of meanings that would have been understood by a reader of the time. Goldin's definition of "being honest with oneself in dealing with others" (p. 169) is certainly an accurate understanding of the term in most (though not all) contexts, but is also too unwieldy to work here, where I think a single term is called for. The term 忠 is of course closely related to its older cognate 中, which, as Goldin points out (pp. 171–73), often carried the sense of "justice" or "impartiality" in early texts; this usage of the latter has been especially prominent in recent discussions of the Qinghua University Bamboo Strips (v. 1) text "Baoxun" 保訓, wherein the term 中 appears several times.

[2] The exact sense of these two lines is uncertain; refer to the translation notes for other possible readings.

"noble man" takes on no less than the transformative, life-sustaining characteristics and seasonal reliability of the natural world itself, a "match for Heaven and Earth."

The character of one with these virtues is inherently unassuming, as he takes no credit for what he achieves through them, paying heed only to the invariable constancy of his convictions. He thereby avoids three faults: the failure to follow his words through with actions, the deceiving of others with false airs of intimacy that contradict his true feelings, and ingratiating himself with the people out of ulterior motives. In short, *zhong* and *xin* entail faithful correspondence of inner beliefs with outward expressions, engaging in the deception of neither self nor others, whether one is dealing with the mundane realities of the living or partaking in solemn sacrifice to the departed. The virtues themselves may appear modest, but their observance is infectious and their efficacy far-reaching, such that artisans will not cut corners, the people will achieve their sustenance, and even the "barbarous" people of the border regions will willingly pledge their allegiance.

ZHONG AND *XIN* IN RELATION TO OTHER WORKS

The pairing of *zhong* and *xin* would appear to predate our text by a few centuries, at least to the extent that the accounts of the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, wherein the two terms co-occur with some frequency, may constitute an accurate record of earlier statements. In a detailed analysis of changing conceptions of loyalty in early China, Yuri Pines argues that the notion of *zhong* began to gain currency only in the Chunqiu period, as the breakdown of the old familial order necessitated a reconceptualization of ministerial obligations toward the ruler. With their conflicting goals of restoring political stability, and hence strengthening the ruler's position, while simultaneously maintaining their own positions of influence, ministers of the time proffered *zhong* as the virtue of selfless action in accordance with the long-term interests of the state, under the guise of which they could serve as intelligent political agents capable of acting, when necessary, independently of the directions of the ruler. *Zhong* was thus contrasted with the complementary, yet occasionally conflicting virtue of *xin*, which often involved instead a more unconditional obedience to the ruler's commands.[3] As an

[3] Yuri Pines, "Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-imperial China," pp. 43–45. Noting the prevalence and centrality of the term *zhong* throughout many of the Guodian texts, Pines also suggests that the tomb occupant was "preoccupied with the issue of loyalty and proper norms of ruler-minister intercourse" (pp. 38–39). The notion of *xin* as rigid fidelity was, however, occasionally challenged in early texts, as in the lines from Lord Ai 哀 year 16 of the *Zuo zhuan*: "To [necessarily] fulfill one's words is not the same as trustworthiness; to be set upon death is not the same as courage" 復言，非信

example of this contrast, Pines cites Chu Ni's 鉏麑 final words upon being ordered by his ruler to murder a virtuous minister of the state, as recorded in the *Zuo zhuan* (Lord Xuan 宣, year 2): "To murder the people's 'master' would be disloyalty, [but] to abandon the ruler's command would be infidelity" 賊民之主，不忠； 棄君之命，不信.[4] Other examples from these texts go even further in suggesting that ministers' obligations toward their rulers were limited to public rather than private matters, that "they owed their ultimate allegiance to the altars, not personally to the ruler."[5] As forms of public morality, however, both *zhong* and *xin* were, in fact, occasionally applied in accounts of the Chunqiu period to the ruler as well, on

也；期死，非勇也. See Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, p. 1700; cf. Huang Junliang, "'Zhongxin zhi dao' yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao," pp. 37–38. Satō Masayuki makes arguments similar to those of Pines regarding the development of the notion of *zhong* (and the pairing of *zhong xin*) during the social changes of the Chunqiu. Both building upon and at times departing from the prior studies of such scholars as Takada Shinji 高田真治 and Hamaguchi Fujio 賓口富士雄, Satō argues that political turmoil by the end of the Chunqiu—when ministerial families began to wrest power from the hands of the ducal households—dictated the rise of a notion of "loyalty" that would reaffirm the interests of the state. Satō draws primarily upon the three relevant sources he sees as most indicative of this relatively early period (from the end of the Chunqiu to the early-to-mid Warring States)—the *Guoyu*, *Zuo zhuan*, and bronze-vessel inscriptions from the tomb of the King of Zhongshan 中山王陵 (interred roughly 310 BC)—which all portray *zhong* and *xin* as the only secure foundations upon which a society can rest, and wherein loyalty is defined primarily in terms of steadfast service on behalf of the altars of the state and the public good (or at least that of the ruling house), and only secondarily toward any particular ruler. He further argues that this likely represented the common understanding of the terms at the time the Guodian manuscripts were written. See his "Guojia sheji cunwang zhi daode: Chunqiu, Zhanguo zaoqi 'zhong' he 'zhong xin' gainian zhi yiyi"; see also his *Zhongguo gudai de "zhong" lun yanjiu*, pp. 49–71.

[4] See Pines, "Friends or Foes," p. 47 (translations here differ slightly); cf. Satō Masayuki, "Guojia sheji cunwang zhi daode," pp. 15–16. Other *Zuo zhuan* examples Pines quotes (pp. 45–46) show that *xin* was not the only term that *zhong* was regularly paired with; others include *jing* 敬, "reverence," as in Lord Xi 僖 year 5: "Losing both loyalty and reverence, how can one serve the ruler?" 失忠與敬，何以事君; and *zhen* 貞, unwavering "faithfulness," as in Lord Xi year 9, where *zhong*, by contrast to it, is defined as "acting on any knowledge that will be of benefit to the lord's household" 公家之利，知無不為. For the original text of these three examples, see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, pp. 658–59, 304, and 328–29. Another type of contrast is suggested in a sound-gloss definition given in the "Jinyu, ba" 晉語八 chapter of the *Guoyu*: "Loyalty comes from within, whereas trustworthiness comes from the self (in action)" 忠自中，而信自身; see Xu Yuangao, *Guoyu jijie*, p. 429.

[5] Pines, "Friends or Foes," pp. 48–49. At the same time, however, Pines notes (pp. 49–52) how these sources also suggest that a competing notion of loyalty had developed amongst the lower members of the aristocracy, one which entailed loyalty to a master as his "household servant" (*jiachen* 家臣), wherein such personal loyalty appeared to take precedence over loyalty to the ruler of the state itself. See especially the example he cites (p. 51) from *Zuo zhuan*, Lord Xi year 23 (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, pp. 402–3), where the term *zhong* specifically is applied to this notion. Note that Pines's analysis of the changing notions of "loyalty" is one of that idea more generally and is not limited to an examination of the term *zhong* per se.

whose person loyalty and trust meant benefiting the people with impartiality and setting the example of faithful virtue for others to follow.[6]

The situation began to change in the Warring States period, as the social mobility brought about by an increase in bureaucratic specialization led to the rise of an itinerant *shi* 士 class, which, lacking hereditary territorial possessions, no longer had much vested interest in unwaveringly serving the altars of any particular state. The locus of ministerial loyalty thus shifted over toward the more abstract, normative ideal of the "proper Way" 道, in sole devotion to the ethical precepts of which one could rightfully leave one ruler to serve another elsewhere, a notion we have seen reflected in a number of other Guodian texts.[7] Such cases, however, did not generally entail the use of the term *zhong* per se. Where *zhong* and *xin* did appear in Confucian texts, the focus tended to be on how they constituted the true inner substance of ritual, the virtues by which the rites and practices of ancient times remained infused with significance.[8] And when loyalty was discussed more in terms of personal ministerial allegiance, it now at least demanded a more reciprocal treatment of courtesy and respect on the part of the ruler—the idea that "the ruler directs the minister in accordance with ritual, and the minister serves the ruler with loyalty" 君使臣以禮，臣事君以忠.[9] Eventually, Pines and others note, the practice of shifting allegiances would engender an atmosphere of mistrust between rulers and ministers, which would result in an emphasis on legalistic and bureaucratic methods to ensure steadfast loyalty to the ruler against any

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[6] For textual examples of *zhong* and *xin* applied to the ruler in the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, see Huang Junliang, "'Zhongxin zhi dao' yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao," pp. 38–39; for examples from later texts, see Goldin, "When *Zhong* Does Not Mean Loyalty," p. 167.

[7] See Pines, "Friends or Foes," pp. 53–56, and his discussion of the "Liu de" and "Yucong" texts on pp. 38–42. See also the section on "The priorities of internal and external" in my introduction to "Liu de." According to Huang Junliang, as a result of the ideological and social changes of the times, "*zhong* became the monopoly of the minister in the Warring States"; see his "'Zhongxin zhi dao' yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao," p. 39. For more on the notions of both the shift of the locus of loyalty toward an abstract ideal (often in the name of "propriety" 義) and the issue of whether a frustrated minister could rightfully leave the state (an idea of which the Mohists were in fact somewhat critical), see Yuasa Kunihiro, "Chūshin no shisō: Kakuten Sokan 'Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi' ni tsuite," pp. 51–52 and 56–57; cf. Satō Masayuki, "Guojia sheji cunwang zhi daode," pp. 24–25.

[8] This latter aspect is emphasized by Huang Junliang, "'Zhongxin zhi dao' yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao," pp. 40–41.

[9] For details see Pines, "Friends or Foes," pp. 56–61; the quote is from the "Ba yi" 八佾 chapter of the *Lunyu* ([Song] Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 66). Pines goes on to suggest (p. 61) that the notion of abdication proffered in "Tang Yu zhi dao" might be seen as an extreme example of such "diminishing distinctions between rulers and ministers." For more on this growing sense of ministerial self-worth, in the context of the spirit of frank remonstrance, see also the introduction to "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi."

possible defiance or defections by the ministers, as seen in the works of Han Fei and some of his predecessors.[10]

None of these later conceptions, however, appear in any significant way in "Zhongxin zhi dao." The relatively unique thing about this text, some have argued, is that the notions of *zhong* and *xin* would not appear to be focused upon the capacity of minister at all, but rather upon the leader or leaders of the people—though as mentioned above, such focus is by no means unprecedented.[11] As Li Cunshan has argued, whereas the terms *zhong* and *xin* constitute major ministerial virtues in such texts as the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*, they still tend to be subsumed somewhat in value to the more cardinal values of *ren* and *yi*, whereas here they take on the character of absolute political principles for those who hold the highest power.[12] This is a usage that may also be apparent in some of the other Guodian texts, as in the comment of "Cheng zhi," strips 1-2, that for one who "employs the people" 用民, "If his conduct is not trustworthy, his commands will not be followed; if his trust is not manifest, his

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[10] See Pines, "Friends or Foes," pp. 62–71, and Huang Junliang, "'Zhongxin zhi dao' yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao," p. 41; cf. Yuasa Kunihiro, "Chūshin no shisō: Kakuten Sokan 'Ro Boku Kō mon Sisi' ni tsuite," p. 53.

[11] It might also be worth emphasizing that the roles of minister and leader were not mutually exclusive, as one could function as minister to his ruler and master to the people at the same time; nonetheless, it is generally true that *zhong* and *xin* were virtues more often focused on the former role than the latter (see also Ye Guoliang's conclusions two notes below). Susan Weld, who considers both *zhong* and *xin* as "rule of law" virtues, would relate *zhong* to the practice of *meng* 盟, or "blood oaths" designed to guarantee truthful testimony, suggesting that it "may thus combine the duty of both ruler and subject to be true to his/her Nature with belief in spiritual enforcement of that duty"; see her "Grave Matters: Warring States Law and Philosophy," pp. 142–43 and 150. For examples from early received texts that similarly emphasize the "loyalty" and "trustworthiness" of the ruler as a means of securing the trust of the people, see Ikeda Tomohisa et al., "'Chūshin no dō' yakuchū," pp. 239–41. In particular, lines proclaiming that the ruler must "amplify his virtuous voice so as to preside before [the people], manifest ritual and propriety so as to guide them, and extend loyalty and trustworthiness so as to care for them" 厚德音以先之，明禮義以道之，致忠信以愛之 appear as a refrain in more than a couple of places in the *Xunzi* (as in the "Wang ba" 王霸 and "Yi bing" 議兵 chapters), and Ikeda and his students take this as evidence of a close relationship between "Zhongxin zhi dao" (which he sees as later) and the ideology of the *Xunzi* and other works in its proximity. While Ikeda et al. also note instances where such thinking appears in even non-Confucian texts, they argue that particular examples of wording in this text are most closely reflective of the *Xunzi* (see the translation notes for examples).

[12] Satō Masayuki, however, also makes a case for the primacy of *zhong* and *xin* in such early texts as the *Guoyu*; see his "Guojia sheji cunwang zhi daode," esp. pp. 12 and 27–28. Satō himself would emphasize that, while largely inheriting the conception of "loyalty" as loyalty to the social good from these earlier texts, "Zhongxin zhi dao" broadens that conception to the world at large, turning the locus of these virtues to the charismatic ruler who would exert an influence well beyond his borders—this part of a trend seen in other Warring States texts and which would see further development in the thought of Meng Zi; see his *Zhongguo gudai de "zhong"' lun yanjiu*, pp. 89–103.

words will not be taken with delight" 行不信則命不從，信不著則言不樂; or even "Liu de," strips 4-5: "To assemble the people, to cultivate the land . . . none but the loyal and trustworthy are capable of this" 聚人民，任土地……非忠信者莫之能也.[13] In "Zhongxin zhi dao," the "man of loyalty and trust" is not simply a minister who carefully balances steadfast fidelity to his ruler against allegiance to the interests of his state, but in fact a transformative figure upon whom the people may rely as they do Heaven and Earth, a charismatic and bountiful leader who neither "forgets the living nor turns his back upon the dead."[14] While the text may not be unprecedented in extolling *zhong* and *xin* as indispensable virtues for the ruler of the world or leaders of states, it is certainly somewhat exceptional insofar as it is a text that appears almost exclusively devoted to that end.

In any case, the distinctiveness of this text's focus on the virtues of *zhong* and *xin* has led to a wide variety of speculations as to its intellectual origins and lineage affiliation. Some have seen it as a commentarial interpretation upon lines attributed to Confucius in the *Lunyu*, in particular those of the "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 chapter: "If one speaks with loyalty and

[13] See Li Cunshan, "Du Chujian 'Zhongxin zhi dao' ji qita," pp. 267–71. In "Liu de," the virtues of *zhong* and *xin* correspond to the roles of minister and wife, respectively, but nonetheless form indispensable virtues for the ruler himself when discussed in this more over-arching context. Needless to say, the ideas of "Cheng zhi" are also generally in line with "Ziyi"'s exhortations to the ruler to serve as a trustworthy model for emulation—not to mention related notions in any number of texts in the received corpus. *Zhong* also appears as an important virtue for Shun 舜 in strip 24 of "Tang Yu zhi dao," which, though attributed to his ministerial service to Yao 堯, applies directly to his capacity to serve the world as ultimate sovereign upon abdication. Like Li, Qian Xun also stresses how these texts are focused on the political end of the spectrum, but for Qian this takes the form of a lament on their uncompromising emphasis on practical application and disregard for the "fundamental sprit" of these core Confucian virtues; see his "'Liu de' zhupian suojian de ruxue sixiang," pp. 321–23. Ye Guoliang, on the other hand, disputes Li's claims for the uniqueness of this text altogether by citing other examples from the *Li ji* and *Da Dai Li ji* where *zhong* and *xin* are given as virtues for the ruler, and notes that it is simply natural that these general virtues were more often cited in the context of ministerial values, but that this does not mean they were exclusively the attributes of subordinates; see his "Guodian rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 15–17.

[14] Regarding this notion of not "turning one's back upon the dead," Feng Shi argues that in fact much of the text speaks, albeit obliquely, of sincerity toward the departed, the "unknowing" ghosts and spirits (as he interprets the locus of the opening lines), to whom expressions of sincerity are the ultimate test of one's trustworthiness. Given the close phonological relationship between 神 and 信, he goes so far as to argue that the whole notion of "trustworthiness" may have originated from the proper attitude of reverence toward the spirits, citing for support such textual evidence as *Zuo zhuan*, Lord Huan 桓 year 6: "What we call the 'Way' is loyalty to the people and trustworthiness toward the spirits" 所謂道，忠於民而信於神也 (Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, p. 111), and the "Tan Gong, shang" 檀弓上 chapter of the *Li ji*: "Zisi said, 'After three days of mourning, the coffin is readied for burial, and all that which is placed upon the body must [be placed with] sincerity and fidelity, so that there will be no [cause for] regret therein'" 子思曰：「喪三日而殯，凡附於身者，必誠必信，勿之有悔焉耳矣」 (Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, p. 170). See Feng Shi, "Zhanguo zhushu 'Zhongxin zhi dao' shilun," pp. 44–46.

trustworthiness, and acts with sincerity and reverence, then [proper ways] will prevail even among the southern and northern barbarians; if one speaks or acts otherwise, would [they] prevail even within a small town or hamlet?” 言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦行矣；言不忠信，行不篤敬，雖州里行乎哉.[15] These lines were recorded as a response to a query of the disciple Zizhang 子張, who is noted to have immediately written them down upon his sash; given that there are a couple of further examples in the *Lunyu* and elsewhere wherein Zizhang is recorded discussing the notions of loyalty and/or trustworthiness, at least one scholar has put forth Zizhang himself as the author of “Zhongxin zhi dao.”[16] And there are of course those who would include this text among the many Guodian manuscripts that may be closely affiliated with the figure of Zisi, especially given the fact that the lines of strips 5-6:

> 口惠而實弗從，君子弗言爾。心【疏而貌】親，君子弗申爾。
>
> Favors promised by the mouth but not followed through to fruition, such things the noble man does not utter. Intimacy in demeanor yet with distance in the heart, such [affectations] the noble man does not express.

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[15] Zhou Fengwu first notes the possible connection of these particular lines with our text and suggests the model of commentarial elaboration in “Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi,” p. 61 n. 10; see also the comments of Zhou’s student Huang Ren’er, in his “Guodian zhujian ‘Qiongda yi shi’ kaoshi,” pp. 137–38.

[16] Liao Mingchun, “Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu xian-Qin ruxue,” pp. 50–51. As Liao notes, Zizhang was the first of the “eight branches” of Ruism noted in the “Xianxue” 顯學 chapter of the *Han Feizi*. In further support of his assertion, Liao observes how certain lines from Zigong’s 子貢 evaluation of Zizhang’s character, as recorded in the “Wei jiangjun Wenzi” 衛將軍文子 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji* seem to closely parallel certain lines descriptive of the highest virtues in “Zhongxin zhi dao,” such as “he does not boast of his accomplishments . . . does not bully the powerless . . . does not put on airs toward the uninformed” 業功不伐……不侮可侮……不敖無告 (compare the lines from strips 1-2 of our text). For the *Da Dai Li ji* lines, see (Qing) Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegu*, pp. 110–11. Ye Guoliang makes note of further Zizhang quotations relevant to the virtues of *zhong* and *xin*, as well as to that of *hui* 惠 (“favors, kindness”), that could be cited in support of Liao’s claim, but stresses how similar such evidence could just as easily be cited in favor of a relationship to Zeng Zi and/or Zisi instead. The “Zizhang wen ruguan” 子張問入官 chapter of the *Da Dai Li ji* contains such statements as: “Without loyalty and trustworthiness, there would be nothing by which to gain affinity with the people” 非忠信，則無可以取親於百姓矣 (*Da Dai Liji jiegu*, p. 142), which does indeed resonate closely with our text. Huang Junliang thereby elaborates upon Liao’s Zizhang speculations (without attribution), viewing discussions of *zhong* and *xin* in “Zizhang wen ruguan” (and the “Xiao bian” 小辨 chapter of the same work) as philosophically more sophisticated takes on the thought of “Zhongxin zhi dao,” which he sees as one of the earlier Guodian texts. Huang also contends that the notions of righteous self-sacrifice in the face of danger and the honoring of worthies with tolerance towards the masses are both characteristics of Zizhang’s thought and direct expressions of the notions of *zhong* and *xin*, and concludes by arguing for the prominence of Zizhang’s thought in the Warring States and suggesting that “Zhongxin zhi dao” may have been written by his disciples or followers near the beginning of that period; see Huang Junliang, “‘Zhongxin zhi dao’ yu Zhanguo shiqi de zhongxin sichao,” pp. 35–38.

find close parallels in a couple of lines from consecutive passages in the "Biao ji" 表記: "If favors promised by the mouth do not reach fruition, rancor and adversity will befall one's person" 口惠而實不至，怨菑及其身, and "The noble man does not use facades to endear himself to others. For him to be distant in true affection but endearing in appearance—would this not be the equivalent of a lesser man's boring holes into walls and stealing?" 君子不以色親人。情疏而貌親，在小人則穿窬之盜也與.[17] And still others would view such language as "transforming things without claiming any credit" 化物而不伐 and "arriving invariably though not bound to do so" 必至而不結 (strip 2) as betraying a kind of "Daoist" influence and would see this text as a local, hybrid product of Chu.[18] The suggestive parallels with "Biao ji" aside, however, in the end there remains insufficient evidence within this short text to firmly link it with any one particular figure or lineage.

TEXTUAL NOTES

Much like "Tang Yu zhi dao," the text with which it is roughly comparable in terms of strip dimensions and calligraphic style, "Zhongxin zhi dao" is almost entirely devoid of punctuation marks, the sole exception being a single repetition marker in the penultimate

[17] The connections of these lines to this manuscript were first noted by Zhou Fengwu, "Guodian Chujian 'Zhongxin zhi dao' kaoshi," pp. 126–27; see also Li Tianhong, "Guodian Chujian yu chuanshi wenxian huzheng qize," p. 83. For the "Biao ji" references themselves, see (Qing) Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, pp. 1317–18. Ye Guoliang points out a couple of further passages of possible relevance in both the "Biao ji" and "Fang ji" 坊記, while also noting how Zeng Zi, too, was particularly known for his adherence to the virtues of *zhong* and *xin* (among others); see his "Guodian rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 13–15. Liu Huan is also among those who would cite the "Biao ji" parallels to suggest that this text belongs to the "Si-Meng lineage"; see his "Du *Guodian Chumu zhujian* zhaji," p. 61. And Yang Rubin points to the more general notion of how full cultivation of these two virtues will lead to a natural influence upon the people as reflective of a kind of "Zisi style" of thought; see his "Zisi xuepai shitan," p. 609.

[18] That such lines might have a "Daoist" character was first suggested by Chen Guying; see his remarks as quoted in the "Account of Discussion" in Allan and Williams, *The Guodian* Laozi, p. 181. Li Cunshan likewise cites such lines in his contention that this and other Guodian texts may reflect the thought of Chen Liang 陳良, a famous Confucian scholar of Chu who lived shortly prior to the time of Meng Zi, and thus carry both Confucian and Chu "Daoist" influences; see his "Du Chujian 'Zhongxin zhi dao' ji qita," pp. 275–77, and his "Cong Guodian Chujian kan zaoqi Dao-Ru guanxi," pp. 200–1. As Ye Guoliang demonstrates, however, examples from such texts as the *Li ji* and *Da Dai Li ji* readily show how these so-called "Daoist" lines could just as easily have come from Confucian texts; see his "Guodian rujia zhuzuo de xueshu puxi wenti," pp. 15–17.

strip.[19] There is no final passage marker, though identification of the final strip is certain because of blank space left at the end of the strip. The ordering of the strips does not appear to be in question.

"Zhongxin zhi dao" exhibits a particularly tight-knit structure, marked by the repetition of key terms and strict parallelism throughout. Derk Meyer has undertaken a detailed structural analysis of the text, wherein he shows how it can be broken down into six main "sections," of which the first, second, fourth, and sixth each exhibit a kind of ABA_2B_2C pattern; he further demonstrates how the overarching structure of the text, which might otherwise be divided into two halves, can in some ways be seen as reduplicating this structure on a larger level. Meyer contends that the argument of the text works mainly through its form: by "not merely defin[ing] core terms," but by "specify[ing] their conceptional dimensions by means of its formal structure," and he goes on to argue, reasonably enough, that its use of "formulaic structures" may carry certain mnemonic functions.[20]

Note that Meyer's six "sections" correspond roughly to the way I divide the English paragraphs in my own translation, with the exception that I divide the equivalent of his sixth paragraph into two parts; in my Chinese transcription, with its larger "paragraphs," I set the second of those parts as a separate paragraph altogether. As the text is not rhymed, I do not format each paragraph into separate lines to highlight the parallel structures, but trust that these will be evident enough to the readers. Meyer also offers a translation of the text in Appendix I of his article, which the reader might wish to consult for purposes of comparison; its interpretations differ from mine in a number of places, of which I here cite only a couple of the more significant instances in the notes.[21]

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[19] Li Ling, in his *Guodian Chujian jiaoduji (zengdingben)* p. 100, suggests that "Zhongxin zhi dao" may have been bound together with "Tang Yu zhi dao," but the difference in the distances between tying marks would seem to preclude this possibility.

[20] Dirk Meyer, "A device for conveying meaning: The structure of the Guodian Tomb One manuscript 'Zhong xin zhi dao,'" esp. pp. 69–70.

[21] See also his *Philosophy on Bamboo*, pp. 257–67. Parts of the text are also translated in Susan Weld, "Grave Matters: Warring States Law and Philosophy," pp. 143–45.

"The Way of Loyalty and Trustworthiness"
忠信之道[1]
Text and Translation

不譌（訛）[2]不匋（慆）[3]，忠之至也。不惎（欺）[4]弗智（知）[5]，信之至也。忠㡳（積）則可睪（親）也，信㡳（積）則可信也。忠（1）信㡳（積）[6]而民弗睪（親）信者，未之又（有）也。至忠女（如）土，螞（化）[7]勿（物）而不輩（發〔伐〕）[8]；至信女（如）旹（時），𣏾（必）[9]至而不結[10]。[11]忠人亡（2）譌（訛）[12]，信人不伓（背）[13]。君子女（如）此[14]，古（故）不亯（皇〔忘〕）[15]生，不伓（背）死也。[16]

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[1] Alternative titles include simply "Zhong xin" 忠信 (LMC 99.1, ZLW 99.1b).

[2] 譌: ZFW 98.12 reads this as equivalent to 訛, taken in the sense of "deceive," "cheat," "lie," "rumor," etc.; LL 99.8 also reads 訛. LZ 00.5 sees it as equivalent to 詭, also written 佹 or 恑, taken in the sense of "oppose," "run counter to," thus having a sense similar to the 伓(背) with which it is paired in the line spanning strips 2-3; his 03.12, however, reads 詭 in the sense of "deceive." LR 03.6 takes 譌 in a sense similar to 化, "change."

[3] 匋: GDCMZJ does not render. ZFW 98.12 renders 達, understanding 不達 as object, the "unenlightened"; CSP 00.8 disputes this rendering. ZGY/YGH 99.1 give 害(?); IT et al. 03 follow this reading. LL 99.8 sees the graph as an abbreviation of 寶, read 孚, "sincerity." ZJW 99.2 sees it as a variation of 造, taken in the sense of "mislead." HLY 99.12 renders the graph as 匋, read 慆, in the sense of "suspect"; WYH/ZY 00.7 also render 匋, but read 謟, "to trick"; CSP 00.8 renders likewise, but reads 謠, "[to utter] baseless words." In line with ZFW's interpretation but HLY's rendering/reading for the graph, CW 02.12 argues that the 不匋(慆) here should, like the 弗智 of the next line, be seen as the object of the preceding two characters, thus reading the line something like "don't go against the unsuspecting/gullible" (cf. LH 01.9); see, however, FS's comments on 弗智 below. FS 03.11, like LL, sees the graph here as a variant of 寶, rendered 宝, and reads 葆, in the sense of "conceal." LR 03.6 would also render the graph as 宝, but still read 陶, understood in the sense of "change" (as he also understands 譌). I follow the reading of 慆, but would take it either in the sense of "conceal" or "ingratiate," the latter of which would resonate well with the lines of strips 5-6.

[4] 惎: QXG 98.5 suggests reading 欺. MD 05 notes how there is a sense in which parallelism might suggest that this 不欺 here should have the same implications as the 不伓(背) in strip 3 below.

[5] 弗智(知): CW 02.12 takes this in the sense of the "unintelligent" or "ignorant." FS 03.11 suggests that the use of 弗 rather than 不 signals that the syntax here is different from that of the roughly parallel line 不訛不葆 (in his reading), so that only here is 弗知 the object ("the unknowing") of the first two graphs. FS argues at length that the "unknowing" here refers to the deceased, the ghosts and spirits, who are referred to in later lines and to

whom expressions of sincerity are the ultimate test of one's trustworthiness in many early texts; for this he cites a line from the "Li lun" 禮論 chapter of the *Xunzi*: "夫厚其生而薄其死，是敬其有知，而慢其無知也" ("For to treat the living with generosity but be miserly with the dead is to show reverence toward the knowing but disdain for the unknowing"). FS also argues that the close phonological relationship between 神 and 信 suggests that the whole notion of trustworthiness may have originated in the attitude of reverence toward the spirits. IT et al. 03 also see the 弗 as significant here, but take only the 欺 as its object, somewhat implausibly understanding 不欺弗知 along the lines of "not cheat and not consider cheating." I tentatively follow CW here, but suspect we might also take 弗知 in the sense of "[in regard to] what [one] is uncertain [of]," or perhaps even to "[baselessly] claim knowledge."

[6] 厙(積): given the centrality of this notion of "accumulation" in the *Xunzi*, which IT somehow takes as the earlier work, IT et al. 03 suggest that the notion was incorporated here under Xun Zi's influence.

[7] 螞: GDCMZJ reads 爲; QXG 98.5 suggests reading 化; ZFW 98.12 also reads 化. ZJW 99.2 still reads 爲, in the sense of "give rise to"; IT et al. 03 similarly read 爲 in the sense of "create."

[8] 㦽(發): GDCMZJ renders the graph as 㦽 and reads 發 in the sense of "disperse." QXG 98.5 would render it as 癹 and suggests reading 伐; LL 02.3 follows, stating that the lower portion of the graph is an elaborate form of 支. LZ 00.5 points to a passage in the "Yao wen" 堯問 chapter of the *Xunzi* that similarly describes the virtues of earth/soil 土 in terms of "多其功而不[息]〈德〉" ("many are its accomplishments, yet it boasts no virtue"). LLX 02.9 cites related passages in the *Shuoyuan*, *Han Shi waizhuan*, and *Kongzi jiayu*; in all of these passages, the words come from the mouth of Confucius. IT et al. 03 read 發 in the sense of to "waver." YG 07.9 argues that if this phrase is to be seen as strictly parallel to the 必至而不結 of the next line, then 㦽 should in fact be seen as the unnecessary precondition for 化物, and suspects that 不㦽 should be equivalent in sense to the 不兑 that is attributed to Earth in strip 4; YG, however, is unable to offer any specific reading along these lines.

[9] 朼: ZFW 98.12, ZGY(/YGH) 99.1, CSP 99.6 (p. 146), and LTH 00.5 all read 必 (LTH explains the 才 as a secondary phonetic element, an abbreviation of 閉). Cf. YGH 03.3; the SBCJ graph corresponding to the 必 of GDCJ "Ziyi" strip 40 is also written 朼. LL 99.8 also views the graph here as a variant of 必, but reads 畢. LZ 00.5 reads the graph as 比, taking 比至 in the sense of "arrive in succession"; LXF 00.12b, who sees the graph as a variant form of 比, also suggests the possibility of reading in this manner. HLY 99.12 (p. 200) renders 乍, read 甫, "just then." ZJW 99.2 reads 哉, in the sense of "beginning," and reads the following 至 as 止, in the sense of "end," thus understanding the pair as "from beginning to end."

[10] 結: QXG 98.5 takes this in the sense of being "bound by oath." ZFW 98.12 similarly notes that 結 can have the sense of "bind in [verbal] agreement." LZ 00.5 takes it in the sense of "congregate"; IT et al. 03 similarly understand it in the sense of "freeze up," "become mired."

[11] Cf. the line "great trustworthiness is not bound" 大信不約 in the final passage of the "Xue ji" 學記 chapter of the *Li ji*. HJL 03.3 (p. 37) argues that this line suggests the notion of expediency rather than rigidity in the virtue of trustworthiness, akin to the character of the seasons, the regularity of which is marked by change.

[12] 譌: see the note on this graph in strip 1 above.

[13] 伓 (here and below): GDCMZJ reads 背. LZ 00.5 interprets the graph as a form of 倍 and also reads 背. LL 99.8 reads 負, but LL 02.3 reads 倍, noting that these two and 背 are all more or less equivalent; cf. CW 02.12 and FS 03.11.

[14] 君子如此: CW 02.12 would instead place these four graphs at the end of the previous sentence. Note that this 君子 is written as a single graph, though without any combination marker.

To neither deceive nor ingratiate is the height of loyalty; to not cheat the uninformed is the height of trustworthiness. When one's loyalty builds up, he may be held dear; when one's trustworthiness builds up, he may be trusted. There has never been one who built up loyalty and trustworthiness and yet whom the people did not hold dear and trust.

The highest loyalty is like the soil: it transforms [living] things without claiming any credit; the highest trustworthiness is like the seasons: it arrives invariably though not bound [by oath] to do so. The man of loyalty is without deception; the man of trust does not renege. The noble man is like this, and thus he neither forgets the living nor turns his back upon the dead.

大[17]舊（久）[18]而不俞（渝）[19]，忠之至也。[20]大古[21]而者（處）尚（常）[22]，信（3）之至也。至忠亡譌（訛）[23]，至信不伓（背），夫此之胃（謂）此（哉）

[15] 㞷: QXG 98.5 suspects this to be a variant of 皇, here read 誑, "delude"; ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 would read 枉, "lead astray." CW 98.4 reads 忘, pointing to a similar line in the "Jing jie" 經解 chapter of the *Li ji*: "倍死忘生." LZ 00.5 also cites that line, but interprets "不誑生，不背死" in the sense of "be neither greedy for life nor fear death" (his 03.12 takes it similarly, but reads the graph itself as 妄). The original text, however, suggests rather a context of filial duties; cf. ZJW 99.2 and YSX 03.12 (pp. 660–61). ZFW 98.12 interprets the graph as 辜, read 孤, in the sense, like 背, of "renege." IT et al. 03 read 苟, in the adverbial sense of "carelessly," "capriciously." MD 05 takes 㞷生 in the sense of "cheat [upon] life."

[16] 伓死: IT et al. 03 understand 不伓死 in the sense of "bravely face up to death" (similar to LZ's reading). MD 05 takes 伓死 in the sense of being "perfidious [upon] death."

[17] 大: LL 99.8 reads 太. ZFW 98.12 sees the graph as an error for 夫; IT et al. 03 think likewise.

[18] 舊: CSP 99.6 and LZ 00.5 read 久.

[19] As IT et al. 03 note, the phrase 久而不渝 occurs a couple of times in the *Huainanzi*, where it is descriptive of the miraculous qualities of the *dao* either as possessed by the adept or in the operations of the natural world.

[20] IT et al. 03 (pp. 239–40) try to suggest that this 忠之致 and the following 信之致 reflect the wording of the *Xunzi*, as, for instance, in the "Fu guo" 富國 chapter of that work: "忠信，愛敬之致矣" ("Loyalty and trustworthiness are the height of love and respect").

[21] 大古: GDCMZJ renders this as one graph, 匌, but it might appear instead to be the two graphs 大古 crammed into one space and parallel to the 大舊(久) above. More accurately, as CW 02.12 argues, it may be a combined graph of those two characters; as CW notes, the combined graph for 君子 throughout this manuscript is also written without any combination-graph marker following it. Cf. MD 05, who notes that the graph also appears in strip 2 of "Qiongda yi shi"; that graph, however, clearly *is* 匌, as can be known from context (note also that the graph identified as 匌 in strip 1 above appears stylistically, if not necessarily structurally, different from the present graph). YG 07.9 suggests that the graph 匌 may have functioned as both a graphic and phonetic

[24]！大忠不兌（說）[25]，大信不异（期）[26]。不兌（說）而足羖（養）者，墬（地）也；不异（期）（4）而可蝭（龜〔歸〕）[27]者，天也。[28]佀（配）[29]天墬（地）也者，忠信之胃（謂）此（哉）[30]！

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substitute for 大古, its sound perhaps serving to represent the combined sound of those two graphs in the same way that its graphic form resembles their combined form. Based on the GDCMZJ rendering here, LL 99.8 reads 陶, in the sense of "to rear"; ZJW 99.2 reads 由, "follow along with," taking the following 而 as a corruption of 天; and CSP 00.8 reads 遙, in a sense parallel to the 舊(久) of the previous line. IT et al. 03 take 陶 itself as a word descriptive of length or duration, citing a line from the "Ai sui" 哀歲 elegy from Wang Yi's 王逸 "Jiu si" 九思 set of the *Chuci* 楚辭: "冬夜兮陶陶" ("Long are the winter nights"). ZFW 98.12 renders the graph as 達, taken here in the sense of "independent." I tentatively follow CW's interpretation (and my own initial inclination) in reading 大古, which, though unusual, is an attested locution; it remains just as possible, however, that 匋 was indeed the intended graph, in which case we would follow ZFW in seeing the 大 before 舊 as a graphic error for 夫.

[22] 者尙: ZFW 98.12 reads 主常, "maintain constancy." LL 99.8 reads 睹常, "fix one's eyes upon the constant"; IT et al. 03 follow. ZJW 99.2 reads 之常. CW 02.12 reads 處常, "dwell in constancy," "preserve the constant" (he also mentions YZS as having the same reading). FS 03.11 reads 具償, in the sense that "all [one's words] are requited [through one's actions]," linking this to the line "the man of trust does not renege." CJ 07.7 notes that this 尙 would be written somewhat differently than usual (i.e., missing the bottom right down-stroke) and points out that the graph is in fact equivalent to the right side of a graph (with a 見 component on the left) in strip 7 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 6) text "Ping Wang wen Zheng Shou" 平王問鄭壽, which most likely read *zhan* 瞻. DS 07.7, seeing *dan* 石 as one of two possible phonetics in this component, reads the graph here as 耽, and, reading the ostensible 匋 as 蹈 and 諸 as 之乎, takes 蹈而諸耽 in the sense of "implementing [promises] to the point of obsession." YG 07.9 admits that the graph more closely resembles the form standing for 詹, but emphasizes similarities in both form and sound between 尙 and 詹 and offers the reading of 諸常 in the sense of "oftentimes"—though how this would fit into any sort of grammatical phrase is unclear. I still tentatively take this graph as an incompletely written 尙 and follow CW's reading of 處常.

[23] 譌: see the note on this graph in strip 1 above.

[24] 此: CW 98.4 would place this instead at the beginning of the next line. As ZJW 99.2 suspects for the same graph in strip 5 below, I suspect this second 此 (*tsʿie) here should be read 哉 (*tsə). IT et al. 03 take both of these 此 as roughly equivalent to 止 in its use as an empty metric particle. LZ 03.12 suggests that they may both be errors for 也.

[25] 兌: GDCMZJ reads 奪, "snatch away." QXG 98.5 reads 說, here and just below; LL 99.8, IT et al. 03, and FS 03.11 all follow. LLX 02.9 also reads 說, noting equivalency with the 言 of the phrase "多其功而不言" ("it has many accomplishments yet does not speak") found in certain received texts. YG 07.9 reads 悅, in the sense of "ingratiate," as QXG does in the different phrase of strip 6 below. Another possibility here might be 輟, "cease," given the frequent interchanging between the two phonetic series and that it would form a close pair with 期.

[26] 期: LLX 02.9 notes the interchangeability of this term with 約, to "bind/agree in advance." IT et al. 03 cite a line of potential relevance from the "Bu gou" 不苟 chapter of the *Xunzi*: "四時不言而百姓期焉" ("The four seasons do not speak, yet the hundred surnames set expectations/arrangements thereby"). WS 03 (p. 144) suggests a connection of this term here to the practice of *shouqi* 受期, "assigned deadlines," that is reflected in

To not change one’s course over great lengths of time is the height of loyalty. To abide by the constant over great ages is the height of trustworthiness. Is this not what is meant by “great loyalty is without deception, and great trustworthiness does not renege”?!

Great loyalty does not plead its case; great trustworthiness does not make advance arrangements. That which does not plead its case and yet nurtures bountifully is Earth; that which makes no advance arrangements and yet can be adhered to is Heaven. Are not loyalty and trustworthiness what is meant by “a match for Heaven and Earth”?!

口亩（叀〔惠〕）[31]而實弗从（從），君子弗言尔（爾）[32]。心【疋〔疏〕[33]而貌[34]】（5）罣（親），君子弗申[35]尔（爾）。古（故）行[36]而鯖（爭）[37]兑（悅）[38]

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the Baoshan legal texts.

[27] 𧍒: QXG 98.5 suggests that the upper element resembles 要 and would read the graph itself as 要, in the same sense as 約; IT et al. 03 follow, but take it in the sense of “seek” or “demand.” LL 99.8 suggests a possible rendering of 婁 with a 土 element below, read 遇, but LL 02.3 retracts the rendering. CJ 02.12 suggests that the graph may be a corruption of 夏, here read 迓, in the sense of “receive,” “greet.” CSP 99.6 sees the phonetic of the graph as 蠅 and would read 繩, “[operate in accordance with] regular principles” (YG 07.9 follows); LR 03.6 follows the same interpretation of the graph, but sees this as a loan for 承, “receive.” I suspect that the graph might be better rendered as �THIS (龜 is *kĭwə), and read 歸 (*kĭwəi), in the sense of “adhere to,” or perhaps 規 (*kĭwe), “regulate.”

[28] GDCMZJ somehow fails to punctuate here; this is corrected in LL 99.8.

[29] 㔾: GDCMZJ renders the graph as 卪 and reads 節, “regulate.” ZJW 99.2 interprets it as 即, read 則, “emulate”; LH 01.9 similarly reads 即, taken in the sense of “thus.” ZFW 98.12 interprets the graph instead as an abbreviated form of 僎, or 巽, read 順, “accord with.” LL 99.8, purely on the basis of context, suggests an interpretation of 似, “resemble.” YGH 99.12 would render the graph as 卯, read 昭, “shine,” “illuminate.” HDK/XZG 98.12 render it instead as 㔾 and read 範, to “emulate,” “model after.” CJ 02.12 affirms the plausibility of HDK/XZG’s rendering, but notes that the right-side component of the graph might instead correspond to the phonetic element in 肥, and reads 配 (from which graph that element may have initially derived), in its sense of a “mate” or “match” for (also related to 妃), noting the prevalence of the term 配天地 (or variations thereof) in early texts. Much like CJ, CW 02.12 interprets the graph as a form of 妃 and reads 配, but does so on the basis of the original rendering; he also assumes essential equivalency with a similar graph in strip 11 of “Tang Yu zhi dao.”

[30] 此: CW 98.4 would place this instead at the beginning of the next line. ZJW 99.2 suspects this is either an error for 也 or should be read 哉 (as I read it also in strip 4 above).

[31] 亩: GDCMZJ leaves this unrendered; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 亩. QXG 98.5 interprets the graph as 叀, read 惠. YG 07.9 reads the graph instead like 唯, “assent,” both here and in the “Biao ji” parallel noted below.

民，君子弗采（由）[39]也。三者，忠人弗乍（作），信人弗為也。忠之為（6）
術（道）也，百工不古（楛）[40]，而人羖（養）膚（皆）[41]足。信之為術（道）
也，群勿（物）皆成，而百善膚（皆）立。

Favors promised by the mouth but not followed through to fruition, such things the noble man does not utter. Intimacy in demeanor yet with distance in the heart, such [affectations] the noble man does not express. To act out of purpose and strive to ingratiate the people, such [a course] the noble man does

[32] 尔(爾): ZFW 98.12 glosses this as 如此, both here and below. SP 02.11 (pp. 8–11) sees 尔 here as equivalent in function to 也, with which it is found in corresponding position in the parallel phrases 其它(施)也忠 and 其言尔信 of strips 7-8 below. IT et al. 03 similarly see the graph as essentially a variant of 也.

[33] The top portion of this graph is visible; QXG 98.5 suggests it is 疋, here read 疏.

[34] QXG 99.8 suggests that this last missing graph might be 口 or 貌. ZFW 98.12 (and LTH 00.3) notes that this and the following line resonate closely with a passage from the "Biao ji" 表記 chapter of the *Li ji*, which quotes Confucius as saying: "口惠而實不至，怨菑及其身" and "君子不以色親人。情疏而貌親，在小人則穿窬之盜也與!" (see the chapter intro for translations). ZFW, however, suggests that the text here had 形 rather than 貌, as the former is more often paired with 心. A variation on the first phrase also appears in strip 1 of the Shanghai Museum (v. 2) text "Cong zheng, yi" 從政乙: "口惠而不係."

[35] 申: ZJW 99.2 and LTH 00.3 both read 陳, to similar effect. LH2 01.10 takes 申 in the sense of "employ."

[36] 古行: GDCMZJ reads 故行. FS 03.11 instead reads 暇行, in the sense of "act indolently." MD 05 argues that parallelism suggests the graph cannot be read 故; this, however, would only be true if we understood 故 here as a conjunction, "thus." I take 故行 in the sense of "act out of purpose"; on the contrary, reading it as 古行 would make it difficult to fit into the parallel context. LH2 01.10 reads as I do here. LZ 03.12 takes 故 here in the sense of "deviously." CW et al. 09.9 read it as 固, understood in the sense of "crudely."

[37] 鯖: LL 99.8 reads 爭, as does LTH 00.3. ZJW 99.2 and HLY 99.12 both read 請, in the sense of "seek." LH2 01.10 reads 靖, understood in the sense of "plot to"; FS 03.11 also reads 靖, but in the sense of "with feigned reverence." MD 05 reads the graph quite literally as "a special dish of fish and meat mixed together."

[38] 兌: QXG 98.5 reads 悅, "ingratiate." ZFW 98.12 reads 奪, "rob." FS 03.11 reads 說, in the sense of "persuade" or "instruct."

[39] 采: QXG 98.5 reads 由; YSX 99.1 follows this reading, but suggests an additional possible rendering of 臬, seen as a variant of 柔.

[40] 古: QXG 98.5, based on a similar phrase in the "Wang ba" 王霸 chapter of the *Xunzi*, reads 楛, in the sense of "shoddy" workmanship; for further examples, cf. IT et al. 03 and LZ 03.12.

[41] 膚 (here and in the next sentence): GDCMZJ reads 皆, noting that the graph corresponds to an "ancient form" of 皆 given in the *Guwen sishengyun*. YZS (01.12 and 06.1) argues that this "ancient form" may be a false identification, suggesting that the word which 膚 represents here is most likely different from the 皆 found parallel to it in the following sentence; he instead reads the graph as 均. The same graph appears also in strip 27 of "Tang Yu zhi dao."

not take. These are three things that neither the man of loyalty would initiate nor the man of trust would do.

The way of loyalty is such that the hundred artisans do not cut corners and all people have enough [goods] to sustain them; the way of trustworthiness is such that all the various things/creatures attain fruition and the hundred excellences are all established.

君子，其它（施）也（7）忠，古（故）緣（蠻）[42]罕（親）[43]尃（附）[44]也；其言尔（爾）[45]信，古（故）怛（邅〔轉〕）[46]而可受也。忠，悬（仁）之實也。信，晉（義）[47]之昇（期）[48]也。氏（是）古（故）古之所（8）以行虖（乎）閔（蠻）嘍（貉）[49]者，女（如）此也。（9）

The noble man is loyal in his deeds, and thus the barbarous peoples give him their allegiance; he is trustworthy in speech, and thus through conversion [they]

[42] 緣: GDCMZJ renders 䜌 and reads 蠻; ZGY/YGH 99.1 render 緣. ZFW 98.12 and ZJW 99.2 both read 蠻, "southern barbarians," or distant peoples more generally. LL 99.8 reads 戀; IT et al. 03 read likewise, taking it in the sense of widespread "adoration" forthcoming from the people.

[43] 罕(親): ZJW 99.2 takes this nominally, in the sense of people nearby, paired with 蠻 as a counterpart.

[44] 尃: GDCMZJ reads 傅, "assist." QXG 98.5 suggests reading 溥 or 博, "widespread"; IT et al. 03 follow. ZFW 98.12 and LL 99.8 both read 附; there are a number of attested loans between the two phonetic series. Depending on how one reads the line, 撫, "pacify," might be another possibility.

[45] 尔(爾): see the note to this graph in strip 5 above. LZ 03.12 seems to take this particular 爾 as a conditional particle, "if."

[46] 怛: GDCMZJ suggests this should read 亶, in the sense of "sincere." ZFW 98.12 reads 邅, a Chu equivalent of 轉, taken here in the sense of "re-translate" or "reinterpret." ZGY(/YGH) 99.1 suggests the possibility of reading 坦, "even," "steady." IT et al. 03 see the graph as a variant of 傳, "transmit," "convey," "instruct."

[47] 晉: QXG 98.5 reads 義.

[48] 昇: GDCMZJ reads 期, "expectation"; IT et al. 03 take this in the sense of "specific requirements," and LZ 03.12 in the sense of "ultimate goal." CW 02.12 reads 基, "foundation."

[49] 閔嘍: ZFW 98.12 reads this as 蠻貉, (southern and northern) "barbarians," citing the words of Confucius as given in the "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 chapter of the *Lunyu*: "言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貉之邦行矣" ("If one's words are loyal and trustworthy, and one's actions earnest and reverent, then they will prevail even among the states of the Man and Luo"). ZJW 99.2 quotes the same passage and, similarly, reads 閩貉. FS 03.11, noting how 蠻 may already be written 緣 above, instead reads this compound as 端愨, "upright and honest/cautious," but does so on dubious phonological grounds. Seeing 叉 as the phonetic element of the first graph, LXF 04.10 reads the pair as 頄僂, referring to the physically handicapped.

can accept him. Loyalty is the substance of humanity, and trustworthiness is the expectation of propriety. Thus it was that they could be carried out [even] among the barbarous peoples in ancient times.

the cache of bamboo texts recently unearthed (in 1993) from the village of Guodian, Hubei Province, is without doubt a rare and unique find in the history of Chinese philosophy and literature. As the only archaeologically excavated corpus of philosophical manuscripts to emerge from a Warring States–period tomb, the Guodian texts provide us with a wealth of reliable information for gaining new insights into the textual and intellectual history of pre-imperial China. In this respect, one may reasonably claim that they are the most exciting thing to happen to the study of early China since the third century AD, the last time a pre-imperial textual cache of similar import was unearthed. More than a few scholars have even gone so far as to suggest that their discovery necessitates that the entire history of early Chinese intellectual history will have to be rewritten.

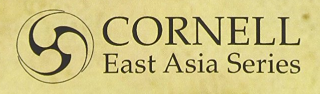
The importance of these texts is manifold. First, given the prominence of Confucian works in the corpus, they serve to fill out much of the intellectual-historical picture for the doctrines of roughly three generations of Confucian disciples who fell between the times of Confucius 孔子 (551–479 BC) and Mencius 孟子 (ca. 390–305 BC). Next, the discovery of three different texts that each parallel portions of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (aka. *Laozi* 老子), along with a possibly related cosmogonic work, the "Taiyi sheng shui" 太一生水, is helping us better understand the formation and early transmission of the *Laozi* and the nature of its relationship to early Confucian thought and even popular beliefs. Moreover, the dating of the tomb serves to dispel serious doubts about the early temporal provenance of both the *Laozi* and many of the chapters from the *Li ji* 禮記 (*Book of Ritual*), as well as giving us a number of clues to help us reconstruct the history of the early Chinese canonical "classics" that are cited in some of the texts. And written as they are in the local Chu 楚 script, the manuscripts hold great significance for the study of early Chinese paleography and phonology, giving us tangible examples of "ancient script" forms hitherto seen mainly in early character dictionaries and a limited array of technical manuscripts previously excavated from the region.



Volume I contains a general introduction to the Guodian tomb, the manuscript contents, and a discussion of the various problems of reading and interpretation that the manuscripts involve, along with their place within the larger context of early Chinese intellectual history. It also contains introductions to and annotated translations of the "Laozi" and "Taiyi sheng shui" manuscripts, along with those of "Ziyi," "Lu Mu Gong wen Zisi," "Qiongda yi shi," "Wu xing," "Tang Yu zhi dao," and "Zhongxin zhi dao."

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